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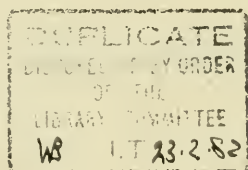
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¹ The Institute is indebted to the Council of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society for the loan of these blocks.

ERRATA.

Page 52, l. 6, *for* "conjecture," *read* "conjuncture." Page 68, l. 52, *for* "istadeli," *read* "ista fidei." Page 81, l. 56, *for* "can," *read* "cannot." Page 82, l. 43, *for* "similar," *read* "singular." Page 291, l. 14, *for* "1325," *read* "1323." Page 232, l. 18, *for* "aspusa," *read* "aspersa." Page 310, l. 44, and page 311, l. 1. *for* "Tong," *read* "Clun."

ERRATUM TO VOL. XXXVII.

Page 528, l. 29, *for* "1522," *read* "1529."

ERRATA TO VOL. XXXVIII.

Page 386, *for* "Dorrington," *read* "Donington," three times; *for* "Fiskerton S. Clements," *read* "Fiskerton S. Clement." Page 387, *for* "Haceby S. Barbara," *read* "Haceby." Page 433, l. 28, *for* "Wolferton," *read* "Wolterton;" *ib.* in foot note, *for* "Calthorp," *read* "Cockthorp."



The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1882.

DENEHOLES, AND ARTIFICIAL CAVES WITH VERTICAL ENTRANCES.

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

(Continued.)

It is clear to me that the recent "mysterious" subsidences on Blackheath belong to the class of earthworks which I have been considering. Active pipes in the chalk below the waterline are impossible; and it is a mere supposition without probability of Mr. De Rance that "the ancient chalk pits" (where they are he does not say) had drift levels a mile in length! It is also a supposition of equal value that immediately under the "disturbances" is an "outcrop of the chalk against the Thanet sand," whatever that may mean. I have shown that the shafts are spread over the whole district, and that there is no line of demarcation such as is required by the geological theories of their origin; while the evidence of the late excavations, which I carefully inspected, together with a general knowledge of the behaviour of these shafts, is in favour of their artificial nature, and tells me that they belong to the local series whose varieties I have endeavoured to describe. The greater depth of the caves in the neighbourhood of Eltham and Blackheath lying near the great roads near London, the clayey nature of the soils there, with the late type of the excavations, suggest the likelihood that they may be the deep shafts alluded to by Pliny,¹ and to which no others seem to correspond.

¹ N.H., xvii. See page 70.

I have not been able to find or hear of these holes in Surrey for certain. But at Peckham¹ something like them is referred to in the following: "In a field, called Wellhill, were the evident remains of three large wells, 35ft. in circumference. They had become choked up [fallen in?] but the occupier of the field had the rubbish cleared out of one, when he found the sides very nicely covered with smooth cement, and at the depth of about 40ft. he came to a floor of lattice work, resting on large upright timbers, and on the floor some straw. This floor completely filled the well, so that it is evident that it was not sunk for water; it seems to have been designed for a granary. The others were not opened."

Gen. Pitt-Rivers,² Mr. Tyndall, Mr. Willett³ and Mr. Park Harrison⁴ have explored the now well-known mines at Cissbury, in Sussex. Shafts were sunk of a depth varying from 17 to more than 42 feet. The width of the simplest shaft decreased from 18 feet at the top to 4 ft. 6 in. at the bottom, but other shafts were sunk with terraces and burrows at various depths as seams of flint were cleared out and followed. At each terrace the shaft narrowed until from a maximum width at the top of 66 feet in one case, that of 10 to 20 feet at the bottom was found in general. The bottoms of the shafts are more or less square, and like the small galleries below were regulated by the cleavage of the chalk. As the shafts varied in dimensions without and within the camp, so their relative distances varied from an average of 12 yards apart without, to a much greater distance within.

It appears probable that the pits within, if not later than the first or outer camp wall, are at least older than the pits beneath and without it. No shafts have been described as having foot holes or steps. It was clearly the aim of the miners within the wall to reach the same level of flint, as it was also that of those without; which being reached, caverns and galleries in pursuit of the layer of flint extended in all directions. They present a marvellous network, with chambers and small apertures or windows between them.

Barriers were erected here and there, Mr. Park Harrison⁵ says: "though nothing was found in the galleries to indicate that they were used as permanent habitations," yet "large blocks of chalk of which there were many in all the galleries would, also, no doubt have been placed when requisite at the entrances from the shafts, and in cases of emergency the occupants of the galleries could have retreated behind other barriers of a similar kind, or have made their escape by one of the outlets in the walls."

The ages of all these works are not the same, and the signs of habitation, burial, &c., point to a lengthened occupation of the spot. After the mines and the manufactory had become noted, and the desire to possess them raised in hostile tribes, then probably a bank was raised, later still another one within it, thus making as Gen. Pitt-Rivers says: this British camp the largest in this part of England.

In Wilts, at Highfield, one mile south of Salisbury, on the high chalk ridge between the Avon and Nadder valleys was discovered by Mr. Adlam, a collection of pits. About one hundred in five or six acres

¹ "Manning and Bray, Hist. of Surrey," vol. iii, p. 402.

² Col. Lane-Fox in "Archæologia," xlii, 53, and "Journal of the Anthropol. Institute," v, 357.

³ "Archæologia," xlii.

⁴ "Journal of the Anthropol. Institute," vol. vii.

⁵ *l.c.*

were examined by the late Mr. E. T. Stevens¹ and Dr. Blackmore, from whose letters I am able to describe them. Their depth varied from 7 to 15 feet, the width below from 6 to 12 feet, they were all circular. The entrance to each pit or set of pits was a circular descending shaft measuring at the top from 2 feet 6 to 3 feet 6-in. in diameter, with nearly the same measurements as to its depth before widening out into the cave, as seen in the best preserved examples. One group of pits, consisting of three circles and one semi-circle had but one shaft. They were evidently filled in with surface rubbish when not in use, and re-excavated when required; this was a measure of precaution against the instability of the drift gravel in which they were dug. Besides this gravel the chalk was penetrated from one to three feet. It does not appear that the diggers were very clever. Yet it must have been a matter of choice that the caves went down no further, when it is considered that a trench fully 15 feet deep "cut in the chalk having very steep sides" was explored for a very long distance, which "defensive ditch" surrounded part of the settlement enclosing an area somewhat square in shape. There was another ditch enclosing a much smaller area close to it.

Professor Boyd-Dawkins² considers the Neolithic age "of these pits proved." Dr. Blackmore thinks they were open from the Neolithic to the Early Iron age. It appears to me that the Bronze age from its beginning to its end marks their period, and that they cannot safely be prolonged back into the pure neolithic age.

Dr. Blackmore has drawn attention to the marks of metal saws on the bones and bone combs. The pottery appears to me to accord with the period I suggest.

The flint that was accidentally dug from the pits was used to chip into implements, but was not mined. The chipping exhibits a decay in the art as if it were being superseded. It does not appear that in any case fire was kindled below; but on the surface, burnt earth, bones, and pot-boiler stones were abundant.

The covers which constitute a peculiar feature in these caves were of clay made on a framework of wattles. They stood on the cave mouth, elevated above the ground a foot or 14-in. the upper opening 6 or 8-in. the lower suited to the diameter of the shaft; the thickness of the clay was from $1\frac{3}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; they were partially burnt, but some better than others. Many of these caves communicated below with each other by means of tiny window-like openings, and by this means, some of the entrance shafts were less worn away than others which were regularly used.

The supposition that these pits were winter habitations is a very likely one, and the remarkable prolongations of the shafts upwards, for keeping out the cold at night, and warding off the smoke from the cooking fires, entirely supports this. Dr. Blackmore tells me that "the pit people" were undoubtedly cannibals, small detached pieces of human bones mixed with other food refuse, split and marked precisely as the bones of horse, ox, &c., could point to nothing else." This is perfectly consistent with Canon Greenwell's³ observations in tumuli of the period to which I assign the pits, though the Canon has doubts on the subject of his

¹ E. T. Stevens in "Flint Chips," p. 57, also Report of the "Blackmore Museum," part ii, p. 152.

² "Early Man," p. 268

³ "British Barrows," p. 544.

own observations as to cannibalism. Grain, including wheat, was much used as food, rubbing and pounding stones being abundant. As agriculture entered into their avocations granaries were needed, and this perhaps is an explanation of the groups of caves, the chambers remote from the shaft being employed as stores.

I do not think these "pits" at Fisherton "may be taken as typical of the whole series" of hut circles, as Mr. Dawkins¹ considers them, but that they are in plan and furniture rarer than common; and in fact, are one extreme form of a series which finds its most perfect examples in some of the deep caves of Kent.

Next to Kent, perhaps Essex has the most interesting of these remains. They are abundant in the strip of country which lies between East Tilbury and Purfleet.

Camden in his "Britannia" says: "Near Tilbury are several spacious caverns in a chalky cliff, built very artificially of stone to the height of 10 fathoms and somewhat strait at the top. A person who had been down to view them gave me a description of them." He adds, "much like the following," the following being a very Chinese-like outline, in which Camden's imagination plays a large part, yet they are very interesting sketches, as being the first effort to pourtray them, and the only one.

Morant² mentions one with a horizontal passage in Cave Field in East Tilbury. This latter is not now visible. The cliff mentioned by Camden exists however, but the caves have either been filled in or cleared away for chalk. This I think to have been the case with some, as their remains were traceable in 1865, and perhaps now. The situation is remarkable, for the caves appear to go below the level of the tide in the river, which approaches very near, and in fact I believe has prevented the chalk from being worked as low as the bottoms of the caves, which are filled with ashes, soft pottery, bones, &c. Morant³ says in connexion with these: "There was a bubble of the bubble year 1720 started, for opening up the supposed gold mines here, on the strength of a tradition and a sentence of Dr. Robert Plot's;⁴ it is this, " * * lost like the gold mine of Cunobeline in Essex discovered again temp. Henry IV, as appears by the King's letters of mandamus dated May 2, an. 2, and since then lost again.' "

The cluster of caves at Hangman's Wood, described by

¹ W. Boyd-Dawkins, "Early Man in Britain," p. 267

² "Hist. Essex," ii, 229.

³ "Hist. Essex," i, 228.

⁴ "Natural History Oxfordshire," p. 164.

Dr. Derham in 1706, which is partly in Stifford and partly in Orsett, fills only a portion of the wood, where they are so thick as scarcely to leave room beneath the surface without communication, yet they do not do so. Mr. Meeson¹ says that persons may be heard in the next cave when knocking at the wall. Mr. R. Ll. Williams² has given a map and described this cluster from personal inspection. He speaks of the number as 50 only, yet there are really 72, of which six shafts are now open. Those in the western portion of the wood are mapped in the "6-in." Ordnance map; the eastern division, perhaps from some red-tapeism, being unmapped, though if anything they are the most conspicuous holes.

Others in clusters of three or four are to be found on either side of the little valley leading from Hangman's Wood southward to the Thames.

To the north of Tilbury, in Mucking Woods, Mr. Williams says that within the last few years some have been partly filled up, "but these were in sand." They once, however, extended down to the chalk. Mr. R. Meeson³ described some deneholes in the neighbourhood of his house near Grays, and one in particular as containing a large number of Roman urns, which were crushed by the fall of the roof. One vase he extracted nearly perfect, containing the bones of a female and child, with bronze armlets and a spindle whorl of lead.

Mr. Williams⁴ tells of a denehole partly filled up in Stifford chalk quarry, adjoining the Clapperfield previously alluded to. From Stifford along the Mardyke, or Merydike, stream to Purfleet these caves are found on either side, the chalk being white on the surface. The ground around them near Purfleet is covered with neolithic flakes, which may be scraped up by the hand. The pits now filled in completely must have been of very slight depth, otherwise they would have been below tidemark, as the land now lies, when dug. The pits down by the Mardyke stream have had one or more ditchways leading to the point of land on which the powder magazines stand. That and the Beacon Hill appear to have been neolithic

¹ Rev. W. Palin, "Stifford," p. 41.

² In same work.

³ *Archæological Journal*, xxvi, p. 191,

and W. Palin, "Stifford," p. 41.

⁴ In Mr. Palin's "More about Stifford," p. 39.

dwelling sites, for which they were well suited, if only from the signs of flint chipping to be seen there plentifully.

I do not know of deneholes in other counties where they might be expected to occur. Mr. John Evans tells me that such a method of getting chalk for the land is employed in Herts, but the pits are very shallow. Arthur Ashpitel¹ has mentioned the custom in Bucks, and it is said to be also in use at present in Berks and Middlesex after a fashion.

The cave called Royston Cave² and called by Stukely Roisia's Oratory,³ has been lately excavated to its true bottom; it was once such a cavern as those in Kent, for though a later Mediæval opening has been made to it, the old one with the foot-holes still exists. An engraving of this is published in Gough's Camden.⁴

After a careful enquiry I have been unable to hear of deneholes in Cambridge or Suffolk. There are, however, places in Suffolk which I think deserve attention.

At Brandon, however, on the borders of Norfolk are Grimes Graves,⁵ "surrounded by a semicircular entrenchment." Blomefield⁶ says, "Grimes holes or graves (from A. S. *Grafan* to dig, excavate) in Grimeshoe hundred is a very curious Danish encampment, in this space are a great number of large deep pits."

Canon Greenwell⁷ tells us that the graves number 254, and are irregularly distributed about 25 feet apart over a space of 20 or 21 acres. The pits are circular 20 to 65 feet in diameter, filled in to about 4 feet of the surface, and in some places confluent. The shaft of the pit examined, for they were not properly speaking caves, passing through one layer of unsuitable flint, stopped at another suitable one, and branching into galleries was found to communicate at the depth of 40 feet with the shafts around. An unpolished flint chisel (the marks of its use were visible in the chalk) and picks of deer horn were found in the workings. These galleries were dark, and amongst many interesting discoveries made by Canon Greenwell were cups of chalk⁸ which served as lamps to work by, one of which rested on the ledge of chalk as placed by the workman! From the usual evidences above ground we perceive that the diggers lived on the surface, and that they might not be inconvenienced, the refuse from the new shaft was cast down an old one.⁹

Caves as well as mines appear to have existed elsewhere in Norfolk, though until I mentioned the probability in 1867 they were overlooked; thus,¹⁰ "In 1779 in an enclosure near Broomclose, which is half a mile from North Elmham, the ground sunk in three places circularly several feet; in one of them the hole was nearly 12 feet wide and the depth 20."

"Near the site of the Saxon cathedral, which is still visible, are some old wells and many more filled up." Bishop Brisus established¹¹ his

¹ "A. A." in "Notes & Queries," 2nd series, xi, 16.

² "Clutterbuck," Hertfordshire, iii, 562.

³ "Iter Curios," &c.

⁴ "Gibson's Camden," i, 361.

A Report &c., by Joseph Eekdam, F.S.A. sold on the spot.

⁵ "Gough's Camden," ii, 117.

⁶ "Parkyn's Blomefield's Norfolk," ii, 118.

⁷ "Journal of the Ethnological Society of London," new series, vol. iii.

⁸ I was enabled by the kindness of Canon Greenwell to exhibit these objects before the Institute. The access to these pits was undetermined, as no shaft was fully emptied, and as the diameter was very great, this is to be regretted.

⁹ The modern flint pits at Lingheath, Brandon, are described in a memoir of the Geological Survey by Mr. T. S. Skerthley.

¹⁰ Gough's "Camden," ii, 117.

¹¹ Blomefield's "Norfolk," ed. 1739, i, 2.

bishopric here in A.D. 673, and it was thus early a centre of great civilization.

Mr. King mentions¹ such places on Mousehold Heath, and I have heard of cavities being opened near Norwich when excavating for chalk, in which many stags' horns were found, probably the ancient picks. Near the turnpike just outside Norwich, on the Aylsham road, amongst a collection of such depressions as I have described, a mass of soil fell in some years ago, a horse and plough going down also, to the depth of about 20 feet, and seven or eight yards across. Another similar pit fell in near Stratton Strawless in the high road, and the driver of the old Cromer coach informed me of one that fell in near Marsham on the same road. Many depressions are to be seen in the fields round Marsham, Aylsham, and south of Norwich, near Boyland Hall.

Very similar in respect of the excavations I have been describing is that part of the Continent of Europe which lies nearest to England.²

Cæsar says the Belgæ were sprung from the Germans,³ and in other places he mentions many tribes, inhabiting almost the whole of France north of the Seine, "*uno nomine Germani appellantur.*" This definition is of special interest when we remember the names of the same tribes (Belgæ, &c.) are found on both sides of the Straits of Dover, and that thus early the Gallo-Germans came over. The people of Cantium, it is specially stated, possessed all the civilization of those Gallic-Germans, which included much Roman culture. They, of course, enjoyed the full use of iron. But the Britanni (Celts), whom they partly displaced, were apparently a rude race.

It is of these true British pre-German born-in-the-island tribes that Diodorus⁴ speaks: "They say that its aboriginal tribes inhabit Britain, in their usages keeping the old ways of life, for in their wars they use chariots, and they have mean habitations, constructed for the most part of reeds or wood, and they gather in their harvest by cutting off the ears of corn and storing them in subterraneous repositories."

The above distinction also applies to the account of Pliny,⁵ who, besides mentioning other marls in use in Gaul and Britain, says: "*Alterum genus albæ cretæ argentaria est, petitus exalto in centenos pedes actis plerumque puteis, ore angustatis, intus ut in metallis, spatiente vena. Hac*

¹ "Munimenta Antiqua," i, 53, &c.

³ "B. G.," ii, 4.

² Compare "Cæsar B. G.," v, 12 and

⁴ "Geog.," v, 21.

13. "Strabo Geog.," lib. i.

⁵ "N. H.," xvii.

maxime in Britannia utitur." Pliny treats Britain as an "outlier" of Gaul, and therefore connected in its arts with the customs of the parent country. I do not think that the deep holes in England were originally dug for chalk as a top-dressing; it was a late improvement, recently introduced from France not long prior to the arrival of the Romans.

This appears to be the explanation of Pliny's account, which was drawn up at a critical period of our history. The use of chalk as manure is an advance in the art of agriculture improbable before its colonization by the Galli-Germans, whose arrival preceded that of the Romans but a short time.

Tacitus, describing the Germans of Germany proper—not those who, dwelling on the Rhine, had imbibed agricultural habits from their neighbours—speaks of them as disdaining to manure the land or expect the seasons. Their dwellings were "*discreti*," somewhat scattered collections of huts of unwrought timber, daubed with a clear and shining earth, apparently chalk.

"*Quædam¹ loca diligentius illinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imetetur. Solent et subterraneous specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo² onerant; suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorum frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod querenda sunt.*"

So I take it these true Germans lived in their caves and employed the same dwellings as stores, the only recorded use they made of the material excavated being to ornament their dwellings. But the more civilised Germans, no longer living in their holes, employed them as granaries and for agricultural produce, throwing the chalk over the soil, and even digging it for manure. They only inhabited them temporarily when hunted to the death.

Varro says³ of the Gauls on the Rhine: "*In Gallia Transalpina, intus ad Rhenum cum exercitum ducere aliquot regiones accessi, ubi nec vitus, nec olea, nec poma nascerent ubi, agros stercorarent caudida fossicula creta.*"

¹ Tacitus, "Germania," c. 16.

² *Limo?*

³ Varro, "R.R.," i, 7.

Reynier¹ makes some very interesting remarks on this subject, but he describes no deep holes, and it appears from a paper by M. Lavillegille² on *Les Mardelles*, that the marl was obtained from the large, open, shallow pits common in France, which he chiefly studied in Berry, Indre, Cher and Normandy. These are called Mardelles, Margelles and Marges. He cannot explain the term, but thinks they were dug for ambuscade. I find the word to be merely the O. H. G. and Norse, &c., word *mergil* of which the form given by Pliny *marga* and the A. S. *merg*; fat, marrow, mean the same. The old French *merle*, our *marle* and *marllera* of mediæval times are corruptions. The modern French *marne* has become so changed as to have given the above authors much trouble for a meaning to *marge*. The relics of such excavations in Belgium and on the French border have been little studied, which is the more remarkable in consequence of the notices by classic authors.

But the Neolithic flint mines at Spiennes are of pre-eminent interest, though doubtless not unique examples.

They were first remarked in 1847, and in 1858, in consequence of shafts for flint required by a porcelain manufactory having been sunk among them; and an increased interest being awakened M. C. Malaise³ described them, but it is from the account of MM. Cornet et Briart⁴ they are best known to us.

The shafts are circular from 60 c. m. to 80 c. m. in diameter, and are frequently very close together. They pierce the superficial soils and the chalk, and are in places 15 metres deep. They seem to have penetrated the chalk until a suitable seam of flint was reached, the galleries then followed the layers of flint. Their dimensions are very irregular from m. 0.5 to m. 2.0 in width and 1 m. to 2½ m. in height. From more than 25 shafts which were met with in the railway cutting between Frameries and Chinay it was seen that they were arranged in straight lines. In the galleries were found deer horn hammers and flint chisels, but no picks. The shafts were filled with rubble and rubbish, and resembled in general those of Cissbury and Grimes Graves. The flaking was conducted above ground, where the people mostly lived. The small size of the shafts would allow of descent by foot-holes.

In a letter to me from M. Bernard of Caen, he speaks of some old shafts as still open between Charleville and Gembloux, and after describing the shafts specially mentions "*Vastes chambres qui ont pu alors servir tant au refuge qu'à la fabrication de ces utensiles nécessaires aux premiers habitants, &c.*"

M. de Lasteyrie⁵ in his admirable paper on "*Des fosses propres à la conservation des grains*" printed by way of preface to M. Rollet's work, mentions the ancient usage of "*souterrains*" in France, north of the Seine, for preserving grain. He cites the improved examples, viz.: the "*Poires d'Arbres*," near Calais, as of doubtful age,—and later on says that at St. Quentin and Metz (as also in Burgundy) holes in the sand, previously coated inside with straw are used at the present day as granaries.

¹ J. L. Reynier, "De l'économie publique et rurale des Celtes et des Germains."

² "Mem. de la Soc. Roy. des Antiquaires de France," xiv, 144.

³ "Sur les Silex ouverts de Spiennes," Bruxelles, 1866.

⁴ "Bult. de l'Acad. R. de Bruxelles," 2nd series, 25, p. 126, 1868.

⁵ See "Aug. Rollet Memoir sur la Meunerie." In future when M. Lasteyrie's name occurs it refers to this work.

There are very large numbers of "*souterrains*" on both sides of the Somme from its mouth to Peronne and St. Quentin, and L' Abbé Lebœuf¹ does not doubt that many more exist than those with which he is acquainted.

Only one of great extent and greatly improved and specialized construction is described with care. The central shaft descends 30 feet, there are avenues with little caves branching off from them.

The more elaborate excavations, "*Sous le nom de caves*" have been known since the tenth century, when they augmented the name of the village of *St. Marchel Cave* among other places. M. Lebœuf thinks they were dug in the seventh century on the invasion of the Huns. Many have entrances into parish churches. The smaller "*trous*" are of very great antiquity and from their rudeness have been neglected and misunderstood.

At Villeneuve le Roi (Seine et Oise) M. Barranger² describes a pit 3 m. deep by 2 m. across the bottom and 8 c.m. across the top of the vault. The opening, 5 c.m. wide, communicated with the surface of the ground; this had been coated with wattles and burnt, turning the interior walls into brick; much burnt wood, bones, and fragments of tile and pot were found in it; it was filled with black earth; eight sugar-loaf shaped *farissæ* were found near it, one of which had pierced its vault; their depth was m. 1.5 by m. 1.6 in width at the bottom. It is compared to the "*Creutes*" of *La Creuse*. M. Tholin³ described some *croises*, as they are called, in the *Lot et Garonne*. They are artificial caves in the Tufa, consisting of narrow galleries communicating with little cells. He also describes *Silos funéraires* containing seated skeletons, &c. in the same place.

The *Cros a Leojac*⁴ in the *Tarn et Garonne* is one of many artificial caverns dug in the soil. Others exist in Haute Loire.

Baron J. de Baye,⁵ speaking of the artificial grottoes of Aveyron, Finisterre, Seine et Oise, and above all La Marne, describes a very large number of *grottes* resembling them at Razet and the country round Petit Morin in Champagne. There are caves in the chalk connected by passages, of a type advanced far beyond those at Spiennes to which he compares them. He supposes they were once dwellings as well as places whence flint was obtained for making implements.

Baron de Baye does not give sufficient particulars as to the mode of digging them, and the utter want of plans and measurements in his book is strikingly behind the times; yet they appear to be connected with my subject, inasmuch as he speaks as the galleries being accessible by "*plusieurs puits.*" Many flint implements were found and near the *Grottes*.

If the subterranean dwelling of a somewhat complicated form in Finisterre,⁶ at Rugéré, does not truly belong to the series, inasmuch as it is not certain that the cave was entered from above, yet the presumed entrance is by a steep drop into a lengthened curved passage whose purpose

¹ "Histoire de l' Academie R. des Inscriptions," tom. xxvii, p. 279, and plate.

² "Rev. Archæologique," i, 431.

³ G. Tholin, "Materiaux pour l'histoire
xiv, 89,

⁴ "G. de Mortillet, Materiaux pour l'histoire de l'homme."

⁵ "Archæologie Préhistorique," p. 134, &c.

⁶ "Bull. de la Soc. Archæologique de Finisterre," i, pp. 111, 123.

is precisely the same as the long central shaft. It would appear as though, south of the Seine, a type of caves existed resembling yet differing from those to the north; the main entrances being more or less sloping, with the vertical holes reduced in diameter, suitable to the passage of a man as at Razet, too small for ventilating apertures as at Rug  r  .

Though Mr. Stevens¹ called attention to the resemblance between these caves in Finisterre and those at Fisherton, they exhibit marked differences. I am indebted to M. Le Men for recent information on the Finisterre caves of Rug  r   and La Tourelle.²

In the department La Sarthe, M. Souigny³ describes some excavations which he calls old "*fouilles*." They are very numerous, and more so in some parts than others. He says: "*En descendant jusqu'   quinze pi  ds, terme de la plus grande profondeur, on trouverait la couche de marne qui leur servirait de support.*" As the pits were full of rubbish and refuse of an offensive nature, not many (perhaps but one) were opened. Inexact as he is, the author is much exercised by finding the head (no other bones) of an *urus*, concerning the identity of which he leaves us in no doubt, and remarks with astonishment on the antiquity of holes containing the remains of a creature which had for so many centuries disappeared from the country. He calls them *marne* pits, and from the description I understand these deep holes could not be enlarged into caves until the chalk was reached. He believes this cretaceous rock was used for manure.⁴

Lasteyrie says that in Touraine and Loiret the habit of storing grain in silos is still continued. In the department of the *Pyren  es Orientales* the silos or granaries were the same as in Spain, but no use of them is made at the present day. They are known in Languedoc. In the neighbourhood of Toulouse they dig holes about 2 metres deep and about four feet wide, in the form of a bottle, with an opening sufficiently wide to admit a man. The corn being filled to the mouth, they are closed with earth.

Thus almost over the whole of France, in the province of Picardy, in Champagne, Loraine, Isle de France, Cotes du Nord, Bretagne, Sarthe, Touraine, Bourgogne, Le Querci, Gascony, and Languedoc grain has been or is now preserved in *fouilles* and *souterrains*.

M. de Lasteyrie ascribes to the Moors the introduction of the custom in France, but I have shown that it is older than the Roman day, and its universal spread over Lusitania or Spain, ancient or modern perhaps gave rise to the belief.

These subterranean granaries are mentioned by Varro⁵ in Hither Spain, and by Pliny,⁶ who calls them "*siri*." This, Lasteyrie says is the same as *silos* as used by the Castilians, *sitias* by the Catalans, and *matamores* in general.

Originally scattered or in small groups, these silos were constructed in later times near towns, and in grain bearing countries, in large numbers close together on spots set apart for the purpose, or in public places and under the streets of towns. Lasteyrie saw at Barcelona a collection of 59 surrounded by a wall, another at Bursasot in Valencia. Their depth is usually 10 or 11 metres and 12½ feet wide below. The mouth at its

¹ E. T. Stevens, "Flint Chips."

² "Caves at La Tourelle and Keredan," by R. F. Le Men, Arch. Cambrensis, 3   . xiv, p. 295.

³ "Annales d'Agriculture," xvii, 376.

⁴ Compare Reynier, l.c.

⁵ "Σοιπος, Varro, R. R.," i, 57.

⁶ "N. H.," xviii, c. 73.

narrowest is 6 or 7 decimetres, and at the top widens a little to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet; into this fits the stone which covers the mouth. The widening of the cave begins at 3ft. 3in. from the surface, though this varies with the soil. They are common in Granada.

The Mauritaniens of old, the Moors, and the people of Morocco, Barbary, and Northern Africa employ them to-day.

Mr. Geo. Maw incidentally gives a drawing of some matamores, which he and Sir Joseph Hooker¹ saw in Morocco. Mr. D. Urquhart² says the grain is treasured up and concealed in these matamores in the spot where it is harvested and threshed for great lengths of time, and gives many interesting particulars about them.

M. de Lasteyrie says that in Northern Africa, especially in Algiers and Tunis, they are generally of a square form, and from 30 to 40 feet deep, the shaft just admitting a man.

"In the plain of Boghar," says Canon Tristram,³ "we found it rather dangerous to diverge from the path, owing to the silos, or *mottamorrhas* as the Arabs call them, in which, under the protection of the fortress, the surrounding tribes hoard their grain. There were scores of them together, circular pits, each about 6ft. deep and scooped out until they were somewhat of the shape of a stout earthen pitcher."

Sometimes they are found in hundreds, the smallest containing 400 bushels.⁴

Hirtius⁵ says that it was the custom of the people of Africa to deposit their corn privately, in vaults underground, to secure it in time of war, and that Caesar having intelligence of this, organized an excursion to Agar (perhaps the modern Souza), and obtained by this means barley, corn, oil, and wine.

Pliny⁶ says: "Utilissime servantur in Scrobibus quos *sirus* vocant ut in Cappadocia et in Thracia, in Hispania et Africa ante omnia ut sicco solo fiant, mox ut palea substernantur, præterea cum spica⁷ sua conduntur." The Latins used the word *sirus*, borrowed from the Barbarians (people of Barbary?), says M. de Lasteyrie, quoting Quintus Curtius.

Though I do not know if the interval between Northern and Central Africa affords signs of the continuation of the custom, in Southern

¹ "Morocco," by Sir J. D. Hooker, p. 454. may also have been applied to the same or kindred excavations. By this means is explained the term massymore, also the mazmorra of Toller (post), applied to the prison in Chrichtown Castle alluded to by Sir Walter Scott ("Marmion," note 45), who says the name was used commonly in Scotland for such places, being brought by the Crusaders from the east by merchants who had become acquainted with their interiors when captured in Spain, Morocco, or Barbary. It is recorded with great exactness that an ambassador of England was confined in such a "mortimore" ("Gentleman's Magazine," 1749, p. 560) in 1749. This method of spelling the word probably gave rise to the explanatory and fearful word, "moorkillers," which had so contradictorily been received as a synonym.

² "Pillars of Hercules," i, 409.

³ "Great Sahara," p. 58.

⁴ See T. Shaw's "Travels," 2nd ed., p. 139.

⁵ "Commentary on the African War," lxxv and lxxvii.

⁶ "N. H.," xviii, 30.

⁷ T. Shaw says that this latter usage had ceased at his visit.

The word matamore is spelt in a great number of ways. It is used in all lands round the Mediterranean, in France, and in England. A writer to "Notes and Queries" ("Notes and Queries," 3S, vi, 530, signed W. E.) thinks that the Arabic *matmuret*, vulgo *matmure*, a subterranean granary, a crypt, is the true form; but that the Arabic *muzmer*, a hiding place,

Africa a very remarkable form of dwelling is described by H. M. Stanley.¹

After complaining that for some time previously "the country is deserted; not one native can be seen," he says: "our foragers here obtained for the first time a sight and hearing of some natives" then near Mount Gordon Bennett. "Some hiding places of the natives were discovered by accident amongst the tall grass beyond the fields; a little way from the village we found many deep pits with small circular mouths, which proved on examination to lead by several passages from the mouth of the pit to more roomy excavations, like so many apartments. These underground dwellings were numerous in Southern Unyoro." The veritable Troglodytæ² of Ethiopia!

In Egypt, though we know almost nothing of the domestic and agricultural life of the early Egyptians, and much less of the aboriginal tribes, no use of such caves could have been made as granaries, the soil being too low and damp. But the plate given by Dr. Kitto³ presents a series of domed buildings having steps up to the top; the corn was carried up and shot through a hole; thus these buildings closely resembled the corn pits raised above ground, and carried out the idea! The modern corn bins, I am informed by the Rev. W. J. Loftie, are greatly degenerated, and resemble "cows" made of clay of the height of a man.

For the tomb was reserved the deep shaft. Tombs consisted of three parts—the upper chamber, the shaft, and the cave below. The upper chamber, originally a rock shelter and horizontal adit, afterwards a pyramid or other building, had a shaft sunk under it, sloping or perpendicular, with a cavern below, containing the sarcophagus or mummy. Mr. Loftie tells me there is no ready access to the bottom of the pit in the oldest sepulchres; and the later modifications it is unnecessary for me to examine.

Mr. Flinders Petrie, however, tells me that many of the shafts, which are always square (compare those of Tunis, &c., according to Lasteyrie), have at the corners holes to ascend by, most of the shafts being too wide to straddle across. He is, however, of opinion that these footholes are altogether later than the original shafts.⁴

Lasteyrie says: These granaries are met with in Italy, chiefly in Tuscany and Naples where they are called "*Buche*," and resemble the Spanish ones; they are found in Calabria but not in Rome.

At the foot of the Aventine at Rome, however, a tomb was found which is 51 feet deep with a circular chamber below, from the centre of which rises a shaft, called by the author I quote a Ventilator! but which retains the foot-holes in its sides. A gallery is cut in the rock round the cave, and a staircase leads to the surface. These latter arrangements belong to the time of its conversion into a tomb. Another like instance is engraved⁵ under the title "tomb of the Equites Singulares," and still others exist with vertical shafts. These are distinct modifications of pits adapted to their present uses by the ancient Romans, but originally dating from a time before Romulus.

¹ "Through the Dark Continent," p. 432.

² Comp. "Quintus Curtius," iv, 7, Pliny, "N.H.," ii, 106, and v, 5.

³ "Bible History of Palestine," p. 122.

⁴ References to these tombs in works on

Egypt are so numerous that I make no selections. There is, however, an interesting paper in the "Quarterly Review," vol. xix.

⁵ "Bartoli. Gli Antichi Sepolchri," pl. 50.

⁶ "Moses Vases," pl. 115, &c.

As on the coasts so in the Islands of the Mediterranean are these granaries found, in Sicily,¹ Malta,² which, however, Col. H. Yule thinks are of the sixteenth century, and in Gozo.

Strabo³ says that the reason why the inhabitants of Ægina were called *myrmidones* was because they lived in holes which they dug under the soil, and throwing up the mould obtained by this means were enabled to cultivate the ground.

It will be convenient for me in examining Asia to begin at the East.

In India⁴ corn pits are common in many parts, but not all over the Peninsula; they are called "*khaus*." Maize is preserved in such holes⁵ which are often deep.

I am told that deep holes for grain are common near Delhi and in the central provinces.

M. Lasteyrie says the Chinese have been acquainted with holes dug to keep corn and rice in, to which they give the name "*teou*," he possessed several drawings by Chinese artists representing them.

When damp is feared they are lined with straw, and dry spots are chosen with care. In the mountainous country and in Chinese Tartary no other method is known there; the natives having dug the hole, throw in brambles, and firing them, bake the surface within, which makes it firmer and drier. The corn is thrown in and covered with mats with which, or with straw, the sides are sometimes covered. The earth excavated is piled on the top and rammed hard into a little mound.

The peoples of the whole of Central Asia are well known to use this method of hiding corn. Dr. E. Browne⁶ says that at Clesch, near Toopolchian, when the Turks and Tartars invaded the country, the people retreated into the large and deep caves underground, where they were completely hidden.

Alexander the Great⁷ was in great distress when on the Oxus, in consequence of the country people hiding their corn in underground granaries, to which none but themselves had the clue.

Xenophon for a season,⁸ in a deserted town of the Carduchi (Kurds), stored wine in plastered cisterns underground. He simply calls those he found by the name (*λακκοις*) they were known by at home.

In the cold, high lands of Armenia he describes even the dwellings as little better than store pits. "Their houses were underground; the entrance like the mouth of a well, but spacious below. There were passages dug into them for cattle, but people descended by ladders." Ainsworth⁹ confirms this, saying however, "The descent by wells is now rare"; in fact, it may be said the people are rising to the surface by degrees. This habit extends into Persia.

Mr. Ainsworth¹⁰ at Uteh Kilissa, in an arid plain of chalk, found curious cavities hewn in the rock in the form of a pear. The bases were from 8 to 12 feet across; the depth from 12 to 20 feet. The aperture was small and round, generally covered with a single stone. They were

¹ Compare tombs in Syracuse. "Saint Non. Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile"

² C. Tucker in "Journal Archæ. Inst." v, p. 197. Note.

³ "Geog.," viii, 6, 16.

⁴ Lasteyrie, l.c. L. Reynier, "Economie Rural des Cartageniens," "Notes and Queries," Jan. 21, 1865.

⁵ "The Tropical Agriculturist," p. 207.

⁶ E. Browne, "Travels," p. 12.

⁷ Quintus Curtius, "Life of Alexander."

⁸ "Exp. Cyri," iv, 2. Another allusion to buried wine occurs.

⁹ W. Ainsworth, "Travels," p. 178.

¹⁰ "Travels," i, 286.

coated inside with mortar ; some were filled with chopped straw for cattle and horses. These cavities may have been for corn or water, but he thinks that they were granaries, from the circumstance that similar cavities, though less carefully constructed, are still used in different parts of Syria for that purpose.

Canon H. B. Tristram informs me that corn pits, having the same general characters as those in North Africa, occur in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. They are usually from 10 to 25 feet in depth, of the shape of a short-necked globular flask, with the neck very short, in hard soil. They are found both near villages and towns, and in plains and the most unexpected places. They are descended by a rope placed over a pole at the mouth. They are quite distinct from sepulchres, for which they can never be mistaken.

Cornelis Le Bruin¹ mentions some wells for preserving corn and oats, of perhaps unusual depth, near Rama, for he says, " Nous jettâmes dans l'un deux qui ait fort profond plusieurs pierres, qui en tombant aux fonds faisaient en haut un bruit fort extraordinaire et fort creux."

This is a near reminder of such pits in England ; how close a resemblance too between Europe and Western Asia does the following appear. Dr. Alex. Russell² says : " The corn (near Aleppo) is transported to the granaries, which are large subterraneous grottoes with one round opening at top. Sometimes they are found on the verge, nay, even in the middle of the highway, and, as they are often when empty left carelessly uncovered, travelling near the deserted villages in the night becomes exceedingly dangerous." He might be describing the country round Jorden's wood in Kent !

In Palestine these granaries are universal and are frequently referred to by travellers. The pit into which Joseph was dropped was of this kind. Lieut. Conder³ says : " In this continuation of the plain of Esdralon is the hill called Dothan where Joseph's brethren were feeding their flocks ; it is noticeable that there are to this day numerous cisterns still existing hewn in the rock into which he (Joseph) might have been dropped, they are shaped like a bottle with a narrow mouth."

They are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament writings, as repositories for stores,⁴ as hiding places,⁵ as prisons⁶ and as pitfalls,⁷ a few of which I append.

Professor Robinson⁸ describes many in South Palestine having great peculiarities, and which perhaps served for Anchorites to live in as was a common custom in the east.

In Arabia where they are frequent these pits are referred to as serving the purposes of Mahomet.⁹ The story is, that Mahomet persuaded a man to go to the bottom of a pit which was near a great highway, and to cry aloud when he should pass by in company with the great multitude which commonly followed him " Mahomet is the well-beloved of God ;"

¹ " Voyage en Levant," p. 251.

² " Aleppo," i, 77.

³ " Our work in Palestine," p. 199.

⁴ Jer. xli, 8-9. 1 Chron., xxvii, 25.

⁵ 1 Sam., xiii, 6. 2 Sam., xvii, 18-19.

⁶ Jer., xxxvii, 11.

⁷ 1 Chron., xv, 22. Is., xxiv, 18. Jer., xlviii, 43. Frequent mention of these pits occurs in Josephus, (Bell. "Jud.")

and in one of them Josephus himself sought refuge. Compare also Calmet's " Dictionary." Dr. Kitto's, " History of Palestine," p. 261. King, " Munimenta," p. 46. Articles in the " Investigator" on the agriculture of the Jews.

⁸ " Biblical Researches," ii, 353.

⁹ Bayle's, " Dictionary," article, Mahomet.

which being done, he thanked God for a testimony so remarkable, and prayed the people instantly to fill up the pit and build over it a mosque in memory of the miracle.

In Cappadocia¹ Lydia² and most parts of Asia Minor the custom prevailed in ancient times and is continued now. The early christians availed themselves of the troglodytic habits of the "wretched" Cappadocians, and hermit's cells are attached to several rock temples in that country with the shaft remaining still. This has given much trouble to travellers who, finding the shafts communicating with the barren mountain sides were at a loss, yet gave them the name of ventilators.

C. Texier calls them *martyriá*, or retreats for early christians, and describes some, giving an engraving of one which had been turned into a tomb and contained niches and the burial.

Very deep caves are employed for stores in Mingrelia,³ such have also figured in history as refuges in Cuban⁴ on the Black Sea.

Lasteyrie describes these subterranean reservoirs as well known in southern Russia, in Lithuania and the Ukraine. There they throw straw into the hole in order to bake the walls by firing it, and when filled with corn, covered with earth and the plough passed over it, the corn is hidden and preserved for a great length of time.

This method is employed also in Hungary, Transylvania and Poland. Sometimes the sides are covered with straw, and sometimes with wood when it is plentiful.

Ephorus⁵ says, the Cimmerians (around the Palus Mæotis) "dwell in underground habitations named by them 'argillus' and that these communicated with one another by subterranean passages."

The *Satarchie*, a people of the Crimea, lived in artificial holes. Pomponius Mela⁷ says, "*ob sæva hiemis admodum assidue demersis in humum sedibus specus aut suffossa.*"

Perhaps it was after the custom (or an adaptation of the excavations) of this people that the Greeks formed the remarkable shafted tombs which were explored at Kertch,⁸ and which yielded such splendid rewards to the explorers. These wonderful tombs were vaulted chambers, 10 feet by 12 feet in area and 8 feet high or larger, some simply dug and some with plastered sides and niches. They contained bodies and vessels and ornaments. These caves were entered at the sides by shafts three feet in diameter, which, after passing through several feet of made earth, penetrated the rock for about 21 feet to the level of the opening of the tomb, which was closed by masonry. The ornaments worn by the persons buried closely resembled those known in England as Anglo-Saxon, and Dr. Macpherson calls them Varangian.

Dr. E. Clarke,⁹ digging near the church at Yenikale, found a pit of a cylindrical form containing a stone sepulchre. This was entered by an opening like the mouth of a well and covered by a slab of marble; this was bell-shaped below.

¹ Varro, i, 44.

² Pliny, "N. H." xviii. Drummond's "Origines," vi, 7.

³ C. Texier, "L' Architecture Byzantine" p. 39.

⁴ J. Chardin, "Travels," i, 38. Lasteyrie, l. c.

⁵ Strabo, "Geog.," v, 4-5.

⁶ Compare note on "*Margelles*," p. 26.

⁷ Mela, ii, i, 66.

⁸ D. Macpherson, "Kertch," with a large plate, p. 83, &c.

⁹ "Travels," i, 418.

From Pliny we learn of these corn pits, wine cellars, &c., in Thrace;¹ and under the terms *λακκος*, *βοθρος*, and *σπηρς* they were known in Athens and old Greece.

As might be expected, they are still employed in Turkey in Europe. J. Tollius,² in his pedantic style, speaks of such places in Austria, where in one town is a "*Carcer subterraneus sive ut Mauri appellant Mazmoræ Custodiæ Turcarum inserviens*," and another where "*Coguntur omnes captivi sub noctem in ergastula subterranea quæ Turcæ*." "*Algezirani Vocant Mazmorras*." This is in Styria.

"In the broad plains of Hungary," says Dr E. Browne,³ "they use not barns nor stacks, but have many large and deep caves underground" in which the grain is stored.

It is to Scythia, and the lands about the Ister or Danube, that Virgil⁴ alludes—

*"Ipsi in defossis specubus secura sub alta,
Otia agunt terra," &c.*

After speaking of Xenophon's account of the well-like entrances of the Armenian dwellings, Georgius Agricola⁵ says—

"In maritimis quoque Germaniæ, quibusdam urbibus, sicut in Prussis Dantisci, et in Saxonibus Lubeci, bona vulgi pars sub terra habitat in testudinibus, super quas extractæ sunt magnificæ domus quæ a dominis incoluntur." An explanation of this is required.

The country I set off from is again reached, and little difficulty will be experienced, I hope, in connecting the caves of England with those of the countries that have been traversed by the links I have collected.

Man has employed caves for shelter and habitation from the earliest times. In cold countries he early chose rocky districts to dwell in, visiting the flat plains in summer for hunting. In winter he built up the caves and rock shelters, which were insufficient for his needs, with stones and branches, scraping them further into the hillside to make more room. This led the way to digging holes and covering them with branches in land which afforded no better shelter, and where he was far from his rocky home. The deeper the pit and the thicker the covering of branches and earth, the warmer and safer the hut-hole, until it became wholly subterranean. As a dwelling-place it would remain so only on the compulsion of northern cold or tropic heat.

The pits of Fisherton are an illustration of this deep hut, and in Kent almost every gradation may be traced between such and the deepest caves with narrow shafts.

Light, small size, and easy access, with slight depth,

¹ See Ainsworth's "Travels in Search of Xenophon's Retreat."

² Jac. Tollius, "Epist. Itin.," pp. 147, 243.

³ "Travels," p. 12.

⁴ "Georgics," iii, 376.

⁵ Georgius Agricola, "De animantibus subterraneis."

are needed in dwellings ; but darkness, secrecy, and great capacity are necessary for stores. Nevertheless, originally the shallower pit-dwelling was likewise the store, and the separation of the repository from the dwelling and its special manner of construction were but steps in civilization. The old connexion was, and is, revived in times of trouble, when the granary becomes the refuge.

The most renowned caves of Kent and Essex are so dug as to be lofty chambers, separate from each other, as is the custom all over Europe, Asia, and Africa for stores and granaries. Sometimes they are thickly clustered where much storage was required, but individuality in each case was preserved. Every direct effort is made to increase their size. Limestone rocks afford peculiar advantages for vaulting, and chalk, in which they are so often dug, is that in which they have received their greatest development and proved the most permanent, not only in England but in other parts of the world. From the period of the use of stone chisels and picks of deerhorn to that of bronze and iron picks a direct relation may be traced in the increase of size, &c.

The only direct mention of the storage of corn by the Britons records that they stored it in the ear ; this, as I understand it, means the grain for men, the straw for cattle. I have traced the use of grain pits in ancient times and at the present day in foreign lands from France to China and from Spain to Africa, and our little island forms no exception to the widespread rule in this matter.

Even in very early times, when men were chiefly flesh-eaters, fodder was absolutely necessary in winter. Domestic or semi-domestic cattle have been traced as accompanying the men of the late stone and bronze ages, and though doubtless hunting was pursued all the year and cattle were raided, yet times would come when these resources would fail ; then the tame cattle, which had been fed, would be required for the support of the community. Even they were not always sufficient, and cannibalism was commoner than the delicate sensibilities of some of our anthropologists will permit them readily to admit.

Beyond the inference from Diodorus's account above mentioned, it is not recorded, even in the dawn of history, that hay and straw were stored as a separate branch of

husbandry, yet of course this was done.¹ Stacks, which were perhaps unknown, could not have been used from their liability to take fire, and because their size would betray them and the whereabouts of the village to the enemy. Hay and straw or corn and fodder would occupy much space. Thus those tribes possessing the largest and securest storage would be the best off in the struggle for life.

I have shown that shafts were employed in flint mines, for dwellings, and for stores. They were likewise, according to Pliny, the means of obtaining chalk for manure. This I consider a secondary result of these excavations, a measure of precaution and safety first, for the spreading abroad of the excavated material would the sooner dissipate it, preventing the easy detection of the store, and of utility afterwards, for on heavy soils it would soon be found that the lime would lighten them; then it would be spread with care, and even excavated by shafts for this purpose, as was done where it lay very deep. But it is evident that where the land is white with chalk the pits of great depth so often found there could not have been dug for manure, and the natives of Kent in such situations scout the idea as absurd.

Had Pliny known what Tacitus described later as to the use of whitewash by the Germans, doubtless this compiler would have said the holes were also dug for that purpose!²

In those parts of Kent with which I am acquainted these pits are not dug for manure now. That at Plumstead was for a tile works. Those at Wickham and Crayford were for brickmaking. Though Mr. John Evans says they are dug for manure in Herts, he has never seen the method practised in France.

As to secondary uses, we have seen that if dug in the

¹ Keller, "Lake Dwellings." Cattle were kept on platforms on the water, and there was evidence of fodder, with the other stores of dried fruit, corn, &c.

² T. Pennant ("Journey from London to Dover," i, p. 55) mentions inscriptions in Zealand as referring to certain traders in limestone and chalk from Britain, quoting Keysler's (J. G. Keysler, "Antiquities Septentrionales," p. 235) remarks on the subject. Pennant first suggested that the

chalk might have been obtained in Kent from the great chalk cliffs on the Thames near Gravesend. This is possible, though unlikely, for the Yorkshire cliffs offered greater facilities; yet he was more careful than to suggest that the chalk was afforded by the Kentish shafted caves (which he describes), as has been done by Mr. Roach Smith ("Gentleman's Magazine," March, 1867.)

stone age for shelters the flint met with was extracted and utilized.

I have alluded to the possibility that these pits might have been used as pitfalls. Their connexion with ditches and hedges favours this supposition, nay suggested it, and it would particularly apply to those which were somewhat ruinous and condemned to less noble uses than that of storage. When the aperture was lightly covered with reeds and turf and the banks were lined with a hedge of brush, animals might easily have been driven along the ditches and over the pit. I even consider that at Jorden's Wood a special arrangement with this view was planned in connexion with the ancient roadway there. The different ditches which join the main way on the south from outlying districts would enable the cattle to be driven into the deeper ditch which led over the pit F (plate I), at the corner of the square camp, where, by the diversion of the ditch, it is evident an old cave lay and is still to be seen. By the use of a swing hurdle or gate the direction of the animals could be regulated, and even beasts from the opposite quarter could be driven past the pit until they reached the deep hollow at G, then fronted and turned they could be driven back (the way they came having been meanwhile stopped by the gate) over the pit westward.

There is no improbability here, and though in this country accounts of this manner of hunting are rare,¹ sufficient may be learnt of the method to justify my supposition.

It will be remembered that Professor Rolleston² alludes to this custom as probably that carried on in Gaul in Caesar's³ time.

Mr. Austen's⁴ essay on capturing deer is very interesting, especially in the description of guiding hedges, often miles in length, such as were I think used in Kent, and may, nay must, have been constructed in late Saxon times, if the method of hunting the boar mentioned in Archbishop

¹ The frequent mention of pitfalls by early and mediæval writers in this country shews by their familiarity with them how recently they were in use.

² "Journal Anthropological Institute," vi, 22.

³ "Caesar's B. G.," vi, 28.

⁴ "Reliquia Aquitanicæ," i, p. 217. The reference to mardellen as pitfalls is not at all clear. See F. Keller, "Lake Dwellings," by J. E. Lee, i, p. 478.

Aelfric's colloquy is to be read in its simple sense: "*Hundas bedrifon hyne to me and ic thæer togeanes standende fierlice ofstickode hyne.*" Perhaps highly trained dogs assisted the early hunter as they did the Saxon one.

Matamores offered convenient places as prisons, and in all countries they have served this purpose. In England at one time it was the only meaning attached to the word. They may have been used by the Romans as *ergastula*, or places to put slaves in at night, but there is no proof of this, notwithstanding that Dr. Bell thought so and supported it by reading a paper before the Essex Archæological Society in 1869, entitled "The Chalk Pits of Chadwell the Ergastula of the Romans," in which his evidence was against himself.

At the clockhouse at Greenstreet Green, Darent, Kent, is a subterranean dome-shaped chamber, to which a passage leads half way up the well. The aperture at the top is grated. The whole is constructed in brick, and appears to have been made in the seventeenth century. Whether it is constructed on the numerous chalk holes around, which it somewhat resembles, or was actually one much improved, I cannot say, but it was, according to tradition, the prison attached to the mansion of a former Sheriff of Kent.

These store pits have been frequently employed as refuges in times of persecution and of war, whole nations having been recorded as seeking retreat in such places. Everywhere robbers and outcasts have sought their shelter, and smugglers have availed themselves of them very largely. Their final obliteration has generally happened from the facilities they offered for the deposit of rubbish or the disposal of the vanquished dead after a fight. The abandoned shafts served the Romans well, as *Favissæ* and *Puticoli*, such as those in which the poor were buried, &c.

Some excuse may be allowed I hope for the length of this paper and the tedious manner of its arrangement, on considering that it is the first attempt to collect the evidence and treat the subject of deneholes at large.

The subject is by no means worn out either here or abroad. It is evident that there is room for careful enquiry in almost every country concerning the caves under discussion, more especially in their primitive stage,

and I shall be much obliged for any further information bearing on the matter.

I am indebted to many correspondents, whose names are mentioned in this paper, besides many other friends for their assistance, to whom, and particularly J. G. Hepburn, Esq., of Baldwyns, Bexley, for the "freedom" of Jorden's Wood, most cordially granted, I return my best thanks.

NOTE.—In Stankey three shafts have been accidentally omitted in the map of Jorden's Wood. Two between the "Y" of Stankey and "2" and one, filled up, about 25 yards south of No. 4.

In Stankey the dots on the left hand nearest to the figures indicate the shaft required.

THE VOTIVE TABLETS OF THE "SCRIBA" DEMETRIUS AT YORK.

By C. W. KING, M.A.

It is so rare an event to meet with any names (other than Imperial) in our Roman-British inscriptions that survive, in the mention of them by contemporary writers, that even the *possibility* of any such identification, however open to cavil, is well deserving of being pointed out. And in the present case, should this identification be allowed as well founded, some highly interesting points connected with the history of this country (now almost a blank for the same period) will be found indirectly illustrated by the same record. In the York Museum are preserved two very small bronze plates,¹ cut into the shape of *tabellæ scriptoriæ* (the regular form of votive tablets), and bearing, in dotted letters, these inscriptions :—

ΘεΟΙC²
 ΤΟΤΗΓε
 ΜΟΝΙΚΟΤΠΡΑΙ
 ΤΩΡΙΟΤCKPIB
 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC

ωΚεΑΝΩΙ
 ΚΑΙΤΗΘΥΙ
 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ.

Such *dotted* inscriptions require a practised hand to produce them with evenness: that they were stamped by some person belonging to the Temple, where they were affixed to the walls, whose proper business it was to make them to order, is attested by their being found executed in precisely the same manner in every sanctuary that has been explored all over the ancient world, from the Temple of the Silurian "Nodens" at Lydney, to those of Olympia and Dodona.

¹ Published in *fac-simile* in the "Philological Journal," vol. vii, pp. 126-129.

² The semi-circular forms of E and Σ first appear on the coins of Polemo, King

of Pontus, a nominee of M. Antony's; they became general in the time of Domitian.

Who then was this "Scriba Demetrius" who thus testifies his gratitude to the god or goddess of the seas for his safe voyage; and secondly, to the deities in general, who protected the residence of the Roman Præfect? The inscriptions, of themselves, make three points certain in his history. He was a *Greek*; a *government officer*—*Scriba*, for which he could find no precise equivalent in his own language, but exactly answering to our "clerk,"—and probably one employed in the finances, like the poet Horace, *scriba quaestorius*; and, lastly, he was a *scholar*, as he manifests by the care taken to add the *iota subscriptum* to the dative, a grammatical nicety, but little attended to by the inscription-makers of imperial times.

Now Plutarch, in the opening of his invaluable Treatise "On the Cessation of Oracles," mentions the visit to himself (then residing at Delphi) of two "holy" men, the one being Demetrius, the grammarian, just returned from Britain on his way home to Tarsus; the other, Cleombrotus, the Lacedæmonian, who had been travelling long about Egypt and the coasts of the Red Sea.

Another point in the history of Demetrius, and one of vital importance to this inquiry, is mentioned farther on,² where he says that "by the emperor's mandate" "he had crossed over to an island lying the nearest to the coast of several others, which was inhabited by a few religious men held in high veneration by the Britons"—probably Anglesey, that last retreat of the Druids. The emperor, unluckily for my object, is not named, that being unnecessary for the dialogue whilst he was still the reigning prince; but *who* is meant can be determined³ with tolerable exactness from allusions in the preceding chapter. Plutarch there calls a certain Æmilian "aged;" and this Æmilian's father had lived under Tiberias, who was emperor down to A.D. 37. It does not even appear

¹ *ἱεροί*, probably meaning persons who had been initiated, for he couples such men with the priests of the oracle in two places further on.

² *σπουδῇ τοῦ βασιλέως*, a definite expression, only applicable to one in the imperial service. *Cap. xviii.*

³ Plutarch, too, was an old man when he wrote this dialogue, for he uses the expression "in spite of my years," in

Cap. xlvii. He was still living under Trajan, his former pupil; his letter to him on his accession to the empire is extant in Suidas. A still closer approximation to a date is found in the 'De Pythiæ Oraculis,' Cap. ix, in the allusion to "the quite recent and novel disasters at Cumæ and Dicæarchia," from the great eruption of Vesuvius A.D. 79.

that the son was living when Plutarch wrote ; for his friends speak of *having heard* a certain wondrous tale from the aged Æmilian, as if his telling it also was a thing of the distant past. This calculation easily brings the residence of Demetrius in Britain within the reign of Domitian, by which time the pacification of the whole island had been completed by Agricola. As this general laboured sedulously to promote the civilisation of the new subjects of Rome ; and, as Tacitus records,¹ paid particular attention to instructing them in letters, as well as in the useful arts. This *grammaticus* (a term exactly corresponding to "schoolmaster") may have come over originally in connection with the latter purpose. Another indication of this date is supplied by the fact that Britain must have been completely reduced under Roman rule, when he visited the Holy Isle, for its distinction as "one of many others," only applies to those lying off the north-west coast from Anglesey upwards.

His remark that many of these isles, at that time a desert, were named after "dæmons" and heroes, is borne out by the "fable of Belerus old," which gives its classic name to the Land's End and the Scilly Isles.

Again, the circumstance that Demetrius made this visit of inspection "at the emperor's command," puts it out of doubt that he went in an *official capacity*, perhaps connected with the Treasury, or perhaps to investigate the source of the tin and of the gold, which for unknown ages had flowed out of Britain into Gaul. The emperor, whether Domitian or Trajan, was certainly too much a man of business to despatch a philosopher so far on a purely "scientific mission," to inquire into the supernatural phenomena so frequent there, the apparition of daemons and genei, the prison where lay old Saturn wrapped in enchanted slumbers, and other tales of wonder picked up by the *religious* Greek during his visit, and afterwards related to the great edification of the conclave at Delphi, who already knew, or did not care to know what would be of so much value to us, what was the *public* business that carried him thither.

If Demetrius was actually holding office under the

¹ "Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britan-

norum studiis Gallorum anteferre." Cap. xxi.

Imperial Government, there is no difficulty in understanding wherefore he should designate that office by its proper *Latin* name upon his tablet rather than by some *Greek* equivalents, which perhaps did not precisely express the every-day meaning of the title; and this consideration may have made him retain the name of "Scriba," by which he was entered upon the governmental books, and which to Grecize might be construed into a petty *crimen lesæ majestatis* against the dignity of Rome.¹

Lastly, the epithet "holy," given him by Plutarch (as already noticed), bears with great weight upon the subject before us.

The exact sense in which Plutarch uses it of Demetrius, he explains in the next passage with respect to his fellow-guest, Cleombrotus. The latter is described as a person of sufficient means, who passed his whole time in travelling about the world in the study of "Theology"—a term far from bearing its present meaning of the laborious acquisition of a stock of arguments to be used in the defence of an established religious system, but rather the inquiry into the so-called "theosophy" of different nations, the insight into the hidden meaning of ceremonies to be gained by *initiation* into their several mysteries, and the speculations of the philosophers upon the nature of the Unseen World. What these inquiries really tended to may be gathered from the long report he gives the company of his conferences with an Indian hermit (whom he had taken vast trouble and been at great expense to discover) upon the nature of those beings that hold the middle place between gods and men: the Inspiration of Oracles: and the Plurality of Worlds—all this is given in detail, and with an air of truthfulness about it that almost makes us believe that we have here the sketch of some real system of Hindoo cosmogony, and not an imaginary interlude of Plutarch's own composition. Such being the character of *his* Demetrius, what could be better applied to the Demetrius of the York tablets, a man at once devout and learned, who leaves enduring testimony of thanksgiving to the

¹ There is every reason to believe that he had, long previously, been in the service of the Governor of Cilicia, judging

from certain expressions in a curious story about the Oracle of Mopsus, to be related further on.

primæval Hellenic deities (then almost forgotten by his unlearned contemporaries), for the protection vouchsafed upon his long voyage (perhaps upon his safe return from the Holy Isle); as well as to the *Roman* gods on account of some favour then and there conferred upon him, and which may very well have been the grant of the office giving him the title of "Treasury - Clerk." *Eboracum* was, from the first, the station of one of the three legions forming the garrison of Britain. *ἡγεμῶν* is the literal translation of *Dux*; but it is now impossible to decide whether the term was employed by Demetrius to designate the Tribune in command of the legion; or, in the wider sense,¹ it takes in the later historians, where the title *Dux* stands for the military governor of any province, as *præses* for the civil one. A man like Demetrius, with a hankering after strange, primæval, religious notions and practices, could not anywhere have found a more promising field for his researches than in the Britain of the first century. *There* was the last refuge of old Celtic doctrine, fast dying out in Gaul under the influence of Roman civilisation; in the same way as this island had been the fountain-head of those same doctrines—in modern phrases, the "Theological university" of all the Celts. "*Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam esse translata existimatur; et nunc qui eam rem diligentius cognoscere volunt plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur*"—is the express statement of Cæsar.² And what was the course of studies they pursued during their residence at the Druidical colleges? Cæsar tells us a little further on: "*His excitati præmiis, et sua sponte, multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque aluntur In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios; atque hoc maxime excitari ad virtutem putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate, juventuti tradunt.*" And fully a hundred years later Pliny found the same notions flourishing here

¹ The ἡγεμῶν τῆς Κιλικίας mentioned in Cap. xlv. is certainly the imperial governor

of that province.

² De Bello Gallico; vi. 13.

as vigorously as ever, though the privileges of the teachers had been sadly curtailed. "Gallias utique possidet [Magia¹] et quidem ad nostram memoriam; namque Tiberii Cæsaris princepatus sustulit Druidas eorum, atque hoc genus vatum medicorumque Senatus Consulto. Quid ego hæc commemorem in arte Oceanum quoque transgressa, atque ad Naturæ inane pervecta. Britannia *hodieque* eam attonite celebrat tantis ceremoniis ut dedisse Persis videri possit: adeo ista toto mundo consensere quamquam discordi et sibi ignoto. Nec satis æstimari potest quantum Romanis debeatur qui sustulere monstra in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum."²

A few scraps of these speculations (far too wild to be the mere inventions of a Greek) are preserved to us in another very curious treatise of Plutarch's.³ One of the company relates a long story, received from a certain foreigner who, as he pretended, had once formed part of a deputation, sent every thirty years from some unnamed region of the West to a large continent lying at some distance off the British coast,⁴ for the purpose of performing religious duties during the same space of time. This consecrated land must have been the very place, the fame whereof had reached Demetrius upon his visit to the Holy Isle; for *there* stood the prison of Old Saturn, who in his enchanted slumber *dreams* of whatsoever his unnatural Son is about to do, and forthwith discloses the same to his attendant Genii, who in their turn impart the same foreknowledge to the pious hermits with whom they hold daily converse. Of these revelations of the returned servitor, the most remarkable, and, upon its internal evidence, the most genuine of these pieces of Celtic theosophy, is the theory of the composition and future state of the soul, and the nature of the beings that fill up the vast interval between God and Man.

"All that he had endured, and how many nations he had passed through, consulting their sacred books, and

¹ Here used in its proper sense of Magianism, the worship of the heavenly bodies. But as its professors were also astrologers and subsequently thaumaturgists, *Magus* was restricted to those trades alone. Pliny is known to have held a military command in Germany; it

is not impossible that he had been in Britain also.

² Nat. Hist., xxx, 4.

³ "De Facie que in orbe Lunæ apparet." Cap. xxvi, *et seq.*

⁴ "A five days' sail to the westwards" perhaps Ireland.

getting himself initiated into all their mysteries, would take a whole day to recount in the way that he related it to us, describing all the circumstances well and minutely, but as much of them as is connected with the present inquiry, you shall now hear. For he spent a very long time at Carthage,¹ because he received great honours from us for having discovered, deposited in the earth, some sacred parchments, which had been secretly carried off at the time when the former city was destroyed and which had been concealed for many years.

"Of the Visible Powers, he said, ought we (and also exhorted us) especially to worship the Moon, as being in reality, and likewise reputed,² the '*Ruler of Life?*' When I was astonished at this, and begged for some clearer explanation,—many things, Sylla (said he) are told amongst the Greeks, but not all rightly concerning the gods. For instance at starting, you are right in calling the same personage 'Demeter' and the 'Maid,' but not right in supposing that the place of each is one and the same, and that they are occupied about the same things, for the one is upon Earth, and mistress of the things on Earth; the other in the Moon, and of things pertaining to the Moon. She is named 'The Maid' and 'Persephone,' the latter as being the 'Bringer of Light,' but 'Maid,' because we call *maid* (pupil) that part of the eye on which the image of the spectator is reflected, just as the image of the Sun is reflected in the Moon. In the legends told of their wanderings and going in search of each other, there is a certain portion of truth, for they long for each other while they are apart, and often embrace under the obscurity.³ Now the being at one time in power and in the light, at another time in darkness and in night, is not fabulous as far as regards the Maid, but the time has occasioned error in the reckoning, since it is not *during* six months, but at *intervals* of six months, that we see her enveloped in shadow by the Earth as if by a mother, but rarely experiencing this at intervals of five months. For it is impossible

¹ Sylla, the speaker, was an African.

² Not by the Greeks, certainly. This must apply to the Celts.

³ Of the Moon by Earth's shadow during an eclipse.

for her to leave the Shades, and for them to pass, as Homer disguising the thing hath not ill said :—

‘Into Elysian plains, and Earth’s recess.’

“For where the Earth’s shadow ceases to reach this point, we suppose, the limit and end of Earth. To this place no wicked or unpurified person ascends ; but the good, after their decease, being carried thither continue there, enjoying a very tranquil life, though not a blissful one, nor that of gods, until the ‘Second Death.’ Man, most people rightly think, a composite being, but not rightly think to be composed of two things only—*body* and *soul* ; for they reckon the mind as being only a part of the soul, being no less in error than those who think the soul only a part of the body, for the mind is as much better and more divine than the soul, as the soul is superior to the body. For the conjunction of body and soul produces *Sensation*, but that of mind and soul produces *Reason* ; whereof the one is the origin of pleasure and pain, the other of vice and virtue. Of these three combined things, Earth furnishes for the birth the *Body* ; the Moon the *Soul* ; the Sun the *Mind* ; just as he supplies light to the Moon.

“The death which we die makes the man *two* instead of *three* ; the Second Death makes him *one* out of *two*. The First Death takes place in the region of Demeter, because Earth and the dead also are subjected to her ; hence the Athenians used to call the dead ‘Demetrians.’ The Second Death takes place in the Moon, the region of Persephone. Of the former, the consort is the earthly Hermes ; of the latter, the Heavenly. The former separates soul from body hastily and with violence ; but Persephone gently and slowly loosens mind from soul ; and for this reason she has been named ‘the Only-begotten,’¹ because the best part of a man becomes *single* when separated from the rest by her agency. Each of these changes takes place, according to Nature, as follows. Every soul, whether without mind or joined to mind, on departing from the body, is ordained to wander in the region between the Moon and Earth for a term, not equal in all cases ; for the wicked and incontinent pay a penalty

¹ To be understood in an active sense, by a very forced interpretation.

for their sins ; whereas the virtuous, in order, as it were, to purify themselves and to recover breath ; after the body, as being the source of sinful pollution, must pass a certain fixed time in the *mildest* (or pleasantest) region of air, which they call 'the Meadow of Hades.' *There*, as though resting in their native land after enforced banishment, they taste of joy such as the initiated into Mysteries feel ; mingled, however, with trouble and apprehension, joined to a peculiar hope, for she (the Moon) drives off and tosses away many of them while already making for the Moon ; and also they behold the ghosts of the (wicked) persons there¹ turned head over heels, and, as it were, tumbling down into the abyss below. But such as get firm footing there (on her surface), crowned with garlands, like victors in the games, entitled 'Crowns of Stedfastness,'² made out of *feathers*: because the irrational and passionate part of the soul they have, in life, given over to reason, well disciplined and kept under restraint. In the next place, their sight becomes like a sunbeam (in intensity), and the soul, wafted on high by the air surrounding the moon, gains tone and vigour from the same, (just as here below tools, being steeled, acquire it from the tempering) because that which was unsubstantial and diffused becomes solid and transparent, so as to be nourished by the exhalations it meets with there ; and Heraclitus hath well said 'that souls in Hades have the sense of smell.' They contemplate, in the first place, the magnificence and beauty of the Moon, and her nature too, which is not simple and unmixed, but as it were, a combination of *Star* and *Earth* ; for just as Earth, mixed with Air and Water becomes soft ; and the blood mingling itself with the flesh, produces sensibility ; in like manner they say that the Moon, being made up of starry and earthy matter from her inmost depths, becomes both animated and generated, and at the same time gains the symmetrical arrangement of its levity (lighter particles) around the centre of its mass, for a counterbalancing force to her own gravity. For it is in this way that *our* world, being made up out of elements that by their own nature tend, some upwards, some downwards, is

¹ In the Middle Space, undergoing purgation of their sins.

² *Εὐσταθείας*.

preserved from all motion in its place.
 The breadth and magnitude of the Moon is *not* what geometricians pretend, but much greater; for she measures the shadow of Earth (in eclipses) a few times only with her own magnitude (diameter), not in consequence of its smallness, but because she puts forth all her speed that she may pass through the darkened space, and carry away with her the souls of the good who are eager for it and cry aloud to her (to hasten her course) because they no longer hear, whilst immersed in Earth's shadow, the harmony of the heavens,¹ and, at the same time, the souls of such as are suffering punishment (in the middle space) rush up towards her from below, through the shadow, wailing and shouting (for which reason, during eclipses, most people clatter their brass pots, clap their hands, and make noises in order to scare away the ghosts), for the so-called *Face* frightens them when they come nigh, looking grim and horrible. Such is it not in reality, but like as Earth has deep and great gulfs, the one flowing in towards us through the Pillars of Hercules, others flowing outwards as the Caspian and those in the Red Sea; in like manner there are deep places and gulf-like cavities in the Moon, whereof the largest is called 'Hecate's Dungeon,' in which the souls either *suffer* or *inflict* punishment for the things that they have either *done* or *endured*, after they have been already made Genii.² As for the two smaller cavities, because the souls pass through them on their way to Heaven, or towards Earth on their return thither: the one is denominated 'The Elysian Plain,' the other 'The Passage of Persephone the Terrestrial.' The Genii do not always pass their time upon the Moon, but come down hither and take charge of Oracles; they are present and assist at the most advanced of the initiatory rites in the sacred Mysteries; they act as punishers and guards upon evildoers; they shine as saviours in battle and at sea;³ and whatsoever things they do amiss in these capacities, either out of spite, unfair partiality, or envy, they are punished for it, for they are driven down again to earth and imprisoned in human

¹ "Music of the Spheres."

² This term best renders *δαίμονες* in its

proper acceptation.

³ "Fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera."

bodies. Amongst the best of these Genii (they¹ told him) were those who wait upon Saturn *now*, and the same in the olden time were the *Idæo Dactyli* in Crete, the *Curetes* in Phrygia, the *Trophonii* in Boeotia at Lebadea, and others without number in different parts of the world, of whom the holy places, honours and titles yet remain, although the powers of some have ceased to exist, since they have suffered a removal of their virtue to another place. This change they² experience, some sooner, others later, when the *Mind* has been separated from the *Soul*. The Mind separates itself through a desire of reaching the 'Image' in the Sun, through which shines forth the Desirable, the Beautiful, the Divine, the Blissful—to which every unmixed (unalloyed) nature aspires in different ways. For the Moon herself, out of desire for the Sun, revolves round, and comes into conjunction with him, because she longs to derive from him the generative principle.

"The nature of the Soul is left behind in the Moon, retaining vestiges, as it were, and dreams of life; and, on this account, you must hold it to be said rightly—'Like to a dream the soul took wing and fled.' For the soul does not suffer this change all at once as soon as separated from the body; but *afterwards*, when it is become desolate and solitary, when the Mind is departed. For each individnal of us is not Anger, nor Fear, nor Desire,—just as he is not mere pieces of flesh or humours—but that wherewith we think and understand is the *Soul*, impressed by the *Mind*, and in its turn impressing the body and impinging upon it from all parts, it models the form of the Soul, so that although the latter may continue a long time separated from both (this Mind and Body), yet, as it retains their form and imprint, it is appropriately denominated 'Spectre' (*ἑίδωλον*). Of these spectres the Moon is the element, for they are resolved into her substance like as the bodies of the dead are into Earth's. Quickly resolved are the temperate, such as have lived a tranquil philosophical and leisurely life here on earth, for being cast adrift by the mind, and no longer subject to the passions, they wither and waste away. Of those that were ambitious, busy, amorous, or irascible when in the

¹ The people of the Holy Isle.

² The Genii presiding over such oracles.

body, the souls are haunted, as by dreams, with memories of their past life, and are troubled by the same, like those (dreams) of Endymion of old. For their restless and passionate temperament stirs them up, and urges them away from the Moon towards a second birth. She, however, suffers them not to escape, but recalls them to herself, and soothes them to remain with her. For it is far from a quiet or orderly state of things when souls separated from Mind get possession of a body that is subject to passion. Of such souls came, perchance, the Tityi and the Typhones of old; and that 'Typhon'¹ who used to interfere with the oracular power at Delphi; for they are destitute of Reason, actuated by the passionate part of their nature, and puffed up with pride and self-conceit. Yet in time, even these the Moon absorbs into herself, and reduces to order. In the next place, the sun having impregnated the *Mind* with vital force, produces new *souls*; and, thirdly, Earth furnishes a *body*, for she takes after death as much as she gave at birth;² whereas the Sun receives nothing, but only takes back the Mind, which he gave at first; but the Moon both *gives* and *takes*, and puts together and separates, in virtue of two different powers belonging to her; of which the *combining* power is called 'Ilithyia,' the *separating* one, 'Artemis.' And of the Three Fates—Atropos, seated in the Sun, supplies the origin of birth; Clotho, moving around the Moon, unites and mixes together the several parts; lastly, Lachesis, upon Earth, who has the most to do with Fortune, puts her hand to the work. For the inanimate part of Man is powerless, and liable to be acted upon by other things, but the Mind is impassive and independent, and the soul of a mixed nature, intermediate between the two, just as the Moon hath been made by the Deity, a mixture of things above, and of things below; 'a great full horn,' bearing the same relation to the Sun that the Earth bears to the Moon.

"All this, said Sylla, I heard the stranger recounting, the chamberlains and ministers of Saturn had (said he)

¹ Error for "Python," from whence Apollo delivered Delphi.

² He has previously said "Earth furnishes a body for the births."

related it to him. You, Lamprias, are at liberty to make what use you please of the story."¹

If the Druids really carried their pupils into such transcendental speculations as these "upon the heavenly bodies and their motions; upon the magnitude of the universe and the Earth; upon Nature in general; upon the essence and power of the immortal gods" (to use Cæsar's words), then in good sooth, our Demetrius was rewarded for his pains in visiting their distant retreat by hearing of "many things in heaven and earth not dreamt of in his philosophy."

I have, above, slightly alluded to a casual expression of Plutarch's that gives reason to suppose that *his* Demetrius was employed by the Roman Government, in some capacity or other, previous to his visit to this island. The passage is very curious in itself, and as Plutarch is a "lost classic" to Grecists of the modern type, I shall be doing them a service by transcribing it at length.²

Then Demetrius.—"I know not the present state of things (in Cilicia), for, as you are aware, I have now been away from home for a very long time. But when I *was* there, the Oracle of Mopsus still flourished as well as that of Amphiaraus. But I have a very wonderful event to tell, which happened during my visit to the Oracle of Mopsus. The governor of Cilicia being sceptical in religious matters—disbelieving them, I fancy, out of wantonness—for he was an extremely insolent, wicked man, and had about him a set of Epicureans, who, after their fine fashion and 'Natural Science' principles, made sport of all things of the kind, as they themselves often boasted, he despatched his freedman, furnishing him, like a spy going into the enemy's camp, with a letter in which the inquiry was written, nobody knowing the contents. The fellow, therefore, having passed the night, as is the rule, within the sanctuary, and having slept there, related to us next morning the following dream: He dreamed that a man of handsome appearance stood over him and shouted 'A black one,' and nothing more; but forthwith vanished. This seemed to us absurd, and

¹ "So treat the story as you please, to believe it or not."

² "De defect. Orac." Cap. xlv.

caused us great perplexity; the governor, however, was astonished at it, and making a gesture of adoration and opening the letter, showed us therein written the question—‘Whether shall I sacrifice to Thee a *white* or a *black* bull?’ So the Epicureans were put to the route, and he himself offered the sacrifice, and ever afterwards held Mopsus in respect.”

As this governor of Cilicia is not named, it may be inferred he was still living; and Demetrius, after his disrespectful remarks upon his character, might think it discreet to omit his name; and thus we lose another definite indication of date. But the use of the pronouns “us” and “we” proves pretty clearly that Demetrius was in his service at the time, for the nature of circumstances would make us believe that the response of Mopsus would be communicated to the governor in private, his immediate dependents and officers alone being present to be puzzled at the tale brought back by the messenger, and to be allowed the privilege of reading the experimental letter.¹

I must not, however, pass over an objection against my thesis which will doubtless occur to critical readers, that “Demetrius” was, next to “Apollonius,” the commonest of Greek names in Roman times, and that consequently the identity of names in the two cases is of no value whatsoever. The only reply to this (of small force, it must be confessed) is that inscriptions in Greek are so rarely discovered in Britain that no other examples are known besides two small altars from Hadrian’s Wall, and as these are of white marble it is more probable they were imported ready engraved than that they were sculptured in this country. This fact leaves to my argument the weight to be derived from the taking into the account the natural *proclivities* of a grammarian by profession, from whom something pedantic and not of everyday use was to be expected. Another objection, that the SCRIB is only the abbreviation of the patrician *nomen* “Scribonius,” assumed, according to rule, by some freed man of the family—is obviated by our finding SCRIBON upon the coinage of that *gens* as the only allowable contraction of

¹ Harrison, an Elizabethan writer, in his “Description of England,” says that the tract “De Mirabilibus Britannie” was ascribed to this Demetrius. It is now

given to Nennius; and, upon its own evidence, has no claim to an antique origin.

the word. And further, that his *profession* precedes his *name* in the case of our Demetrius is made a matter of certainty by the well-known Pompeian inscription in which (and nearly at the same date) SCRIBA ISSVS solicits the patronage of Cerrinius Votia, ædile of that city.

The whole matter is a question of *probabilities*, strict proof being impossible for want of sufficient data; my sole grounds for identification are the *names* of the two persons, their personal characters, their employment under the same government, and the coincidence of the time of their visit to Britain. I know not of what weight others will find these considerations; to myself they almost bring conviction, perhaps, because

"In quod volumus credula turba sumus,"

and the satisfaction in discovering so curious and unusual an historical record is an irresistible temptation to magnify mere trifles, favourable to one's cause, and to tempt the mind to soar above the regions of dull fact upon the wings of fancy.

ADDRESS OF THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF ELY TO
THE HISTORICAL SECTION AT THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE INSTITUTE HELD AT BEDFORD.¹

You will, I am sure, easily understand how much I feel at a loss as to the point of view from which I should address you on the present occasion, when I consider how wide and comprehensive is the prospect which you open before me. The lecturer to the Historical Section of a curious and learned society may say to himself, *historicus sum, nihil historici a me alienum puto*. He may think that all historical incidents and speculations, and even prehistorical ones, are equally open to him. If he be of a discursive turn of mind, he can hardly fail to be oppressed and even confused by the unbounded licence of narrative and disquisition thus submitted to his discretion—if he seek to single out some particular object, and confine himself strictly within such limited bounds, he may too probably become very dry and jejune in his particular remarks, and to the generality of a mixed audience such as I may now see before me, he can hardly fail at least to appear so.

But with this apology by way of preface to the slight sketch of an address which is the best I can hope to offer you, I will proceed at once to explain the direction and the limits to which I propose to confine myself. Standing here in the town of Bedford, the capital of the county so named, before an audience, the greater part of which is, I suppose, composed of the inhabitants of this town and county, my object may properly be directed to illustrate the science of history itself by examples taken from the records of this particular locality. And first, my view of the science of history in general shall be confined to reference to three of what I should deem its most

¹ Delivered July 28th, 1881.

interesting subjects or features. We cultivate historical science, I think, mainly with a view to its political aspect, its social aspect, and its personal aspect. I will explain what I mean by these several aspects, as I call them, more particularly as I proceed, but I wish to impress you, at starting, with the three divisions of the subject which I shall place before you—the political, the social, and the personal or individual.

As to the first of these, Bedfordshire, I would remark, has no doubt taken some share in the great movements of English history which have affected our national government and constitution, and our relation to other countries. The political history of this county does, indeed, seem to me very scanty. Perhaps it is in consequence of our country being insular that the chief incidents in our national career have taken place rather in our maritime than our inland counties. Kent and Devon, Yorkshire and Norfolk have been more rife of political events than Berks or Leicester, or Bedford, or Huntingdonshire. The river, indeed, on which your capital stands, the river of which you are justly proud, as, at least, the fourth in rank of the whole kingdom, has done you the service, if such you would regard it, of wafting the barks of Danes and Northmen even to these inland recesses, and given you no mean place in the records of that ancient warfare which founded the English name and fame by the mingling of many rival, but not alien, races from which we are all proud to be descended. But from that primitive period onwards the course of your political history has run ever smoothly. Few or no traces are left among you of the Norman Conquest or the wars of the Barons, or the early constitutional struggles of church and people, or of the wars of the Roses, no, nor even of the contests of the great Rebellion and the still greater Revolution which followed. If a country is justly deemed happy the life of which is marked by little or no public history, so I suppose a county so circumstanced may be pronounced a happy county also. The placid stream of your gentle river Ouse may be justly considered typical of the *fallentis semita vitæ*, the unscanned path of domestic life, for which the county of Bedford is, I may say, if it be

not something of a bull to say it, so signally distinguished.

With one however of the greatest political changes in English history, with one change which amounts above all others to a revolution in our national constitution, Bedfordshire is specially connected. In referring to a political movement which took place three hundred and fifty years ago, which founded and established the most illustrious family in your county, I need not and I shall not, I am sure, offend in this place any natural susceptibilities. The history of the dissolution of the monasteries and the endowment of some of our illustrious private houses with their revenues, is now an old world story, almost as venerable as the story of the conquest of Saxon England by the Normans, or of our primeval Britain by the Romans. Nor shall I be led into uttering a word that can offend any religious and ecclesiastical sentiment that may be rife among you. I speak of this important and deeply interesting movement in its political and constitutional aspects, and those only. Now I regard the dissolution of the monasteries and the confiscation and fresh distribution of their revenues in this way. The Crown at the conquest became possessor of the soil of England. The Conqueror divided it into a number of fiefs, which he entrusted to his chief followers by grants, for the most part under military tenure. It was on their arms and those of their retainers that he relied for the maintenance of the conquest and the political settlement which he grafted on it. The ground of this alliance was however insecure. Jealousies and dissensions speedily arose between the Crown and its great vassals. The Crown became weakened by family quarrels. The Barons became strengthened by family alliances. The war of the Barons against John and Henry III left the government of the country in the hands of an Oligarchy rather than of a Monarch. It was by the alliance the Crown thereupon made with the Church that any fair balance was alone effected between these rival powers; it was by the great abilities of such sovereigns as Edward I and III and Henry IV that such a balance was generally secured and maintained. But the history of our kings from John to Henry VIII shows the constant struggle that was still

going on between the Crown and the nobles. The fall of John and Edward II, and Richard II, and Henry VI, and Richard III, one after another, shows how the power of the nobles waxed stronger and stronger, and was at last curbed and checked, scotched but not killed, by the bloody wars and hardly less bloody executions of the contests of the Roses.

It was not till after the settlement of this terrible struggle by what I may call the Tudor compromise that the Crown seemed to obtain the upper hand over the nobles, and felt itself so far secure as to enable it to turn its attention to the overshadowing influence which had now been acquired by the Church, to which it had itself been accessory in its wish to establish an alliance which might countervail the power of the great territorial feudatories. I forget what is said to have been, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the proportion of the soil of England held by the Church as its own consecrated property. I believe it was as much as one-third or two-fifths, perhaps more. The power which this immense proprietorship gave to one estate of the realm, one factor in the national legislature and government, and one which was specially under the influence or even the control of a foreign potentate (and remember that the Pope of Rome, however small were his actual estates, was through his spiritual influence a real political force at that time in Europe), this ecclesiastical power was a source of great danger to the Crown and a cause of intense dissatisfaction to the mass of the people.

This then was the power which Henry VIII determined to master, with a daring and a courage for which he has not always received sufficient credit, with a daring and a courage which none perhaps in those days but a man of stern, of cruel, of tyrannical character could have exhibited. Henry's first object was to cut down the power of the Church and confine it within safe and constitutional limits, safe as regarded the legitimate authority of the Crown, constitutional as regarded the just influence of the nobility and gentry and commons of the realm. But I see, as I think, plainly, that he had also a second object, and this was to strengthen his own position against the remnant, still powerful, of the old

oligarchy. It was with this view, as I imagine, that he distributed the vast estates which he wrenched from the Church and from the monasteries, among those whom historians call his favourites, men for the most part not of the first nobility, taken rather from a second class of gentry, of whose personal loyalty to himself he felt pretty well assured, and whom he might expect to bind more closely to his interests by making their interests coincide so closely with his own. The Russells and their compeers whose noble fortunes he founded by this great political revolution became, as he expected, the firmest support of his throne and of the constitutional system which he so signally founded. The principles of government on which the illustrious house of Bedford was raised to eminence and enriched with so large a portion of the conventual estates in this county have been, we know, loyally maintained by all its scions through many generations. There are perhaps few instances in history of a great idea thus cast into the ground and continuing to bear its proper fruit so constantly and so permanently as the constitutional settlement of Henry VIII both in Church and State. Of the ecclesiastical aspect of Henry's Revolution I have hardly leisure now to speak, but it is patent to every one. It would be very interesting to enter into the economical aspect which it also presents to us in the history of our proprietary system, but this is a work too large and too subtle for so slight a sketch as I must confine myself to. I have said enough, however, to show how important a part this county has played, at least in one special instance, on the political history of England, in the history of those great constitutional changes which from time to time seem to sweep over all civilized countries in turn; such changes as were introduced by the famous agrarian laws at Rome, or by the forcible repartition of all the soil of France at the still more famous French Revolution, or by the abolition of serfdom in our own time in Russia, such as may occur again under, I trust, more moderate counsels and with a more enlightened policy even in our own favoured islands to-day or to-morrow.

But I gladly turn from the political speculation which my subject has now forced upon me to a view of your

county history in what I would call its social aspect. The annals of civilization present to us the efforts, the instinctive efforts I might say, of man to increase the prosperity and happiness of himself, and, together with himself, of his family and neighbours, his fellow-countrymen. The early progress of this and other countries in Europe from barbarism to moral and spiritual culture has been marked by the institution of schools of teaching and learning. Western Europe, France and Germany, Spain and Italy, as well as our own country, first emerged from barbarism, under the teaching of the Christian Church. The Cathedrals and the Convents offered the first schools for a learning which was for the most part—though not wholly—directed to matters of religious faith and knowledge and speculation. But such learning, limited as it was, occupied in fact almost the whole area of human inquiry ; such was then possible. The schools of the palace, the political training schools of Charlemagne, were indeed schools for laymen, schools for training the civil servants of the State ; but the training they offered was, I imagine, directed more to the arts of government and administration than to imparting the facts of moral or material science. Of these cathedral schools and of their system of teaching, founded as they were more than a thousand years ago, there still exist among us some scanty survival. The cathedrals of this country all made provision for the regular training of clergy, and of such of the laity as chose to avail themselves of it, in the institution of the Christian believer, which embraced pretty generally the whole field of the knowledge of those early times. The statutes even now existing of our older cathedrals, drawn up no doubt on the lines of statutes of a still earlier period, all provide for a school of divinity, and constitute one or more members of the cathedral body as its head and teacher. Such was the educational training of several ages ; it dates at least from Charlemagne, and even he learnt it from Alcuin and the cathedral school of York. It was only gradually supplanted by the foundation of the universities and the colleges, but from the thirteenth centuries and onwards it was to the universities that our people looked for their teaching, no longer to the cathedrals. They found

no doubt at Oxford and Cambridge a broader and more liberal learning, a wider grasp of moral and material truth, than in the narrow sphere of the cathedral, and the technical and professional learning of a small cathedral body. The cathedral schools dwindled away; the name still survived, as indeed it does even now survive, but it ceased to betoken any real practical service. A better system had come into operation, and the worser system suffered inevitable eclipse. Accordingly, when at the Reformation, the Government undertook to establish several new cathedrals, it abstained purposely and pointedly, as it seems to me, from assigning to any of them the function of theological teaching or the training of young men in religious knowledge. This was considered to be already adequately provided for at the universities. Indeed, as at the former period society had been prone to found cathedrals and monasteries for the teaching of theology—as in a later year society had adopted the fashion of endowing universities and colleges with this object specially in view—so already in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the latter fashion was beginning to subside, and a new idea of the objects and means of education had sprung up in the country. Already the great schools of Winchester and Eton had given the signal of a new social revolution. It was to the education of the rising generation, to the training of boys, to the training of the opening mind in the best general knowledge of the day rather than in the technical and professional training of a clerical class, that the minds of our statesmen were turned. To this movement, to this social revolution, as it may be fairly called, the Reformation of Religion gave a special impulse—the fashion of founding schools, grammar schools, free schools, meaning schools free from ecclesiastical control to which all teaching had formerly been subjected, made rapid progress. To this the young scholarly king Edward VI lent all his influence and authority, and by the advice of his ministers, pledged as they were to the principles of the Reformation, he founded such grammar schools at many of the provincial cities of his kingdom. His views were seconded by his sister Elizabeth, who founded Westminster School, and by many private benefactors; by

John Lyon, who founded Harrow; by Sherreff, who founded Rugby; Perse, who founded the Grammar School at Cambridge; and by many others whose names I cannot remember at Tiverton and Sherborne, and a hundred other places. Nor did this beneficent social wave fail to flow over your own town of Bedford. The foundation of Sir William Harpur in this place still attests the interest which any gentleman, any prosperous man of business, any devout admirer of learning for its own sake, was eager and proud to take in the culture of the youth of a place with which he might have any special personal connexion. Sir William Harpur has left the name well remembered and highly honoured among you. I believe I follow the habit of the place in thus connecting it with the important Grammar School which has conferred so much benefit upon you. But strictly speaking this school too was, I understand, originally founded by King Edward VI; at least he it was who first granted his royal license to your Mayor and Corporation to establish such a school; and it was not till a few years later that Sir William Harpur, a native of your parish at St. Paul's, took upon himself to endow it with the rents of a small estate of some thirteen acres, which, as a prosperous man of business, he had been able to acquire in the parish of St. Andrew's, in London. I know his estate there pretty well. I know Harpur-street, which stands apparently in the centre of the little domain. I know the neighbouring streets, North-street and East-street, and Theobald-road, and Lamb's Conduit-street, somewhat poor and petty streets now, but which have seen better days, and been much resorted to, from their neighbourhood to the Inns of Court, by the class of young struggling barristers. I was myself born in East-street, and such was the position of my father at the time of his marriage very early in the present century. I saw a notice of apartments to let in the windows of my native domicile not long ago, and I stepped in, and found the poor little house all now let out in single rooms to a number of, as I suppose, clerks, in shops or at lawyers' chambers. Such are the resources on which your great Harpur foundation rests, and I rejoice to hear that a locality which was originally purchased for £180 now produces a

rental of some £15,000 a year. *Lucri bonus est odor ex re qualibet.* I feel some interest in the Harpur School from thinking that my father paid for several years his seventy or eighty pounds per annum to swell an income that has been put to so excellent an account.

I have instanced the Harpur School of this town as typical of a great social revolution. The change in our national ideas and views of life, which was effected by the institution of our grammar schools at the period of the Reformation, of which schools this one of yours is so conspicuous an example, may indeed fitly deserve such a title; for a revolution of this kind is not necessarily a work of injustice, of violence, or of bloodshed. It implies a great and decisive change in life and manners, but it may be quite peaceful in its working, and mainly salutary in its effect. Now the change wrought by the institution of the grammar schools was of this kind. It opened the sources of ordinary secular knowledge to all classes of the nation, from their boyhood onwards. It imbued the whole body of the nation from their opening years with the habit of intellectual exertion and inquiry. It released learning from the church authority exercised by the ecclesiastical teaching in the cathedrals and convents; it relaxed and reduced within moderate limits the professional authority, hardly less pedantic and peremptory, which had long prevailed even in colleges and universities, where the dogmas of Aristotle were enforced as strictly as if they had been divinely inspired. The method of teaching in boys' schools was freed at once from all such imperious prescriptions. It could not be otherwise. Set a lad down with fifty lines of Homer before him, and place a grammar and a dictionary in his hands, and direct him to make out the meaning for himself, and you at once introduce him to the deep mysteries of independent responsibility and private judgment. He must learn for himself and judge for himself. He has become free to inquire, to compare and to determine—nay, he is commanded to do so. He is now a free intellectual agent, and every day, as it makes him more familiar with the arduous process, gives him more confidence in his own decision, and makes him more and more sensible of his advance in the judgment,

in the tact, in the instinct, I may say, that instruct him in the comparison of one language with another. He feels, indeed, the more he advances, all the more, perhaps, if he is a sensible boy does he feel the advantage of having a master as guide and teacher over him, to supply his deficiencies and direct him in difficulties ; but still, if again he is a sensible boy, he comes more and more to feel that it is with his own grammar and with his own dictionary after all that he gains the victory.

Now what intellectual training this is ! The young student thus goes forth from school accustomed to the use of his own personal judgment. He has thus acquired his knowledge of his Greek and his Latin, and he knows how he acquired it. Shall he not go on in the strength of that success, and apply to all other matters of intellectual interest that now solicit his riper understanding, the same process of thinking for himself, judging for himself, deciding and dogmatising perhaps on his own responsibility ? The Reformation had but just now declared the right of private judgment in the highest of all intellectual concerns, the pursuit of religious knowledge. It had appointed pastors and masters to be always at hand to guide, encourage and persuade ; but it had finally conceded to the conscience of the individual learner the duty of working out his own education by the reasoning power which God had given him. The Grammar schools taught our children to cultivate from the first that independence of judgment in lesser matters which they must ultimately exercise on their own responsibility in the largest and the highest. And so it was. The working of the Grammar Schools soon made itself manifest among us. The boy became father of the man. The same generation of Englishmen which had worked its way through grammar and syntax into Homer and Virgil, by the strength of its own skill and will, grew up to examine boldly and confidently all the mysteries of religious knowledge, and all the knotty points of political thought and speculation. Of course it was to be expected—it should at least have been expected—that the generation to whom this new revelation of its powers, its rights, its duties, was thus suddenly made, should rush with some precipitation upon problems which man has never

yet been able to solve, should be somewhat intoxicated with its own independence, should brandish too defiantly the charter of its liberties in the face of old tradition and venerable authority. The rapid, the furious progress of freedom of thought, became first conspicuous, and appeared alarming in religious matters. The church, as an institution resting, in its secular aspect, on the ideas of a revered antiquity, and some still lingering pretensions to legitimate rule, was the first to suffer from the unchained excesses of intellectual independence; but neither did the State, as you well know, long escape from the effects of this unrestrained licence. The great social revolution of which I have spoken, though it began in simple and hopeful innocence, did not, it must be confessed, run its course without a fatal and bloody consummation. But the evil has been checked; the good out of which it sprang has waxed more abundant and more conspicuous ever since. The fumes of national intoxication, as I have called it, have, I hope, passed away; the system of the body politic has been, I think, purged and strengthened. We still continue to foster in our schools the priceless habit of self-exertion, of private inquiry, the priceless right of intellectual independence; but I am well convinced that the rival claims of liberty and authority, both in Church and State, are better understood and more happily adjusted, more permanently balanced now than heretofore; the good remains, the evil passes away here as elsewhere.

I have still reserved for myself a third aspect of history to which I could wish to direct your attention; but the time warns me that I can do no more than briefly indicate it. I just hinted at what I meant by the title I gave it of *personal* or *individual* history. But a few of us, perhaps, take much interest in the wider subjects of historical inquiry; in the vast field of social and political speculations. To discuss them adequately, or to turn the undistracted attention upon them, requires no doubt a formed and long-trained habit of mind. But every one, I suppose, takes an interest in the portraits of individual character which history everywhere presents to us. Everyone likes to see the personal representation of hero, sage, and statesman, in his pictured portrait; and hardly less

is the pleasure we take in the lively descriptions of character which some of our consummate artists, a Tacitus, a Gibbon, or a Macaulay, have impressed upon their printed pages. Now the history of England is singularly rich in such individual presentment. This is in a great measure due to the free institutions under which Englishmen have lived, and their character grown and developed. It is also due in no slight degree to our national activity of mind and body ; to the great variety of pursuits which have been ever open to us ; to the force of sentiment, the strength of imagination in which no nation, at least of modern times, has rivalled us ; to the determination implanted so commonly in us, " Ever to be the foremost, and all men else excel," as Homer said of the model heroes of Greece of old. The strongly marked individual character of the ancient Romans, and the striking variety of their tastes and dispositions, has always had a great attraction for me ; but I confess that the variety of English character, and the distinction of man from man among us, very far exceeds it, and tends to give a special interest to our local and county history no less than to the general history of the English people. No doubt it is from the narrow scope of my own reading of the annals of Bedfordshire that I find myself, on reflection, almost wholly unable to single out any individual character from among you to whom to point as interesting in themselves or illustrative of your type. I pray you to excuse me, and pity me, and by and by enlighten me, as I have no doubt your local antiquaries and historians will be well able to do. There is, however, an old Greek saying, as I remember, which advises us that every one who undertakes to make a public harangue at Athens must take care to sing the praises of the goddess Athene, the pride and the patroness of that most illustrious of cities. And so I imagine, anyone who undertakes to address the citizens of Bedford must remember to laud and magnify him whom I may almost call the patron saint, the pride and glory of your pleasant town, the famous John Bunyan. But what can I do ? the wind has been taken out of my sails. Who can hope to say anything more in praise of John Bunyan since the utterance of that splendid eulogy which I have been just reperusing, by Lord Macaulay, and the scarcely

less splendid and perhaps more subtle and discriminate characterization, to which I can only refer from memory, by my own dear, lost friend, Dean Stanley. I would rather content myself with showing how the character and the achievements of the immortal Pilgrim may be connected with what I have been just now saying of the spread of general education, and the habits of free thought thereby engendered. Bunyan, indeed, does not seem to have enjoyed the advantage of a thorough training at your Harpur School, but he, too, had received a smattering of the art of reasoning and learning; he had had the opportunity of acquiring the habit of looking out words for himself in his own dictionary, of examining into rules of syntax for himself in his own grammar. At all events he was brought up in an atmosphere of free inquiry and private judgment, and this advantage his natural temper inclined him to make the most of. The people of Bedfordshire were then, perhaps they are still, strong partisans of liberty of thought and conscience, of independent speculation, very vehement in their repudiation of the claims or pretensions of authority. It will be allowed that Bunyan pushed his claims to intellectual freedom to the utmost, and carried his assertion of liberty to the very verge of licence. He suffered for it bravely as he had urged it boldly; but it must be ever remembered that in defying the law, however hard and oppressive we in our milder times may deem that law to have been, he was really outraging the common feeling of his contemporaries, who were by no means disposed as a whole to admit of the wanton extremes of opinion into which some ardent spirits were prematurely betrayed. The nation as a whole was not prepared for Bunyan's extreme views, either religious or political. I think he was before his time; but his time has almost come round, so far at least that we are all now united in admiration of his excellences and indulgence to his excesses.

But among the many demands which Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" makes upon our attention, I will only detain you for a moment longer by adverting to one peculiarity in it. The "Pilgrim's Progress" was ushered into the world at the moment, the critical moment, I may call it, when the stained glass windows

were coming down with a crash from cathedrals and churches throughout the land. The Scriptural pictures in those windows were meant to be, and to a great extent they really had been, the schoolmaster of an illiterate people, leading them unto Christ. Few could decypher Bible or Book of Prayer; but all could recognise in the brilliant colours before them the representation of the Bible stories which were from time to time recited in their ears. Such were the people's books, such was education for the million, in the early days before the Reformation. When the Reformation came, and in the angry and bitter days that followed, these picture books were passionately destroyed. They were too closely connected with the fictions and superstitions of the past to be generally tolerated. And besides this they had ceased to be necessary. The Bible had been translated and printed and hung up in every church for the people to read, and the people were now taught in their grammar schools throughout the land to read it. No—the stained glass was no longer a help to religious knowledge, it was rather a hindrance. It obstructed light. The people could not read their printed pages in chambers so wantonly darkened. The sun of heaven was shut out from the churches; the Sun of righteousness, they might murmur, was excluded from their minds and consciences. But then, to come at last to my point, came forth the printed pictures, the pen and ink sketches of Bunyan's immortal work. The story of the Pilgrim and his eventful journey, of all the toils and perils he underwent, of the sloughs through which he waded, the mountains he climbed, the monsters he encountered, with the scriptural names and associations attached to them, appealed to the reader's imagination, and became reflected in mental pictures, more brilliant and more lasting than stained glass, which no hand of man's violence could thenceforth blur or break. The history of the Pilgrim is a picture gallery, a series of scriptural pictures, of pictures which require no churches or cathedrals to give them a local habitation; but which, once received on the retina of the mental eye, remain as long as life endures the property and the cherished treasure of the receiver. If the stained windows represented the incidents of religious story, the page of Bunyan

realized to all its readers the truths and dogmas of religion which actually underlie them, such as they appeared to the artist and the author himself. I would say then, that Bunyan's work deserves our special attention on this ground, that it came forth just at the time, just at the critical conjecture, when it could do most good, and filled the gap in religious teaching which was threatened at least by the destruction of our painted Scriptures. And so I will beg leave to close this address, thanking you for the indulgence you have shown to the criticisms crudely hazarded by a stranger.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF SAINT MARY'S,
SUTTERTON.

By EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

Sutterton is a village in the Parts of Holland, in the County of Lincoln. Like many of its sister parishes, it has a fine church, which presents interesting examples of almost all the styles of mediæval architecture that have prevailed in England. It is not my purpose, on the present occasion, to enter into any details as to the history of the parish or the architecture of its church. The former has been like the greater part of Lincolnshire—utterly neglected. Some notices of the latter may be seen in Morton's *Churches in the Division of Holland* and in *The Reports of the Associated Architectural Societies*.¹ In this latter work it is affirmed that “the oldest register of this parish is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It extends from 1493 to 1536. It was in the possession of Richard Rawlinson, D.C.L., a non-juror, who left it, together with other books, to that library on his death in 1755.” The writer of the above notice had been misinformed as to the nature of the manuscript which was included in Dr. Rawlinson's munificent bequest. On making enquiry of the late Bodleian librarian—the Rev. Henry Octavius Coxe, he assured me that no parish register of Sutterton was in his custody, but put into my hands a Churchwarden's account-book of that place, which extends from 1483 to 1536. The manuscript is a foolscap folio volume, written on various kinds of paper. It is neither paged nor foliated and the binding is modern; some of the leaves have been misplaced. How it came into Dr. Rawlinson's hands I have not been able to ascertain. Its press-mark is Rawl. M.S. Miscell. 951. The following notes therefrom will, I think, be found of some interest.

¹ Vol. x, pp. 198-200.

1483. The receipts this year were almost entirely for small payments for candles burnt for the dead. Many are as low as *jd*; occasionally, they reach the sum of *xd*. The first payment is for making wax for the feast of Pentecost, for which *xjd* was paid. Similar entries occur in latter years, and I have frequently met with the like in other manuscripts of this nature. Wax was then in great demand for church purposes. I apprehend that it was often bought by churchwardens, either in the form of unmelted comb or in unclarified lumps. If I am right in this the charge was for making the wax fit for casting into candles, not for making the candles themselves.¹ After this comes memoranda as to mending the bell furniture, a payment of *ijd* to "Thomas Tynker for mending of ye new crosse," *jd* for a "leynd," that is a line, "to ye basn in ye hey qwhire"² and a charge of *ijjd* for a "leynd" to the sanctus bell. Afterwards follows a small charge for mending "ye loke in ye qwhere," that is the lock on the door in the middle of the rood screen.

1484. The receipts this year were derived from the same sources as before; though the sums paid were somewhat larger. Among the payments we find *xvjli* of wax bought at the rate of *vijjd* per *li*, and a sum of *vijjd* charged for making it. A penny was disbursed for "lytyn candyls" and *xd* for the repair of the "Kyrk-house." The church-house is an ecclesiastical edifice which has, we fear, quite passed away. I cannot discover that a solitary specimen has been spared to us; though some of our members who were present at the Bedford meeting may call to mind that we saw at Ampthill a half timbered cottage adjoining the church-yard on the south, which, from its character and position, might put in a strong claim to be one of these ancient structures.

¹ It is probable that many of the church candles were of unclarified wax. I possess one—the history of which can be traced back to a period beyond the change of religion—which seems to be made of unclarified wax. A lady informs me that in France the wax which gutters down from the little tapers which burn before altars and shrines is often collected by the Sacristan who sells it to be again melted and used once more.

² A Bason suspended by cords or chains was frequently hung in the Choirs of

Churches for the purpose of holding lights. In the "Inventories of the Churches of Surrey," edited by J. R. Daniel Tyssen, we find, "A Bason for a lampe," "ij Hanging Bassyns of latten to sett taper in," and "One Bason for the pascall." Wax for "The Bason Lyght" is charged for in "The Church Accounts of Bishop's Stortford," edited by Mr. Glasscock, p. 34. "A old Maslyn Bason" is mentioned in Money's "Berkshire Inventories" 32.

Churchwardens' accounts and other similar documents bear witness that if the church-house was not a universal feature in our parish life, it was certainly a very common one. No one seems to have dwelt in it; but there the ale feasts were held, the malt for the parish brewing stored, the parish armour preserved, and in some places—Stratton, in Cornwall, for instance,¹ it was let at fair times to wandering merchants. The Sutterton church-house is mentioned in the accounts on several occasions. Lime was, as will be seen, on one occasion kept therein; but there is not as much evidence as one could wish to shew the purposes to which it was commonly devoted.² Pulpits, it has been said, were not in common use, except in the churches of large towns, before the Reformation. There was one at Sutterton, for Edward Smytht was paid *ij*d for *ij* "clospys," that is hinges, for it. As it had a door we may assume that it was made of wood.

1490. Among the receipts this year occurs a sum of *xs* paid by "Thomas Raffyn of ye plowlyth." This plough-light was no doubt the lamp of one of the parish gilds. There was a plough-light at Leverton, near Boston, and another at Louth. There was a plough gild at Kirton in Lindsey and in many other places.³ The following entry was to be seen in the church accounts of Holbeach, it occurs in a list of church goods disposed of by the wardens in 1549: "To Wm. Davy, the sygne whereon the plowyghe did stand."⁴ It would seem from this that a plough was one of the ornaments with which that church was decorated. Probably it hung on the wall in some conspicuous place near to the gild-altar. Sutterton church had been under repair this year, and had, in consequence, to be re-consecrated. The bill of costs on the occasion is given and is so curious that I reproduce it at length:—

"Be yt had in mynd yt yes be ye costes for halloyng
of ye chyrche—

¹ "Archæologia," xlv, 198.

² The following references may be of service to anyone interested in this subject:—Wallington, "Hist. Notices," i, 54-58; ii, 299. "Notes and Queries," V. S. ix, 405. Cox and Hope, "Hist. of All Saints, Derby," 24. "Archæologia," xxiii, 33; xxv, 413-440; xxxvi, 239;

xli, 339-348. Gardner, "Hist. of Dunwich," 148. Glasscock "St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford," 5-24. 41.

³ "Archæologia," xli, 338-349; Brand, "Pop. Antiq.," ed. 1813, vol. i, p. 397; Dyer, "Pop. Customs," 37.

⁴ Marrat, "Hist. Linc.," ii, 104.

In primis payd in expens to Lyncoln and hom			
agayn ..	...	... iiijs	vjd
Item payd pro a galon of wyn	...	...	xiijd
Item payd pro expensis of corpus xpi day	...	...	xiijjd
Item payd pro pane	...	...	xviijjd
Item payd pro sereuicia	...	...	xxjd
Item payd pro beffe	...	...	xxd
Item payd pro a Swane	...	... ijs	ijd
Item payd pro ij capons	...	...	xijd
Item payd pro ij pyggyes	...	...	viijd
Item payd pro cheppe ¹ and a lam	...	... ijs	vjd
Item payd pro chykyngs	...	...	vjd
Item payd pro butt[er], eggys, and paste	...	...	vijd
Item payd pro wyn	...	...	xijd
Item payd pro frankynsens	...	...	ijd
Item payd pro j li wax	...	...	viijd
Item payd pro wynegyre, ² mostard and a stoppe ³	...	...	ijd
Item payd pro spyce	...	...	iiijd
Item payd to ye coke and to ye tornars ⁴	...	...	viijd
Item payd pro ij ellne of lynyn clothe	...	...	xiijjd
Item payd in expensis	...	...	xxd
Item payd pro di. li. ⁵ rasons	...	...	ijd
Item payd pro owre wrytyng	...	...	iiijd
Item payd pro saltt	...	...	id
Item payd pro horsmett	...	...	xd
Item payd to ye soffrygan v marces	...	...	xxd
Summa	...	iiiijli	xvs vjd."

The blending of Latin and English in the above will seem strange to those who have not given attention to documents of this nature. Nothing is more common than to find an accountant begin a sentence in Latin and then, because words failed him, or because he was anxious to make his meaning clear beyond doubt, to finish it in English. Sometimes we have three languages in a single short sentence as in the following example: "Johanni Smythe pro emendacione de le locke in the

¹ A sheep.

² The use of w for v is so common in early documents as to attract little notice. See "Mon. Ang.," iii, 292; viii, 1207. Ellacombe, "Bells of Somerset," 39. "Acc. of Lord High Treasurer of Scotl.," i, clii. "Archæologia," xviii, 306;

xxxii, 427; xxxv, 422-429; xxxvi, 222; xli, 356.

³ Probably a stoup, that is a vessel of some sort in which the mustard was contained.

⁴ That is to the cook and to the turnspits.

⁵ Half a pound.

Tower *jd*.”¹ It is interesting to note the distinction made between ale and beer. Ale it would seem was a drink compounded without hops or other bitter herbs, beer on the other hand was a bitter drink.²

1491. This year *xijd* was paid for an altar cloth for the high altar and *ijd* for hallowing it and a sum of *viiij* is charged with the following enigmatical entry to explain it: “Item payd in expens for wrongg vexacon don by Edmund Quytyngnam and Wyllm Malyn pro takyngg forth of ye bokys.” What had happened I know not, whether “ye bokys” were those used for the services in the church or the records of the parish accounts we shall probably never ascertain. From some other expenses incurred with the archdeacon, John Coke, LL.D., I apprehend that whatever the precise nature of the offence may have been, he felt it to be his duty to enquire into the matter. I do not know where Med Cross was, and can only surmise that its name means cross in the mede, mead, or meadow, and that it was a boundary stone like the well-known cross of Crowland.³ Such boundary crosses seem to have been common all over Europe, and their memory is yet preserved in many instances on the names of the enclosures where they once stood.⁴ The entry wherein Med Cross is mentioned speaks of it in connection with feasting, which strengthens the probability that it was a boundary cross. The passage runs “Payd to Jon Pese wyfe for bred and alle yt was spente at Med Crose *xiiij*” and it was immediately succeeded by “Payde to Thomas Hune wyfe for a pote with ale at ye same tyme *vid ob*.”

1493. The high altar and three others are mentioned this year. They are Saint Nicholas altar, our White Lady Altar, and the Altar of Saint Katherin. Edward Smyth is paid *ijd* for “a loke to ye funte.” From an early period fonts in this country were ordered to be kept

¹ “Churchwardens Acc. of S. Michael without the North Gate, Bath,” (A.D. 1473). Ed. by Rev. C. B. Pearson, p. ii.

² See an admirable note on the word *cerevisc* in the late H. T. Riley’s “*Liber Custumarum*,” p. ii, p. 707.

³ “*Archæologia*,” iii, 96-100. It may perhaps be worth noting that in 1483

“the hedles crose” was a boundary mark of lands belonging to All Saints’, Derby. Cox and Hope, “*Hist. of All Saints’, Derby*.”

⁴ There is an enclosure in the parish of Northorpe, near Kirton in Lindsey, called the White Cross. Tradition says that a stone cross stood there in the olden time.

under lock and key lest superstitious persons should take away the baptismal water for use in magical rites, "Fontes sub sera clausi teneantur propter sortiligia" occurs among the decrees of the council of Durham, A.D. 1220.¹ I do not remember to have seen, in England, an undoubtedly pre-reformation font which did not shew marks of the place where the lock had been affixed. The church seems still to have been under repair for four "trey" of lime was purchased at Boston for ijs iiij*d* and deposited in the church-house. How much in quantity a "trey" of lime may have been I know not. It was a local measure the memory of which seems to be lost. Perhaps its use was confined to Boston and the neighbourhood. The Leverton churchwardens in 1506 "payd for a tray of lyme at Boston *x*l**."² Two shillings was also paid for "candel to ye bason." This is probably the bason which we have before heard of as hanging in the "heygwhire."

1495. This year a pax was purchased for the high altar for the sum of *v*j*d**, and ijs iiij*d* paid for binding a book.*

1496. An altar cloth for the high altar was painted at the cost of *xiiijs*, and *v*j*d** for a string and a purse. This purse was probably for the reservation of the blessed Sacrament. John Folle of Kirton received ijs viij*d* for *^{v*j*}_{*xx*}*—that is seven score—"hesplantes." If this stood alone, there might be some difficulty in interpreting it. The entry that immediately follows makes all clear. It runs—"Paid for expensys for setting of ye plantys *xv*j*d**." The churchwardens had bought some young ash trees either for the church-yard or for other property held by them in trust for the church.**

1497. This year the wardens received two sums of six shillings and eight pence each for the burial of Thomas Gybbon and Maister Hylton in the church. The custom of churchwardens charging a fee for burial inside the sacred building was not confined to Sutterton or to the county of Lincoln. I have gathered instances of the practise from nearly all parts of England.³ In this year

¹ Wilkins' "Concilia," i, 576.

² "Archæologia," xli, 342.

³ See "Archæologia," xlv, 196. To the cases there mentioned may be added Ecclesfield, Yorkshire, Eastwood's "Hist.,"

218; All Saints, Derby, Cox and Hope's "Chron. of," 155-168. Glascock, "St. Michael's Bishop's Stortford," 22, 24, 33. 44. 56. 67. "Inventories of Goods in Churches of Surrey," 101.

we meet for the first time in these papers with the word "wytheword." It occurs in the following passage:—"Md. that theise be the parcelles that John Peese & Nycholas Hubbert hath receuyd of Isabell Howson for hir husband Wytheword to the churche." Mr. Francis Henry Stratmann¹ suggests a connection with the old Icelandic *vitord*=Testamentum. It occurs in such endless variety of forms that it is not easy to tell what sounds the letters represent. In the church accounts of Walberswick, A.D. 1481, we have "Queth Word;"² in those of Kirton in Lindsey, A.D. 1543, it is spelt "Wytward."³ The derivation might well be matter of controversy; but it is clear, from the connection in which it occurs, that it usually means a legacy.

1499. Vestments have occasionally been mentioned before, but it has simply been a record of their washing or mending. Here we get a note as to the colour of one: the modest sum of one penny was paid "for sylke to help ye blew vestment," three pence was spent at the same time "for frence to ye rede vestment" and one penny for "tuckyng gyrdles."

1507. The only entry which throws any light on the ancient observances of the English Church to be found this year is a charge of *ij*d for a "lyne to the sacrament." That is a cord for suspending the little box in which the holy sacrament was suspended over the high altar. This was commonly in England made of precious metal and in the form of a cup. The cup was enclosed in an envelope of cloud-like muslin, and surmounted by a canopy. The holy eucharist was, until modern times, reserved in this manner in many French churches. There the form of the vessel that contained it was frequently that of a dove.⁴ In 1566, the churchwardens of Dowsby sold a pix and the canopy over it; which they called, probably by way of irony, "the bishop of Romes Hatt." It had this name from being made in a form not much unlike the papal tiara.⁵

¹ "Dict. of Old England," II Ed., p. 568; cf. "Catholicism Anglicum" (E. E. T. S.), 422.

² Gardner, "Dunwich," 148.

³ "Pro. Soc. Ant." II Series, ii, 386.

⁴ Rock, "Church of our Fathers," vol. iii, Pt. II, p. 206.

⁵ Peacock, "English Church Furniture," p. 70. In the reign of Edward vi., there was in Peasmoore Church "One Canopy of Black, saye hanging over the pyxe wth three crownes," Money's "Church Goods in Berkshire," 30.

1512. This year the wardens bought ij chalys casys and ij "holybred mawndes" for *x*d**. In an undated fragment, which is probably twenty years older than this entry, there occurs a payment of *ii*d** for "ye kyrkelofe." This is an additional proof, if proof on such a matter be needed, that the holy bread or eulogia was almost universally distributed in this country before the Reformation. So frequent are the mistakes that are still made on this very simple matter that it may not be out of place to remark that this holy loaf had nothing whatever to do with the eucharistic elements, but that it was ordinary leavened bread, such as was commonly eaten in the parish, which was blessed by the priest after he had said mass, cut into small pieces, and given to the people to eat. When the custom originated it is, in the present state of our knowledge, perhaps hardly safe to affirm. It was intended as a symbol of the brotherly love which ought to exist among Christians. Before the French Revolution, we believe that this rite was practised over a great part of Western Europe. The *Pain bénit* may still be seen distributed in several of the churches in Paris, and we have been informed that the custom is observed throughout a great part of France. It is mentioned incidentally in more than one of the old French romances;¹ and in Quevedo's *Visions* we read of a loose person who made a practise of "crumming his porrege with consecrated bread that he stole every Sunday."² One of the demands of the Devonshire men, when they broke out into rebellion in 1549, for the purpose of resisting the changes in faith and ritual, was that they should have "holy bread and holy water every Sunday;"³ and when these same persons laid siege to Exeter, they had carried before them "the pix or consecrated host borne under a canopy with crosses, banners, candlesticks, holy-bread and holy-water."⁴ The holy-bread was distributed as long as the old services continued in use. Baskets for containing it are mentioned several times among the things removed as "Monuments of Superstition" from the Lincolnshire

¹ J. M. Ludlow, "Epics of the Middle Ages," ii, 217.

² Sir Roger Lestrang's "Translation," 5th ed., 1673, p. 108.

³ Cranmer's "Works," 1844. Vol. i, p. 176.

⁴ Heylin, "Ecclesia Restaurata, 1849. Vol. i, p. 158.

churches in the 8th of Elizabeth. In the parish of Gonwarby, for instance, we find that "one hally bred skeppe [was] sold to Mr. Allen and he makethe a baskett to carrie fish in."¹

1517 (?) Four pence was spent this year for "frenses to ye crosse cloth" and *jd* for "mending the bowit," which I believe to have been a lantern used when the holy eucharist was carried to sick folk. John Byrkes had *iij s iij d* paid to him "for selering of ye hye altar" and *xij d* more for making an "ambre" or cupboard.

1518. The repairs which were now going on in the church seem to have made it needful that a part of the churchyard should be separated from the rest by hurdles. These were sold when done with, for "*vij par tray*" five-pence halfpenny was received, and for "*v flekys*" sixpence. It is interesting to find the two words used. Now, perhaps, a fleak and a tray are both accounted to be dialectic equivalents of hurdle, but a very few years ago the distinction between them was distinctly marked, a *fleak* signifying a hurdle made of twisted rods, a *tray* a hurdle of bars of wood.

1519. Players are mentioned "For ye plaars rewarde of Qwatlods *ix d*." The place meant is Whaplode.

1521. It would appear that during this year the figures of two new saints were set up in the church, for we find that William Ravytt was paid "for *iij hokys* and *sittyn of ij sanctes, iid*." Players visited Sutterton again this year; there is a charge of *vjd* for candles for them.

1522. Candles for players are again mentioned.

1523. Medd Cross which has been mentioned before had got out of repair, for Thomas Loyke the mason received *vjs viij d* "for Meddes Crosse and helping the crosse hede in the chyrche yarde."

1524. This year furnishes us with a little more information as to the players. The churchwardens credit themselves with having received from sundry people, some of whose names are given, the sum of *ixs vjd* "for increments for the play playd on the day of the assympeon of our ladey." They also received *ijd* for "the oylde bordes off the cross & the poles & other schort endes."

1525. The players of Swineshead received "for a

¹ Peacock, "English Church Furniture," p. 86.

rewarde" *ijs* and *iiij*d** and *vij*d** for "brede and drynke," *vid* was paid for mending the parish bier, and *id* for the lantern; the players of Donington had a reward of *xij*d** and there are some payments for sending a bell to Nottingham to be recast, among them is *ij*d** given to a man "for techying vs the way on the nyght," *ij*d** also was given "for the church worke at Boston." The receipts this year shew that there were five lights in the church exclusive of that before the high altar. They were called the May-light, the "Hognars"-light, the Plough-light, the Sepulchre-light, and All Souls'-light.

1526. This year there was received for "gateryngh the plays of Frampton and Kyrton *ijs vid ob*," and "of the chamberlanys of our ladys gyld for schredynges of wode of the kyrke land *viiij*d**;" a bookbinder and his man were paid *ijs ix*d** for nine days work, and some small sums were paid for clasps and "burgens." These latter were I think bosses for the covers of the books; two pence was also disbursed for mending the image of St. Thomas, and *viiij*d** "to Thomas Clarke when he schold hath goyn on the se."

1527. Three yards of hair cloth was bought for *xij*d** for the high altar.

1530. This year it is probable that a new image of the blessed virgin was set up in the church; *ij*d** was payd for "cartying home of our lady," and *id* "for bred and dryng to them that helpyd hyr in to the carte"; *xvij*d** was paid for a wheelbarrow and *id* for mending it. A curtain was suspended before the image of Our Lady, for we find *id* charged for "grayn" that is iron for curtain-rings for that purpose.

1531. A canopy was made this year, it cost with the "sattayn that wentt to yt" five shillings; "the playres of Whapplett when they rode ther play" had *vij*d** given to them; "ij yardys of sylk lace to strynge the purse that the sacramentt ys borne in" were purchased for *iiij*d**. Two pence was given for a "lyne that the candelstyck hyngyth in be fore the rode," and a like sum for "on payr of chayns that the church leders wher lokyd in." This entry is curious. The church ladders are commonly the longest in a rural parish, and even now, when church rates are a thing of the past, the villagers think they have

a right to use them on urgent occasions. I should gather that at Sutterton the practice of carrying them away had become so common that the churchwardens had found it necessary to lock them up. A penny was charged for a line for the vail, that is the curtain which during Lent was suspended before the rood.

1532. A charge of viij*d* is entered "for on sylk rybyn to hyng the syluer pyxt by maister Thomas Robertson gaf," and iij*d* "for on lytyll cofer dresyng the cheynys to kepe the syluer pyxt in"; a penny was also paid for "on hyng loke to the funtte."

1534. Two holy-bread "skypes," that is skeps or baskets were bought for iiij*d*, and "one lyne that ye canaby hyngythe by" for iij*d*.

1535. Four pence was spent in "Cartt Clowttys." They probably were large broad-headed nails, but this is not certain. A cart-clout now means an iron plate nailed on an axletree to hinder its being worn away by friction against the bush of the wheel. They are mentioned among the expenses of Simon de Eya, abbot of Ramsey circa 1338;¹ and in the "Remembrances for the apparel of the Earl of Northumberland" in 1513;² Robert Abraham, a Kirton-in-Lindsey shopkeeper had, at his death in 1519, among his wares "iij dosan wayncloutes."³

The foregoing extracts might have been greatly increased, perhaps with advantage. My object, however, will have been attained if I succeed in drawing attention to an interesting record which contains, among much dry detail, several entries that throw a sure, though but feeble, ray of light on the past. I may, perhaps, be permitted to remark that the above notes do not represent my labours on the manuscript, but are only a few extracts therefrom. I have transcribed almost the whole volume, except in such places as one page is but a repetition of another.

¹ "Mon. Anglie," ii, 584.

² "Archæologia," xxvi, 405.

³ Kirton-in-Lindsey court roll. *sub an.*

THE WALL-PAINTINGS IN ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY.¹

By R. R. LLOYD, M.R.C.S.

The distemper wall-paintings in St. Alban's Abbey may, for convenience sake, be divided into two classes; the first class, which is by far the most important, consisting of figures, either singly or in groups; the second being merely decorative. I propose now to describe the paintings of the former class only, since a complete description of both would extend this paper beyond reasonable limits.

It will be remembered that the fourth nave pier from the west on the north side is mainly Norman, and that what Early English work it contains (that of John de Cella) ceases abruptly just below the capital; this singular arrangement would seem to be due to a feeling of reverence for the distemper painting of the Crucifixion—the first of the series—with which the western face of this pier is adorned. Here is shown a crowned figure of our Lord upon a cross (coloured green) in the form of a tree with lopped boughs, called in heraldic language *raguly*, with St. Mary on the spectator's left, and St. John on the right holding a book. Such a cross would seem to have reference to the lines of St. Venantius Fortunatus :—

“ Impleta sunt quæ concinit
David fideli carmine,
Dicendo nationibus :
Regnavit a ligno Deus.
Arbor decora et fulgida,
Ornata Regis purpurâ,
Electa digno stipite
Tam sancta membra tangere.
Beata, cujus brachiis
Pretium pependit sæculi.”

Beneath is a representation of the Annunciation;—the Virgin is crowned, seated upon a throne, and holds a sceptre in her right hand. Above, on each side, is an angel censing.

Through the middle of this design was placed, in the fifteenth century, a small stone bracket, which still remains, and which formerly supported an image of St. Richard of Chichester.² The date of this painting is probably early in the 13th century.

On the south side of the same pier is a large figure of St. Christopher walking through the water, and bearing the Infant Saviour upon his left

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Bedford Meeting, July 29th, 1881.

² J. de Amundesham *Annales*, i, 444. (Rolls series.)

arm. The head of the saint is covered with a hat of Flemish shape. His effigy, as is well known, is the one most commonly met with in churches, and to behold it was thought lucky.

“Christofori faciem die quacumque tueris,
Illa nempe die morte malâ non morieris.”¹

Erasmus, in one of his *Colloquies*,² thus writes:—“Sed præcipua spes erat in divo Christophoro, cujus imaginem quotidie contemplabar. HA. In tentoriis? Unde illic divi? TH. Carbone pinxeramus illum in velo. HA. Nimirum haudquaquam ficulnum, ut ajunt, præsidium erat carbonarius ille Christophorus.”

The next, or fifth pier, has on its western face the Crucifixion, the cross being of similar design to the last. St. Mary with clasped hands is on the right, and St. John on the left; the background is sprinkled with hexafoils. Below, is the Annunciation under a canopy of five arches. The date is early thirteenth century. On the south side is shown an Archbishop, wearing alb, dalmatic, chasuble, maniple, gloves, and shoes, holding a cross-staff in his left hand, and blessing with three fingers of the right. The head is so defaced that no mitre can be made out. The chasuble is ornamented with a Y shaped orphrey, but there is no pallium. Above the figure is a crocketed canopy, and beneath the feet something resembling a square box (which may be intended for his shrine), with two lancets and three hexafoils on the side facing the spectator.

On one side of the head are the letters S M, and on the other M A S, the whole probably reading SANCTUS MARTYR THOMAS. The design is of the kind technically called “Flemish.” In the great *Liber Benefactorum* which formerly lay upon the High Altar of the Abbey, and is now preserved in the British Museum (Cotton. MS. Nero D vij) it is recorded that during the Abbaey of Thomas de la Mare (1349—96), Robert de Trunch caused to be painted the figure (ymaginem) of St. Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury. I think there is little doubt that St. Thomas of Canterbury is intended by this figure, and this view is confirmed by the facts that the saint was collated to his first living, that of Brantefeld (now Braintfield) in Hertfordshire, by Abbot Symon³ (1167—83), and that an altar dedicated to the Saint’s honour stood at the eastern extremity of the north aisle of the nave.

The sixth pier has on its western aspect the figure of our Lord upon a plain cross; the Virgin is on the left side with the hands clasped, and Saint John on the right. Below is a pointed arch with two sub-arches, having an angel under one, and the Virgin under the other, to represent the Annunciation. The date is fourteenth century.

On the south side, standing on a bracket, is a large figure in a bluish grey gown, short-waisted, reaching to the ankles, with sleeves rather loose at the elbows, and tight at the wrists, of the fashion worn about the year 1440; both hands are raised in the attitude of prayer, and the left hand holds a rosary. Near the head are the letters S C A, and near the feet an estoile. It is by no means clear whom this painting

¹ Inscription below the earliest dated woodcut known. In the possession of Earl Spencer. See *Catalogue of Caxton Exhibition*, 1877, p. 50.

² *Militaria*. See also the *Encomium Morie*.

³ *Gesta Abbatum*, i, 183; J. de Amundesham *Annales*, ii, 206.

commemorates. If it be intended for a male, as is rendered probable by the habit reaching no lower than the ankles, I should be inclined to assign it to the originator of the Devotion of the Rosary, St. Dominic, whose emblems are a star and a rosary. Mr. Keyser, however, thinks it stands for St. Citha or Osyth, who formerly had an altar¹ in the north transept.

The seventh pier. On the west side is shewn the Crucifixion; the arms of the cross are cut off at an acute angle; the attendant figures are omitted. The Annunciation is represented beneath, the figures standing under two pointed arches; date, fourteenth century. Between the two subjects is a band of arabesque pattern, closely resembling one on the south side of the Presbytery. On the south side of the pillar is a group, consisting of a male figure habited in a reddish gown, having a scrip hanging at his right side, and grasping a white staff in his right hand; on his left is what looks like a female figure, but it is very indistinct. Each looks towards the other; both are barefoot and stand on a bracket; close to the head of the male figure the face of a third person may be dimly perceived. Beneath the bracket is the following inscription in black letter with Gothic capitals:—"✠ P(riez) pu(r) l'alme de) Willelme iadis bal:e iohanne sa femme e pur l'alme Will." We learn from the Abbey Records that near this spot were buried William Tod and his wife Johanna. He was bailiff of the town of St. Alban, and collector of rents in 1429; in 1430 his wife died in childbed.²

The inscription is clearly a prayer for the repose of the souls of William Tod and his family; and the painting above, which is thought by Mr. Waller to be St. Edward the Confessor bestowing a ring upon a pilgrim, who turns out to be St. John, is most likely a memorial of the Tods.

The eighth pier. On the western side the Crucifixion is repeated, this time upon a red ground; St. Mary is shown on the left, and St. John on the right. Below, under a cusped canopy, we find the Coronation of the Virgin. She is seated upon a throne, and wears a crown of the kind now called in heraldry "ducal;" on her left is our Lord, also enthroned. He wears a white garment and a coloured cloak, has the crossed nimbus, and extends three fingers of the right hand in benediction; the left hand holds the Book of the Gospels, which rests edgewise upon the knee; it has two clasps, and a cover ornamented with lattice and other work. Above, are two angels swinging thuribles; the whole design is artistic. The date is probably fourteenth century, or even earlier. The eminent antiquary, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, remarked to me in 1876, that he thought this Crucifixion and Coronation may have been painted by Walter de Colcestre, of whom we have the following account: "In the time of Abbot William de Trumpton (1214-35), when Master Walter de Colcestre, then Sacrist (an unrivalled painter and sculptor), had completed a rood-loft in the midst of the church, with its great cross, and with Mary and John, and other carvings and suitable structures, at the cost of the sacristy, but without sparing his own labour, Abbot William himself solemnly translated the shrine with the relics of blessed Amphibalus and his friends, from the spot where it

¹ J. de Amundesham *Annales*, i, 446.

² *Ibid* i, 49, 50, 57, 162; ii, 443.

had formerly been placed, that is to say, near the High Altar, close to the shrine of St. Alban, on the north side, unto the place in the midst of the church, which is enclosed within an iron latticed *grille*, a most beautiful altar being made there, with a frontal¹ (*tabula*) and super-altar (*super-altare*), painted at great cost.²" On the south face of the same pier the Crucifixion is repeated, but the execution is very feeble.

It has been thought by some that beneath each of the five foregoing paintings of the Crucifixion there stood, at one time, an altar; but taking into consideration the facts (1) that in a document³ of the date 1429, which gives a description of all the altars then existing in the church, no mention is made of any such altars, although some of the designs are nearly 200 years earlier than that document; and (2) that no marks of the attachment of an altar or its accessories can be found here, it seems much more likely that Mr. Waller's opinion that the paintings served as stations of the cross, is the correct one, although a repetition of the same subject (Christ on the Cross), and not the series of events terminating in the Crucifixion, is depicted.

On the ninth pier are the remains of a large figure of Christ in His glory: it is too indistinct to describe. There are traces of an inscription, of which the words (in black letter) xpe Amen . . . sancte . . . are decipherable.

Turning to the south side of the nave, we find upon the western face of the fifth pier from the west, which is partly Early English and partly Decorated, remains of a distemper painting in outline, of St. Mary with her Infant in her lap, who receives the adoration of the Magi (*Oblatio Magorum*). Close to this, towards the south, are traces of a repetition of the subject. Before this painting stood the Altar of St. Mary at the pillar,⁴ erected at the cost of William Wynturshulle, almoner of the monastery, c. 1380, in the time of Abbot Thomas de la Mare.⁵

Connected with this altar was the brotherhood of St. Alban.⁶

Choir. Upon the western face of the third pier from the rood-screen, on the north side, is a representation of the Holy Trinity. The Almighty is seated, with the right hand raised to bless; and He supports the Saviour upon a tau cross on His lap, whilst the Holy Ghost is represented above by a star or dove. To this painting Mr. Keyser assigns the date of the fourteenth century.

Upon the buttresses between the clerestory windows on the north and south sides of the choir, are four large figures, exceedingly indistinct, painted in a dull red colour, and each having the nimbus, three being on the north side and one on the south. The last-mentioned holds a staff, and is conjectured by the same authority to be St. James the Great. The westernmost figure on the north side holds a book in the left hand. Upon the eastern wall of the north transept, near to the north aisle, is a painting of early fifteenth century date; under a perpendicular canopy of five arches is shown a figure of Our Lord standing, crowned with a nimbus of rays, with blood streaming from the

¹ Or, perhaps, a re-table.

² *Gesta Abbatum*, i, 281.

³ J. de Amundesham *Annales*, i, 431.

⁴ J. de Amundesham *Annales*, i, 442, 448.

⁵ *Gesta Abbatum*, iii, 369. On the next pier but one, eastward, is scratched in court hand the name "Wynturshulle."

⁶ J. de Amundesham *Annales*, i, 446 *Chronicon Anglie*, 146.

five wounds, wearing a cloak fastened with a morse, holding in His left hand a cross-staff with vexillum, and looking towards St. Thomas, who, with a nimbus, and clad in a loose robe, kneels on His right side, and thrusts two fingers of the right hand into the wound in Christ's side. Near Our Lord is a scroll with the inscription in black letter, "*Beati q. non viderūt et crediderūt,*" and near St. Thomas one bearing the words, "*Dñs meus et deus meus.*" The painting thus represents what is commonly called the "*Incredulity of St. Thomas,*" but is described in one of the documents (to be quoted shortly) relating to the Monastic Church, as the "*History of the Resurrection.*" According to this authority there formerly existed below it a painting of the "*History of the Passion,*" which seems from the description to have been a representation of the "*Agony in the Garden.*" Below the painting may still be seen the following lines, taken from the prayers after Mass in the Sarum Missal :

"Mors tua, mors Christi, fraus mundi, gloria celi,
Et dolor inferni, sint memoranda tibi.
In cruce sum pro te; qui peccas, desine, pro me;
Desine, condono, pugna, juvo, vince, corono."

These two paintings formed the reredos of the Altar of the Leaning Cross and St. Lawrence. The following very curious description, written A.D. 1429, of the Altar of the Leaning Cross and St. Lawrence (also called the Altar of the Holy Cross) and its surroundings, which include the painting described above, may be quoted here :—

"For the explanation of the same pictures and mysteries of this Altar, it is to be noted that like as the truth of the Transfiguration of Our Lord Jesus Christ on Mount Tabor was made plain to five witnesses, namely, to three Disciples and two Prophets; so the salvation of the world, which the Saviour thereof vouchsafed to accomplish in the midst of the earth (that is, in Jerusalem, which is situated in the midst of the habitable world) on the Mount of Calvary, by the testimony of the chief Prophets of His Passion, Jeremiah, namely, and Isaiah, and of the chief and chosen witness of His Resurrection, His Disciple Thomas, He willed to set forth in the midst of our church, at the altar placed near the public path, where many persons pass by and go out; that the Scriptures and their life-giving testimonies, may be the oftener read and seen.

"Now, there are in that place two true columns, the shafts whereof denote love to God and one's neighbour, whereby hang all the Law and the Prophets; one of these, of the colour of the earth, signifies our humiliation, according to the passage, '*Remember that thou art dust, and unto dust shalt return,*' and reaches from the base of humility unto its capital, with the turret of charity.

"But the other, red with the blood of Our Saviour, besprinkled at His scourging, denotes His victory and honour; its shaft, as above, is extended from the base of virtue unto the capital of the turret of honour.

"On these columns are inscribed externally the emblems of the Passion, in the following verses :—

"Vincla, flagella, minæ, probra, sputa, columna, spinæque,
Derisus, colaphi, nudatio, lancea, clavi,
Cum calamis, felle, crux, laus fuit istadeli."

“And lest any one deceitfully attribute to himself the gifts of God alone ; in the hands of angels, standing together in the said turrets, are written these verses :

‘Quicquid habet meriti, præventrix gratia donat,
Nil Deus in nobis præter sua dona coronat.’

“There are also two angels, sent from the Court of Heaven to comfort the Only-Begotten Son of God the Father in the Agony of His Passion, and to relate to the same celestial court His glorious victory, the salvation of men, and the restoration of the tenth order¹ of lost angels. And in order that the memory of the boundless love of Christ may the more firmly abide in the minds of His worshippers, and that (a man) may most humbly admit his own wretched state ; between the history of the Resurrection and of the Passion it is thus written :

‘Mors tua, mors Christi, fraus mundi, gloria cæli,
Et dolor inferni, sint memoranda tibi.’

“And—

‘In cruce sum pro te ; qui peccas, desine, pro me ;
Desine, condono, pugna, juvo, vince, coronato.’

“And it is to be noted, that one attains from humility by the column of the Love of God and one's neighbour, to the turret of charity, and by virtue, and uprightness of life, one comes to the turret of Honour, as John says in his Epistle :—‘God so loved the world, that He gave His Only Begotten Son, that we might receive the adoption of sons ;’ and of honour, which according to the Philosopher, is recognised as the reward of virtue.”²

In the south transept, in the spandrel over the arch leading into the south aisle of the Presbytery, is part of the figure of an angel, the arms and wings being extended, to which the late Sir G. G. Scott assigned, I believe, a very early date.

In the Saint's Chapel, under the northernmost of the three eastern arches, are some remains of the decorations belonging to the Altar of St. Hugh and the relics. Part of the wall is coloured chocolate, and this part is sprinkled with white six-leaved roses ; another part has a background of green, upon which is painted a very artistic representation of an Archbishop. He has rather long hair combed back, and a short beard, and is vested in a white alb with a scarlet apparel adorned with a lozenge pattern, blue dalmatic with pink lining, dark crimson flowing chasuble lined with scarlet, over which there is no pallium, amice of scarlet outlined with black, rather low mitre of blue and red ; black shoes, a white glove on the right hand, three fingers of which are raised in the attitude of benediction ; a ring upon the middle finger over the glove ; the left hand is bare and grasps a cross-staff with four knops, and pointed at the foot.

¹ “The tenth order revolted and became evil.” *O. E. Homilies*, i, 218. Ed. by Dr. Morris (E. E. T. S. 1868.)

“He made knyghtes in his court. creatures ten,
Cherubin and seraphin. such seene
[and] another.”

Vision concerning Piers Plowman, Text c passus ii, 105, and Mr. Skeat's notes upon the passage, in Part iv, p. 33 (E. E. T. S., 1877.)

² J. de Amundesham *Annales*, i, 421.

Beneath the figure is a shield of arms—*Lozengy, argent and gules*. Beneath this again are the words "*Scs Willmus.*"

Dr. Nicholson believed St. William, Archbishop of York (1140 to 1154), to be the person commemorated by this design, the style of which belongs to the latter half of the fourteenth century. We find it recorded in the *Liber Benefactorum* (fol. 83), that during Thomas de la Mare's Abbacy (1349—96), Robert de Trunch placed relics over the Altar of St. Hugh, and adorned it most suitably with gilt iron-work, pictures, and carvings. This painting may therefore be attributed to him.

I cannot conclude this paper without saying that I have received considerable aid in its compilation from the article on the distemper paintings by Mr. J. G. Waller, in the Rev. Dr. Nicholson's *Guide to St. Alban's Abbey*, and from Mr. C. Keyser's paper on the same subject, read before the St. Alban's Archæological Society on December 17th, 1878.

THE CHURCH BELLS OF BEDFORDSHIRE.¹

By T. NORTH, F.S.A.

Compared with the Lincolnshire churches, upon whose bells I had the honour of saying a few words before this Institute last year, the belfries of Bedfordshire are well supplied with music.

In Lincolnshire, out of 683 churches, there are no fewer than 502 with only three bells or less ; the large number of 248 (or more than one-third of the whole number in that county) possessing only one ; whilst in Bedfordshire, with about 130 churches—47 of which have only three bells or less—there are only about twenty (and most of those modern ones) in which only one bell is found.

When John Mair, the Scotch historian, remarking upon the vast number of bells of England, and describing the delight with which he listened, when studying at Cambridge, to their melody upon the Great Festivals, said, "Not a village of forty houses you see without five bells of the sweetest tones ;" he might have been describing this county, for five is here the favourite number, there being forty-seven churches, or more than one-third of the whole, with that very pleasant number in their belfries.

Unfortunately, there are but few documents known to exist to which we can refer for information about the church bells of Bedfordshire at, or before, the Reformation.

Of the results of the Commission—so far as regards Bedfordshire—issued in the second year of Edward the Sixth, to enquire into the quantity and value of Church furniture and ornaments throughout England we know nothing, and of that "ffor the survey of all Colledges, ffrechapells, Chauntries, firaternyties, Brotherhoods, Guylds," &c., within the County of Bedford, we know little beyond the names of the Commissioners and the returns from two Chauntries. The Commissioners, who at that time acted for Bedfordshire, were Sir John St. John, Knight ; Sir Thomas Rotherham, Knight ; and William Smith, Gentleman.² Those gentleman, probably, also acted as Commissioners for Church goods.

Under the more important Commission issued in the Sixth year of Edward VI,³ to obtain the returns of Church goods, the Commissioners for Bedfordshire were William, Marquis of Northampton ; John, Lord Bray, John St. John and Uryan Brereton, Knights ; and Lewis Dyve

¹ Read in the Architectural Section at the Bedford Meeting, July 29, 1881.

² "Augm. Off. Chantry Certificate," No. 1, P.R. Off.

³ Printed in seventh report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, p. 307.

and Richard Snow, Esquires. Unfortunately, neither the certificate of these Commissioners, nor a complete set of the returns from the different parishes, can be found, and so the number of Church Bells in this county at that time cannot be ascertained. Judging from the existing returns from thirteen parishes then sent in, and which I have recently found in the Public Record Office, the Church Bells of Bedfordshire have suffered very little loss in numbers since that time; in the thirteen parish churches to which I refer there were in the year 1552 forty-nine large bells and five sanctus bells; in the same churches now there hang sixty large bells and two priests' bells. These existing returns are, most of them, very explicit in the description of the bells, some giving the estimated weight as at Tingrith, where there were "iij belles weyng by estymation, xxv hundred wyght;" and others, giving the exact measurement of each bell, as at Salford thus:—

"Item in ye steeple of ye said church iij belles, the great bell in Compas two yerdes and di, in deapth iij quarter and a nayle; the second in compasse ij yerdes and a quarter, in deapth iij quarter; the third in compasse ij yerdes, in deapth iij quarter save a nayle."

It must not be supposed, from this praiseworthy state of things, that the people of Bedfordshire were altogether proof against the temptations of the times. There is extant a letter, dated from Westminster, 16th May, 1556, signed by William Berners, Thomas Mildmay, and John Wyseman, and addressed to Thomas Strynger, of Meppershall, in this county, yeoman, by which he is ordered to appear in person before the writers at Westminster on the first day of Trinity Term then next, to answer concerning the detention of church goods formerly belonging to the parish church of Meppershall. There is also another letter from Thomas Hemmynge of Arlesey, touching the order so given to Stringer, in which he excuses his (Stringer's) attendance at Westminster on the plea that "my neyghbour ys an olde man and not used to jorney," and enclosing his answer "concerninge the premises," which closes with a retort upon one of his supposed accusers, John Leventhorpe the elder, gentleman, of Meppershall, and says that he must needs speak of the "ymbeaselynge" of certain goods by the said Leventhorpe which were not put in the Inventory,

"Imprimis he had a saunce belle hangynge yn the belfrey and converted the same to his owne use and never payd one peny therfore and by estymac'on to be sold iiij markes or thereabouts."

The inhabitants of Sandy, too, were at the same time called upon to account for two large bells, and made their defence in a letter addressed to the Commissioners, and which is now preserved in the Public Record Office.

In later times, too, a few parishes in Bedfordshire, as in other counties, no doubt lost their bells to save the pockets of the ratepayers: the good people of Arlesey having recently placed a new ring of six bells in their steeple it is, perhaps, hardly fair to repeat against them the old distich current in the neighbourhood:—

"Arlesey, Arlesey, naughty people,
Sold their bells to mend the steeple!"

¹ "Land Revenue Records," Bundle 1,329, File 2.

² Land Revenue Records: Church Goods 442.
17.

Bedfordshire being a small county, not very thickly strewn with villages, does not offer a very wide or full field for the Bell-hunter. A large proportion of the bells, as in other counties, have been re-cast since the Reformation, indeed those at Houghton Conquest have been renewed twice since that time. There are, however, about 50 bells still remaining which were cast prior to the year 1600. Of these the larger proportion are dedicated to various saints—SS. Andrew, Paul, Nicholas, Katharine, Mary, Margaret, Thomas, Gabriel, &c.—and bear the usual “Ora pro nobis.” Two (Salford third, and Thurleigh fifth,) have the angelic salutation :—

AVE MARIA.

The third bell at Hawnes has the unusual inscription :—

SUM CAMPANA MARIE + MATRIS MESSIE PIE

and the fourth at Kempston says, what is intended for :—

EX ANNA NATA SALVET NOS VIRGO BEATA.

Two others (Meppershall third and Warden third) have the prayer :—

CHRISTO AVDI NOS

and one (Maulden first) the joyous :—

TE DEVM LAVDAMVS.

Two have the inscription, found all over the kingdom :—

In Multis Annis Resonet Campana Johannis.

One (Carlton third) is dedicated to S. Martha—an unusual name for a bell—another (Cople fourth) to S. Michael.

The fifth bell at Willington has an unusual dedication in these words :—

O Martir Xpo'fore Pro Nobis Semper Orate.

This bell, like one at S. Mary's, Bedford, bears a stamp with the arms of England, three Lions passant guardant.

The names of the Archangels Gabriel and Michael are very frequently found upon bells, but not so the name of Raphael: the fourth bell at Wymington is therefore of considerable interest: it is said to be inscribed :—

Musa Raphaelis sonat auribus Emanuelis,

but I have not yet been able to ascertain the correctness of this.

Several of these fifty more ancient bells are dated late in the sixteenth century, some bearing the names of the founders, others those of the donors: two of the latter—good specimens of their class—hang at Hulecote, and are inscribed “Rychard Charnock Esqueir Johannes Dier me fecit A. 1593. To God Be Honor and Glorie:” there is much rather clumsy decoration between each word of the inscriptions, which are preceded by the arms of the donor, Argent, on a bend sable three crosslets of the first with a crescent in chief for difference.

The bells at Clifton, dated 1590, evidently bore, originally, on each a single line of a complete verse; two bells bearing the two first lines have been re-cast; two others—the present fourth and fifth—now say :—

BVT THER CONSERT IN MEWSIK

DOTH PLES WELL OVR EARE.

There are other English inscriptions, of no special interest, on late sixteenth century bells.

The only complete ring of ancient bells in this county is at Hockliffe : all the three bells there being clearly of the same date, and from the same foundry.

Among the Priests' bells two or three without any inscription may be ancient, but there is only one—a small bell twelve inches in diameter, hanging at Liddington—which can be pointed out as a specimen of the mediæval Sanctus bell : it bears the single word "Petre" with a founder's stamp.

There are some excellent sixteenth century bells in the county, notably a complete ring of six at Great Barford, and another complete ring of five at Marston Moretaine, both from the famous Leicester foundry, then worked by Hugh Watts. That founder, and the Newcombes also of Leicester, further supplied a large number of single bells. Miles, or "Colchester," Gray, his son Christopher Gray, and the Chandlers of Drayton Parslow, supplied others. John Hodson, of London, sent a few, and several other founders' names appear.

Early in the next century (the eighteenth) a foundry was started at Wootton in this county, by Thomas Russell, and was carried on, in the first instance, by himself alone, then in conjunction with his sons Thomas and William, and afterwards by William Emerton, at whose death, somewhere about the year 1790, after being worked with some energy, the Wootton foundry was closed ; many bells from it hang in Bedfordshire bell-chambers.

There are several bells, in addition to those already referred to at Hulecote, of some local interest as bearing the names of their donors : thus at Bromham is a bell given by Baron Trevor in 1739 ; at Northill hangs one inscribed :—

RICHARD HARDING ET ANNE HARDING, 1589.

At Willington are bells given by members of the Gostwick family, seated there early in the fourteenth century, and probably earlier, and at Heath and Reach is a bell bearing a singular inscription notifying that Richard Wige, gent., was the "oner" in 1695.

The largest bell in Bedfordshire is the single bell given to the new church at Woburn by the Duke of Bedford in 1867 ; it weighs two tons fifteen hundredweight ; and many people will consider the most interesting one to be the fourth at Elstow : it is "an alphabet-bell"—that is, it bears a portion of the alphabet, in capital letters, in lieu of an inscription—and is traditionally believed to be the bell rung by John Bunyan, who was born in the parish of Elstow, and who much delighted in bell-ringing before, as Southey represents it, "he began to think it a vain and sinful practice." His love for bells and their music never left him : it will be remembered that, according to his immortal allegory, when the gates of the heavenly city were opened wide that mortals saw the hidden glory shining forth, "the trumpets did blow, and all the bells of the city did ring for joy."

Of the bell-ringing customs of the county I am not now prepared to speak, my notes not being complete, but that change-ringing was practised here with some success as early as 1655 is shewn by a curious manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Rawlinson, D 886). The manuscript is a curious compound of prose, poetry, and music, in which English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew are used. A description of this

singular production would be out of date here : a few lines only need be quoted to shew that change-ringing was then in vogue, and that John Palmer and his team—called in the verses “his sons”—were noted ringers :—

“An Epigram

To Bedford Ringers, especially to Mr. Palmer,
Principle in y^t noble Consort.

What is't I heare? is some coelestiall Quire
Of Angels now descended from their higher
Sacred Mansions Here to ring a Peale
In th' eares of Mortalls? Thus thinking to steale
By these diviner Ayres, each mortall's heart
Into a sublime Rapture Quite a part
From sublunary things? Or doe I heare
Th' effect of Phansy ringing in mine eare?
No, no, such Musicke Phansy doth excede,
And 'tis too meane from Angels to proceede:
But, 'tis brave Palmer's Art, which now doth raise
Such Harmony: Too great for mortall praise,
Which must confesse 'tis farr beneath y^e worth
Of Palmer and his Sonnes, whose happy Births
Are celebrated in these quickning Straines,
Which far excede y^e Ayres of Vulgar braines,
Who only can admire, not understand,
How you should have your Bells so at command.

•	•	•	•	•	•	•
•	•	•	•	•	•	•

It is worthy of remark that the ringing which was the cause of these, and many more, pedantic lines being written took place during the Commonwealth. The play upon the word "change" is to the point in these four lines :—

“They only now who with the Times can change
Are men of great esteeme ; methinks 'tis strange
That Noble-Bedford-Ringers should be then
(When they so well can change) no greater men.”

Change-ringing, after being neglected for many years in this county, has lately been revived in several parishes, chiefly by the exertions of Mr. Charles Herbert, of Woburn, who doubtless thinks, with the writer of the "Epigramme" from which I have quoted,—

“ But as
Some instruments we know, doe farr surpass
Others for Musicke ; so ye wide-mouth'd Bell
None other musique 'ere could paralell.”



YELDEN IN BEDFORDSHIRE, THE SCENE OF THE BATTLE
BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND THE ICENI, RELATED
BY TACITUS, ANN: XII. 31.¹

By the Rev. R. S. BAKER, B.A.

Yelden is a village at the northern end of the county, near Melchbourne the seat of Lord St. John, and about 14 miles from Bedford. The object of this paper is to identify some remarkable British entrenchments at Yelden, with the "*locus pugnae*," of Tacitus—a battle-field mentioned, and slightly described, by that author, in the passage quoted above.

It will be in the recollection of members of the Archæological Institute that, at the Northampton meeting, three years ago, I read to them a paper entitled "*The Nene Valley a Roman frontier, and the origin of the name Northampton*," which paper was afterwards printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxv.

In that paper I proved to the satisfaction of other people besides myself, that it should be regarded as a settled thing—(a thing about which indeed there was little serious dispute before)—that the Frontier Line of Ostorius cut England in two parts, from the Wash to the Severn;—that it ran from Peterborough—(the then edge of the fen)—along the right or south bank of the "Antona" or Nene, up to Northampton; then across the high lands of Northants, Warwickshire, and Gloucestershire to some point, where its western end commanded the Sabrina, or Severn.

We learn that this determination of Ostorius to cut England with a chain of forts, and the preparations he made to this end, gave serious umbrage to one of the strongest of the British nations, who occupied the whole Eastern counties,—the Iceni, as they are generally called. No doubt Ikēni, or Ekēnac, is the more correct pronunciation, as the road called *Iknild Way* teaches us, but I should be called pedantic if I said "Ekēnac," so I will follow our barbarous English custom and say Icēni.

These Iceni for their own good reasons had been friends of the Romans up to this time. They had looked upon the second invasion of Britain, and the conquest of the whole south with equanimity. Perhaps they thought this invasion would end like that of Julius Cæsar, three generations before, in the infliction of a tribute, which need never be paid, and the retirement of the Roman eagle for another hundred years:—leaving the friendly tribes in a better position than they were before, in fact, predominant:—the Romans being the cats'-paw which the Iceni used for pulling the chesnuts out of the fire.

These astute people never believed that the Romans would dream of

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities, at the Annual Meeting at Bedford, July 28th, 1881.

subjugating the whole island, with its outlying hordes of fierce peoples, safe in their fastnesses of Wales, Cumberland, and Scotland :—people that were looked upon by the Iceni themselves, no doubt, as barbarous and implacable savages. No, it was absurd to think that Britain could ever be reduced to be a subject and tributary Province of Rome.

But when the Iceni heard of this actual preparation made for garrisoning the whole Nene valley and beyond it westward ; when they obtained information that engineers were laying out a military frontier from the fens to the Severn ; when news came that 10,000 natives were impressed to dig stone and burn lime for the walls of these forts, then they began to open their eyes to the real intentions of the Romans. They forthwith held assemblies for consultation, at which deputies from adjoining nations would attend, and the popular refrain of all the speeches was, no doubt, that Britons never will be slaves. The result was that they determined to throw up their allegiance, equip a strong army, and attack the Romans in the Nene valley.

Now all this, which must have taken some months, is related in half-a-dozen lines by Tacitus. Our own common sense will tell us what a great deal has to be filled in between the lines, and will guide us pretty well how to fill it in. Some people have an idea that Ostorius never actually carried out this frontier project, simply because he never found it necessary ; that he got on without it. I don't agree with such an opinion for one moment.

Tacitus tells us that the Iceni marched a strong force to attack the Romans and entrenched themselves in a strong position for that purpose. Would the Iceni have taken this neck-or-nothing step if the Nene valley forts had been only a matter of talk ? Common-sense says *no*. Besides there are the forts to this day, staring us in the face. Added to this the well-known character of Ostorius is strongly in favour of his then and there carrying out his intentions. He was a prudent as well as dashing commander. Tacitus makes the remark in the very next section that the general immediately fell back from North Wales, when he heard that the Brigantes had risen in his rear, for, says the historian, "he was one of those who took care"—*ne nova moliretur, nisi prioribus firmatis*—"not to enter upon new enterprises until previous ones had been secured."

To make the position plain I will give an outline of the narrative of Tacitus (Ann. xii, 31) leading up to this quarrel.

Taking for granted that we know all about the conquest of Southern England contained in the tenth book, unhappily lost, Tacitus here resumes the British narrative by telling us that the newly-appointed Proprætor Ostorius found his work cut out for him on his arrival in England ; for the Northern tribes had been pouring like a flood (*effusis*) out of their forest fastnesses,¹ and devastating the conquered and allied territories (*i.e.*, Beds, Bucks, Herts and Oxfordshire, we will presume).

Ostorius soon showed himself equal to the emergency, for he snatched together a few light troops, and without warning, pounced down into the midst of the marauders, and soon swept the country clear of them, and sent them back over the Nene. Then the historian goes on to say that Ostorius did what any prudent general would have done : he disarms all the doubtful tribes of the border-land (*destrahere arma suspectis*), and

¹ Of Northants and Warwickshire.

makes preparations (*parat*) to fence in the Nene and Severn rivers with a girdle of camps. (*Cinctosque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat*).

Now there is a world of significance in the little word *parat*. It is a word of only five letters; but what does it convey? *Parat* means sending a staff of engineers to explore the country from sea to sea, and to pitch upon the strategically best points for camps in a continuous line right across mid-Britain. This of itself would take weeks. Ostorius would, no doubt, ride over the line himself, to confirm the judgment of his subordinates. Then would come the work of impressing men from the subject tribes, and very likely requisitioning their dutiful allies, the Iceni also, for constructing the forts. Besides the soldiers, an army of miserable natives would be set to work as navvies, lime burners, and quarry-men, from Peterborough to Tewksbury; for at average intervals of eight miles over one-hundred miles of country, a more or less strong military post had to be erected.

These castles were not all equally formidable; stronger and larger ones seem to have been erected (among others less so) at intervals of about three camps in distance, and no doubt at important and commanding points of the line, at intervals of about twenty-four miles. One of these was at the fen end of the line at *Chesterton*; the next was at *Irchester*; both these were large stone-walled camps. The next of this kind was *Castle dykes* (or, more strictly speaking, Stowe camp; for "castle dykes" is a strong British camp side by side with the Roman one). This had evidently been fortified with a wall of vitrified clay. I know what kind of fort Irchester was, for I was digging there for nearly six months in 1878.

Irchester has an area of twenty acres; and had a deep foss and an earthen agger all round; and, in addition to that, a wall of lime-stone eight feet thick. Portions of this still existed above ground in the reign of Queen Anne. I found the foundations still existing under ground nine to ten feet wide, and going down six feet deep to the iron-stone rock. A new cut had been made in the meadows, and the river led up alongside of the northern wall. Roads had been constructed leading in the direction of the other riverside camps. *Specule* or signal mounds were erected in positions commanding a view of these camps.

It will be seen from this description that the little word *parat* has not a little significance. It meant months of hard labour by soldiers, navvies, lime burners, stone cutters, &c., &c. (Mr. Scriven has calculated that the Irchester Camp wall, if ten feet high above ground, contained over 13,000 cubic yards of stone work). And we must not forget the ten thousand other things preparatory to the organising, feeding, and otherwise supplying works of this nature and extent. *Parat* implies all this.

The historian goes on to say—"quod primi Iceni abnuere," &c., &c. The following is a free, but faithful, translation of the passage, to the end of Sect. 31.

"The Iceni were the first to object (to these frontier works). A strong and valiant nation were the Iceni, and one that had not been weakened by battles with us; for they had, of their own choice, become our allies. Well, these Iceni and the neighbouring peoples, at their instigation (marched an army to interrupt these works and) selected as

their battle field a place fenced round with earthen banks, and with an entrance so narrow as to be impervious to cavalry. These fortifications the Roman general proceeded to storm; although he lacked legionary troops, and only had a force of allies. And having duly disposed his cohorts of infantry (for the attack) he equipped his cavalry also, as foot soldiers, for the occasion. Then, at a given signal, the earthen ramparts are carried by assault, to the consternation of the ranks of the defenders,—hemmed in as they were, by their own defences. They, on their part, conscious of being in the position of rebels—(expecting no quarter) and cut off from seeking safety by flight, performed many brilliant deeds of valour. In this battle, the son of the general—Marcus Ostorius—gained the Victoria Cross—(literally, ‘the crown of honour for saving the life of a citizen.’)”

The next Section (32) begins thus:—“By the slaughter of the Iceni, the peoples who were hesitating between war and peace had their doubts set at rest; and Ostorius led his army (thence) into the territory of the Cangi.”

Now I proceed to speak of the several reasons which have induced me to accept Yelden as the most probable site of this historic battle. A friend of mine wrote to me the other day, that I should have to draw largely on my imagination if I set to work to show that. I hope to prove that I have sober and solid grounds to build upon, in this theory of mine, and that imagination will play no part in the matter.

My theory is built upon the following six grounds, or points of argument:—

1. The point of the compass the Icenian army *marched from*, and the general direction they marched for—both these we know.
2. The special point they *aimed at*—this we get at by using our reason and observation.
3. The consequent *Line of march* may be inferred.
4. The natural *point of that line of march* for the Icenian army to halt and entrench, any modern strategist will tell us.
5. The existence of remarkable British entrenchments in that line of march, and at the point indicated by consideration No. 4—is a fact.
6. The non-existence of entrenchments of the same importance any where else in that neighbourhood for miles round—is also a fact.

I will dwell a little upon these six grounds of argument in order:—

1. We know *from* what side of the country the Icenian army would naturally approach, for we know that they occupied the eastern counties. We know also that the enemy was occupying the whole forty miles of the Nene valley in force, for the purpose of constructing forts all the way up its course to Northampton, and beyond. So no doubt the Iceni would direct their march upon *some* part of that forty miles of the Nene valley. To do this they must pass through Huntingdonshire or Bedfordshire, or just between the two.

I think it is not worth while discussing the question whether they might not have attacked some point of the Roman line further westward, beyond Northampton, towards the watershed. If they did this, they would, no doubt (in order to avoid the Romans in the Nene valley) have marched through Southern Beds and Bucks. But is such an extraordinary piece of strategy likely? They would be leaving the Roman forces in the Nene valley in their rear, to cut their line of communication and

place them between two fires. If they possessed a grain of common sense they would not do this.

Still more incredible is it that this great battle came off at Bury Hill, Daventry, as some have held. To get there the Eastern Counties men would have had to evade, or successfully break through, the Roman lines, before they were pulled up and made to pay for their temerity. The supposition appears simply absurd, if we credit the Iceni with common sense and the Romans with common vigilance.

It follows then that the Nene valley was what the Iceni would make for. What *point* of the Nene valley? is the next consideration.

2. We can guess, I think, pretty well what particular point of the Nene they would aim at. They would naturally make for the most important Roman fort and depot upon that river. And that undoubtedly was Irchester, which is near the middle of their Nene valley line, 25 miles above Peterborough, and 25 miles below the water-shed at Arbury.

I am personally well acquainted with all the camps upon the Nene, and, setting aside Chesterton near Peterborough, which also was a walled camp, Irchester was undoubtedly the strongest, and the key of the whole position, watching as it does the mouth of the Isc valley, a feeder of the Nene, and the natural pathway and outlet of the northern tribes, when they invaded the southern midlands. I have not the slightest doubt that Irchester was the most important link of the Ostorian chain on the eastern side of the watershed.

Now, if the Iceni wanted to settle the business once for all, they would not be nibbling at any of the smaller camps of the Nene; nor would they be likely to attack Chesterton, the last link next the fens, but they would go boldly at the centre of the chain, and try and break it. There is reason to conclude that on this occasion the Iceni had, metaphorically, "burnt their boats," and gone in to conquer or to die. Judging from the whole tenor of the narrative of Tacitus, it was a case of "*aut Cæsar aut nullus*" with them. Hence it is that we can make a rational conjecture as to the point they would boldly aim at in this life and death struggle.—Irchester.

3. This being so we can chalk out within a few miles their line of march, especially when they came to converge upon Irchester, and the nearer they got to Irchester, the more certainly we shall know where to look for them. They would undoubtedly pass through the southern end of Hunts, or the northern end of Beds, and if they did *not* actually pass through Yelden they could not help being somewhere *near* it. This may be judged by the sketch map.¹

4. When they got on towards the Roman position, Tacitus tells us they chose a place for battle and strongly entrenched it (or possibly found it entrenched and made it still stronger.) What was their object in so doing? Why, no doubt to secure a position whence they could at a favourable opportunity fall upon the Romans.

Now, let us ask any military man how far from Irchester that position was likely to be. I think even a civilian could conjecture that they would chose a place not too far off, nor too near. Just far enough off in fact to be within *striking distance*, and a daily menace to the Romans. As such the Roman general evidently regarded them. He could not

¹ Mr. Baker exhibited at the Meeting a map of Mid-England, showing the positions of Irchester, Yelden, the

Icenian country and the Roman frontier line from the Wash to the Severn.

afford to leave them and wait for their attack. They must be dislodged at any risk; although he had troops in which he could not place that reliance which he could have done in a Roman Legion. How many miles can be called *striking distance*? I should say (speaking under correction) a couple of hours' march or about the average distance of the Nene camps from each other, *i.e.*, seven or eight miles.

5. Well, now let us walk from Irchester eastward in the direction in which we expect the Iceni to appear, and see if we can find any British earthworks or indication of that nature. We walk seven miles due east, and we do come upon some most remarkable entrenchments of a decidedly British character, as Mr. Bloxam allows, fenced all round with an earthen agger, still very steep and formidable as a defence after a lapse of 1830 years. Yes, here in the village of Yelden is the *thing* we want, and just *where* we want it.¹

The place consists of a central keep, a mound forty feet high, from the bottom of the foss. Appended to this are two fortified *wings* (as I call them) of irregular shape. A moat, still holding water in the winter, surrounds the mound and the south wing. The north wing has a high *agrestis agger* all round it, and a (now) dry moat. A little brook runs outside the ground. We have little doubt that it was dammed higher up in old times and turned into the moats. On the east and south-east are some rectangular additions to the fortress defended by slighter fosses and aggers, which, however, show signs of having been levelled down, at a more recent date.

These appendices, which I call *supplementary camps*, may have been for the purpose of sheltering a larger force on some occasion, or they may have been simply cattle *kraals*. They are found in connection with other British strongholds; notably two I have lately examined, Lavendon in Bucks and Castle Dykes in Northants.

On the north side is the road, which runs in a nearly direct line for some miles east and west. The whole area including the supplementary camps is fourteen acres.

6. We have found a place which serves extremely well for the *locus pugnae* of Tacitus. Now, if the battle after all was not there, it must have been somewhere else. I have looked all over the counties of Hunts and Beds, the only rational counties for the search, and I can find a "somewhere else."

Valpy, in his edition of Tacitus, thinks that the battle came off somewhere in Huntingdonshire. I know all that side of Hunts very well, from having resided near it all my life and ridden over most of the ground. I have also scanned every inch, and half inch, of the Ordnance Map most carefully, and cannot find any other British camp such as Tacitus describes, anywhere in that part of the country. The nearest one of any consequence is "*Lavendon Cistle*," in Bucks, before alluded to. But that is too far south, and also too far off Irchester, to be within *striking distance*. I once thought that the battle may have come off at the village of Covington in Hunts, three miles north of Yelden, for there are moats and entrenchments all over the village, but they are but slight entrenchments and present nothing so pronounced and emphatic as the *agrestes aggeri* of Yelden.

Thus then, I have given my six reasons for locating this historic battle at Yelden:—

¹ A plan of Yelden as surveyed by Mr. Scriven and Mr. Baker was exhibited.

Firstly. We know *whence* they marched and *whither* they marched.

Secondly. Reason tells us *the point* they marched for.

Thirdly. Hence we can chalk out the *line of march*, especially as it nears Irchester.

Fourthly. Reason again will tell us *how far short* of Irchester they will halt and entrench.

Fifthly. We find *the place* we want just *where* we want it.

Sixthly. We *cannot find* any other such place anywhere in Beds or Hunts, in one of which two counties it most decidedly must have come off.

Of course, all this does not amount to *proof*; but it amounts to a probability, almost next door to proof. We have no *direct* evidence on the subject; it is a matter of circumstantial evidence,—the putting two and two together. Until still stronger arguments in favour of another place are met with, it is not an irrational request of mine to ask for belief in Yelden, as ennobled and dignified by one of those bold and patriotic stands which our Celtic fathers made, but made in vain, against the Conquerors of the world.

Very little can be gathered from the books respecting the history of *Yelden Castle*. It may have had a life, like that of *Violet le Duc's* typical fortress, about which he has written so charming a book. Yelden may have been British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Mediæval, all in turn. All that we can learn is, that a family of the name of *Trally* had a castle there at the time of the Conquest; a Saxon house probably. The *Trallys* had become extinct, and the castle a ruin in 1360. Yelden is called in Domesday *Gibeldene*, or *Giveldune*, also *Yveldun*. No doubt, *dun* is the correct termination; and *Yeldon* more correct than *Yelden*. Perhaps some one can enlighten us as to what *Gibel*, *Girel*, or *Yvel* means. The last Trally, or rather his executors, founded Northill College. It is curious that we find in Lysons that Northill was anciently written *North-Yrel*. Does *yrel*—(mean) hill?

As so little light can be thrown upon the mystery of "Yelden Castle" by books, I intend, in a few weeks, to have recourse to the best book of all—mother earth. The present proprietor—Mr. Hoare,—has given permission for some excavation within and upon the entrenchments. There are signs of stone work upon the keep, but not the slightest upon the earthen aggers; but the spade will doubtless reveal the secrets of the place.

NOTE.—In the October following the reading of this paper, digging was commenced at Yelden, but was relinquished in a few days owing to the inclemency of the weather. This slight excavation was commenced in the southern "wing," and revealed several foundations near the surface as of a somewhat similar character, but probably of mediæval date. Below these, at the depth of six to eight feet, a stratum of black mould mixed with charcoal was met with as well as fragments of coarse pottery, bones, animal and human, and what appear to be hand-worked flints. The excavation will be proceeded with this summer, and extended to the great central mound, and the results communicated to the Institute at the Carlisle Meeting. No foundations could be detected on the "*agrestes aggeri*" of the north wing. Mr. Baker (Hargrave, Kimbolton) will be thankful for contributions towards the exploration.

ON THE CHURCHES OF NORTH BEDFORDSHIRE AND THE NEIGHBOURING PORTION OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.¹

By the Rev. A. J. FOSTER, M.A.

Bedfordshire is divided geologically into three different belts running across the country from east to west, and the ecclesiastical architecture of the county follows these divisions, each separate division or belt having its own particular style of architecture. To the south we have the chalk downs of Dunstable, in the centre are the sandstone hills which run from Sandy to Brickhill right across the county, and the northern division which borders on Northamptonshire is a high flat table land between the Ouse and the Nene. Taking the ecclesiastical architecture in the same order, we find, first in the south that many of the churches on the chalk downs have the walls panelled checkerwise with the flint stones of the locality inserted in the mortar, a peculiarity found also in Sussex and Hampshire. Secondly, in the central belt we have many splendid churches built of the local sandstone. Thirdly, in the north, as there are no quarries on the spot, we find that the churches are built of imported limestone, brought probably from the quarries of Barnack to the north, or those of Totternhoe to the south.² It is the ecclesiastical architecture of this portion of the county with that of the adjacent parts of Northamptonshire which forms the subject of this paper.

This border land of the two counties is for the most part a thinly populated and wild clay upland, forming in Bedfordshire a part of the great line of woods which once stretched across this part of the country. Many of these woods still remain and the roads which run between them are mostly soft lanes impassable in the winter except on foot or on horseback. The villages contained in the district are, on the Bedfordshire side, few and small, and the bulk of the population is to be found on the northern side by the banks of the Nene in Northamptonshire. This Nene valley was an important frontier in the time of the Roman occupation, and the flourishing towns and villages in the neighbourhood are the modern representatives of the Roman camps and stations which once lined the right bank of the Nene. Even to the present day an important local industry, the shoemaking trade, keeps the Northamptonshire villages populous, while the Bedfordshire villages are purely agricultural.

This being the case it may be assumed that the Northamptonshire parishes have always been the most wealthy, and, therefore, it is not surprising to find that the Northamptonshire churches were for the most part rebuilt in Early English or Decorated times, while the smaller Bedfordshire churches exhibit architectural features of all dates, the

¹ Read in the Architectural Section at the Bedford Meeting, July 29, 1881.

² Introduction to the Archaeological

Topography of Beds. Royal Archaeological Institute.

result, I conclude, of paucity of population and poverty which prevented any complete rebuilding and enlargement. It is in Bedfordshire accordingly that we must look for all early examples of architecture, but where the dates are the same we find no local peculiarities which distinguish North Bedfordshire from Northamptonshire churches. There is much greater difference of style between the churches of the three divisions of Bedfordshire of which I spoke just now, than there is between those of the northern division and Northamptonshire, for in the district which we are considering, there is a strong family resemblance in all churches which are of about the same date, especially in the matter of spires. Where the buildings are of the same date, it is only in the richness of work and in the magnificence of the examples that Northamptonshire churches differ from those of North Bedfordshire, it is in short a difference of quality and not of principle.

And so, as Northamptonshire churches have been rebuilt, we must look for all examples of early work, whether Saxon or Norman, on the Bedfordshire side of the border. There we have Saxon work at St. Peter's, Bedford, and at Clapham, both situated on the Ouse to the south, and perhaps at Knotting which is in the centre of the district described. When we look over the border, however, we find no Saxon work in the Nene valley. To find examples of this style in Northamptonshire we must go further into the county, to Earl's Barton, Barnack, Brigstock, and Brixworth, and in the towers of the two first-named churches we have the most splendid examples of our earliest ecclesiastical architecture to be found, perhaps, in the whole country. It is on account, doubtless, of their size and magnificence that these towers were preserved when Northamptonshire churches were rebuilt in later times. The Bedfordshire church of Clapham, interesting though it is as a specimen of early tower building, cannot be compared in variety and style with Earl's Barton. It is very probable that if Clapham had been in Northamptonshire its rude tower would have given place to an Early English or Decorated steeple.

When we pass on to Norman work we find the same facts. As a rule, Norman architecture has disappeared from the valley of the Nene, but still exists in North Bedfordshire, as at Farnish, Poddington, Knotting, Pertenhall, and Thurleigh. These are all small and remote villages whose inhabitants were unable, I suppose, to rebuild their churches entirely, and therefore left traces of Norman work behind as they enlarged the buildings.

In Early English and Decorated examples Bedfordshire comes far behind Northamptonshire.¹ We may seek in vain in the former county for such a glorious line of Churches as that which stretches from parish to parish in an unbroken line along the south bank of the Nene, and comprises Strixton, Wollaston (the tower and spire only remaining unfortunately), Irchester, Rushden, Higham Ferrers, Stanwick, Raunds, and Hargrave, all of them splendid examples of Early English and Decorated work. There is very little earlier work to be found in any of

¹ I have omitted any reference to the Early English and Decorated Church of Felmersham, as this magnificent example though in North Bedfordshire stands on the right bank of the Ouse, and I have

taken that river as the geographical boundary of my subject. For the same reason, I have not referred to the undoubted Saxon work to be found at Stevington.

these churches; Irchester alone can exhibit some traces of Norman; but in North Bedfordshire, with three exceptions, all the churches are of mixed character. The first of these exceptions is Wymington, a unique and perfect specimen of Late Decorated, apparently all built at one time and unaltered. There is something continental in its appearance, which causes it to differ from other specimens of Decorated work in the neighbourhood. This is explained by the fact that it was built by John Curteys, mayor of the Staple at Calais, who lies buried beneath a brass to the south of the chancel. The founder's residence abroad probably accounts for the foreign style of the architecture. The second exception is Yelden: "a perfect specimen of Decorated work with but little alteration."¹ The third does not belong to this period, but is the Perpendicular Church of Odell, an excellent example and all built in one style. Of the other churches of North Bedfordshire, it has been said: "In fact, to find an entire church belonging to one period is not the rule but the exception. Hardly any which we enter but contains portions of two—frequently three—and sometimes four distinct styles. Take, for instance, Poddington; there are Early English pier arches and south chancel wall, Decorated chancel arch and western arch, and Perpendicular clerestory and spire. Thurleigh has Norman tower, Decorated chancel and pier arches, and Perpendicular clerestory and aisles. Tillbrook has Transitional pier arches, Early English north wall, Decorated chancel arch, and Perpendicular chancel and south wall of nave." But it is on account of their mixed character that the Bedfordshire churches are interesting from an archæological point of view; and we may hunt in vain amongst the neighbouring Northamptonshire churches for similar store-houses of different styles.

There is, however, one point in which we can compare the churches of the two districts more directly—that is, in the matter of spires. Whichever side of the border we visit, we cannot fail to remember that we are in the Midland counties, and therefore in the land of spires, for the tower uncrowned is in both counties the exception. But here, again, Bedfordshire comes behind Northamptonshire; though not to such an extent, for some of the spires of the former county are very noteworthy. They are, however, of rather later date than those of Northamptonshire, which are Early English and Decorated; while those of Bedfordshire are, for the most part, Perpendicular. The broach of Souldrop is the only Early English spire, and the foreign-looking spire of Wymington with its open tracery, pedimental canopies, and richly crocketed angles is Late Decorated. The short broach of Yelden is an early example of the same style. No one of these will bear comparison with the splendid Decorated spire of Higham Ferrers on the Northamptonshire side; but if we pass on to those of later date we shall find that the Perpendicular spires of Sharnbrook, a most striking example, and of Little Staughton, Tillbrook, Keysoe, Pertenhall, Cohnworth, Harrold and Poddington may rank with those of Northamptonshire.

Let us compare some of the spires of the two counties together. We will begin with Irchester, in Northamptonshire, and compare it with a Bedfordshire spire—that of Pertenhall. They are both broached and without parapets and pinnacles. Then we have towers with parapets

¹ "On the churches of North Bedfordshire," by the Rev. C. Airey; Papers of

Associated Architectural Societies.

and plain spires, as at the two Bedfordshire churches of Little Staughton and Tillbrook; very plain spires they are, with only two tiers of lights. Then we come to a third group—that in which the towers have pinnacles and sometimes parapets as well. In some of the Bedfordshire churches, however, the pinnacles have apparently never been completed; and only the stumps appear, as at Sharnbrook and Poddington. Next where we have pinnacles without buttresses we may compare Wollaston, in Northamptonshire, and Keysoe in Bedfordshire. And again, we may compare the towers and spires of the Bedfordshire churches of Wymington and Harrold with Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire. This last-mentioned church contains in its tower and spire all the peculiarities of the groups which we have mentioned. It has the parapets of one, the pinnacles of another, the buttresses of a third, and the cornice under the parapet, and angle crockets of another group.

Bedfordshire churches have not been quite so much “restored” as those in Northamptonshire; and consequently, we find more remains of woodwork in the older and more remote churches of the first-named county, especially in the matter of rood-screens and bench ends. In Northamptonshire such work has generally altogether disappeared, or else has been worked up into other forms in most extraordinary ways, as at Irchester, where portions of the tracery of the rood screen appear as the balustrade of the modern pulpit stairs. Indeed, in the matter of rood-screens, Bedfordshire is very rich, as at Deane, Eaton Socon, Bohnhurst, Sharnbrook, Oakley, Pertenhall, Roxton, and Tillbrook. The last-mentioned is very interesting, as still surmounted by its rood-loft with its balusters, and many of the others have fragments of the original colour and gilding. We find also many fine specimens of rich roof carving with remains of colour, especially at Deane and Keysoe. The same remarks apply to stained glass, some fragments of which exist in Bedfordshire, while they are not to be found in Northamptonshire.

Altogether we see that there is a great similarity between the churches on each side of the border where they are of the same style, though the Northamptonshire churches are the more magnificent. The North Bedfordshire churches resemble those of the bordering part of Northamptonshire much more than they do those in the other districts of the county. For instance, the rooms over porches, sometimes called priests’ chambers and sometimes schoolrooms, for their use does not seem to have been fixed with certainty, which are common enough in the middle district of Bedfordshire, are not to be found in the north any more than they are to be discovered in Northamptonshire. And again, nearly every church in the north has a spire, but spires are few and far between in the central and southern districts.

Not only have the Northamptonshire churches been more generally rebuilt than those in Bedfordshire, but it must also be observed that there is a richness of detail and ornament in the Northamptonshire churches which is not to be found in the poorer buildings of Bedfordshire, the result, as I have already suggested, of the comparative wealth and poverty of the two districts. Indeed, such a rich storehouse is Northamptonshire, that Rickman has drawn a great quantity of his examples from that county; and all but one of the line of Nene Valley churches which I have mentioned, consisting of Strixton, Irchester, Rushden, Higham Ferrers, Stanwick, Raunds, and Hargrave, are laid under contribution to a considerable extent.

Strixton is noticed for its simple and graceful west front, with its lancet and quatrefoil windows, and set of quatrefoil panels. Irchester contributes one of its spire lights and its cornice. Rushden provides its Decorated west porch and windows; with the section of a pier moulding, elaborate cornice, carved roof, inverted strainer arch known as the "Bochar" arch, and screens, all of the Perpendicular period. From Higham Ferrers we have a drawing of the Early English west porch, which may well compare in design and execution with the entrances of some of our monastic chapter-houses, and a section of the deeply-cut moulding and a portion of the diaper work of the same porch. From Stanwick he gives us the base of the south doorway, a "general or containing" capital, a corbel table from the tower, a sedile, and a beautiful window, all of Early English date. Raunds furnishes an example of the early method of forming cusps, the moulding of the west porch, a delicate trefoil sunk panel, and the beautiful west window, all of Early English work; its east window of rather later date; and some arch mouldings, and the nave roof, both of Decorated times. Hargrave supplies a quatrefoil window of Early English date; and in addition to this list there are many other references to these churches which are unaccompanied by engravings. When, however, we turn to Bedfordshire, we find that Rickman only refers to one example from the Northern part of that county, the Saxon tower of Clapham, "principally remarkable," he says, "for the extreme simplicity and rudeness of its construction."

And, indeed, we cannot wonder at Rickman's selection when we look at the extreme simplicity and plainness of the Early English and Decorated work in North Bedfordshire in such specimens as Knotting chancel, Sharnbrook north doorway, Souldrop tower and spire, Poddington chancel, and even Yelden and Wymington, and see how little there is to be chosen as examples of the best work of these times, with the Nene valley churches so close at hand. Compare for instance the Transitional west point of Knotting, now hidden by a later tower, with the graceful and beautiful west front of Strixton. Knotting is apparently of an earlier date, but the idea of the arch and the circular window above it is the same in both designs, though rude in the Bedfordshire church, and finished with exquisite taste in that of Northamptonshire. In the same way if we were to go through the other examples of Early English and Decorated in the two groups of churches which we are considering, we should find the same want of detail and finish in the Bedfordshire churches on comparing them with those of the other county.

But, in conclusion, as we pass from the glorious edifices of Northamptonshire to the poorer ones of Bedfordshire, let us remember that had all our churches been restored or rebuilt in later and more advanced days, we should have lost those specimens of early work which now interest us in so many of our country churches. The old men of Bedfordshire did what they could. If they could not equal the efforts of their neighbours across the border, they were at least content to go on little by little, adding a tower here or a spire there, an aisle to one church, a chancel to another; and we therefore owe them a debt of gratitude because, by their very struggles against adverse circumstances, they have left us examples and specimens, valuable in these days for local, as well as archaeological reasons.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 3, 1881.

Sir J. MACLEAN, V.P., F.S.A., in the chair.

In opening the new session the Chairman alluded in terms of satisfaction to the Bedford Meeting, and referred to the great loss which the Institute and other kindred societies has sustained by the death of the Rev. R. W. Eyton.

Precentor Venables sent a paper on "The Dedications of the Churches of Lincolnshire as illustrating the History of the County," which was read by Mr. Hartshorne and is printed in the *Journal*, Vol. xxxviii, p. 365. The author showed that the religious history of the county was a blank until the mission of Paulinus, who found the inhabitants entirely heathen, and that the church he erected at Lincoln, called after him, but under the familiar abbreviation of Paul, was the most ancient spot in Lincolnshire dedicated to Christian worship. This was shown to be an early example of the "proprietary dedications" common in Wales and Cornwall. There are fewer dedications to St. Paul in England than might be supposed, because in several of them "Paul" is really an abbreviation of Paulinus. The dedication to the obscure saint Hygbald was cited as another proprietary example, the name of the saint surviving at Hibaldstow; and similarly the cell and chapel built by Pega, sister of Guthlac, became Pegaskirk, the name remaining at Peakirk. The dedication of Croyland by Æthelbald, under special circumstances, to St. Guthlac carried the name of that saint to certain outlying churches of the abbey, its full dedication to St. Mary, St. Bartholomew and St. Guthlac being spoken of as an example of the "compound" or "stratified" class. Bardney Abbey, an early foundation, in later times the house of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Oswald; Ripon, to St. Peter and St. Wilfrid; and Canterbury to St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Augustine, were adduced as examples of dedications of the kind. The numerous instances of dedications to St. Michael in Lincolnshire were regarded as evidences of a survival of Celtic Christianity, and the prevalence of dedications to this saint and to St. Mary in Wales was treated of and the localities indicated. The dedications denoting Northumbrian and Mercian influences were shown to throw much light on the history of Lindsey, the land between the two kingdoms, the Northumbrian ecclesiastical traditions far exceeding the Mercian. The connection of Lincolnshire, in the dedications of its churches, with the later St. Pancras, the youthful Phrygian martyr, was contrasted with the dedications to the earlier saint of the same name in the west of England. The dedica-

tions to St. Helen occur chiefly on the eastern side of the county, nearly a third of the whole number in England being in Lincolnshire. The same county furnishes several examples of dedication to the valiant and popular St. Oswald. The name of another famous Northumbrian, St. Wilfrid of York, appears to have been preserved in Lincolnshire in later dedications without any special significance. The name of St. Cuthbert, "the typical saint of Northumbria," occurs only twice in Lincolnshire dedications, frequent though it is between the Humber and the Mersey, the Tweed and the Solway. Canon Venables further dealt with the dedications to St. Alkmund, St. Chad, St. Etheldreda, St. Edith, St. Walfran, St. Vedast, and St. Vincent.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Precentor Venables, the CHAIRMAN made some observations as to the general sub-division of the dedications of churches and the importance of their geographical groupings, and alluded to Mr. Kerslake's excellent paper on the subject read at the Exeter meeting in 1874 and printed in the *Journal*, Vol. xxx, p. 211.

Mr. E. PEACOCK sent a paper on "The Churchwardens' Accounts of Sutterton, Lincolnshire," which was read by Mr. Hartshorne and is printed at p. 53.

In the course of a discussion which arose upon the "Church House," "Church Stock," &c., Mrs. Henley Jervis mentioned an example at Sunning, Berkshire, which is let yearly by the Vicar and Churchwardens, and the Institute is indebted to her obliging courtesy for the communication of the following extract from an old paper MS. volume in the parish chest of that place:—

"June 21, 1640.—This day it was ordered by vestrie that y^e Jayle money w^{ch} was formerly *payd out of y^e Church Stock* should hereafter bee levied & raised through y^e whole parishe, viz., 10/ a year in Sunning, 10/ in Oxfordshire, 10/ in Woodley, & 10/ in Eryl.

"John Saxby Vicar &c.

Will^m Barker &c."

"*Church Stock.*"—In Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, 1559, the churchwardens of every parish are commanded to provide 'within three months a strong chest with a hole in the uppermost part thereof,' with three locks. The Parishioners are to put their *alms* and *oblations* therein, and 'the Parson, Vicar, and Curat shall diligently move their neighbours, especially when men make their Testaments to conferre and give, as they may well spare, to the saide chest.' The proceeds to be taken out by Parson and Churchwardens, at fitting times, in the presence of the whole parish, or six persons at least, and to be distributed to their most needy neighbours. And if they be provided for, then to the reparation of high wayes next adjoining or to the Poor of such Parishes near as shall bee thought best to the said keepers of the keyes. And all the money w^h ariseth of Fraternities, Guilds *and other Stocks* of the Church (except by the Queen's Majesties authority it be otherwise appoynted) shall be put in the sayd chest and converted to the said use. And also the rents of lands, the profit of Cattel any money given or bequeathed to Obits and Diriges, and to the finding of Torchcs, Tapers, Lights and Lampes shall be converted to the said use, saving that it shall be lawful for them to bestow part of the said profits upon reparation of the said Church, if great need require. and whereas the Parish is very poore and not able to repaire the same."

"Faulkner says: 'History of Kensington,' p. 212. 1 Edward VI.

'There is belonging to the said Church (Kensington) a Tent called the Church House wh^{ch} is now occupied by the poore of the sufferance.' There was a house and it stood where Holland Street now is."

"For *Church House* and *Church Ales* see John Aubrey's recollections. In describing the English manners before the Reformation, 'There was a world of labouring people maintained by the plough. There were no rates for the poor in my grandfather's days (John Aubrey died 1697), but for Kingston St. Michael (no small parish) the Church Ale did the business. In every parish was a Church House, to which belonged spits, crocks, &c., utensils for dressing provisions.'"

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Peacock.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mrs. HUYSE.—A small *Torso* of Hercules, Cinque Cento, and a sculptured foot and hand and other fragments, in marble, an earthenware vessel, a stone celt and pyramidal stone weight, &c. These objects, from the collection of the late Mr. C. S. Greaves, have been presented by Mrs. Huyshe to the Institute.

By Mr. B. H. W. WAY.—The brass matrix, two-and-a-half inches in diameter, of the Common Seal of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, Boston, Lincolnshire. This highly beautiful example of a late fifteenth century seal displays a central architectural composition comprising a middle portion flanked by crocketed pinnacles, from which flying buttresses spring, the intervening spaces being filled in with tracery. The central portion consists of a semi-hexagonal canopy, enriched with crockets and finials, under which, upon a traceried background, is a representation of the Trinity; below this subject is a square panel containing a low arch with traceried spandrels. Upon the hatched background within this arch is a figure of an ecclesiastic wearing a cassock and hood; kneeling to his right and holding between his elevated hands the letters *IS* formed into a monogram, no doubt for John Strewsalt. On the sinister side of the seal is a scroll, flanked by branches of foliage and inscribed *memor esto johannis*, while similarly on the dexter side is another scroll, containing the words *Strewsalt rectoris signatus*; the whole seal is circumscribed by the legend, contained within serrated borders:—"sigillū comē gilbe lree t'nitatis de villa sēi Botulphi in Hoilandia—the words being divided by sprigs of foliage. At the top and bottom of the square panel in the central compositions is a moulding, containing a row of little cinque foils, which have clearly been stamped with a punch; the execution of all the other details is very admirable, while the beautiful condition of the whole seal, which appears to have been scarcely used, leaves nothing to be desired.

By Mrs. WINDHAM HOLLEY.—A portrait, on panel, in oil, 12½ in. by 10½ in., inscribed: "EDUARDE BLACK PRINCE."

By Miss PETIT.—Tracings from wall paintings, about one foot high, lately found during the "restoration" (only to be destroyed), in Grendon church, Northamptonshire. The subjects appear to be scenes in the lives of saints—St. Martin, with one of his emblems, a goose, being the most complete. The work appears to be of the time of Henry VI.

By the Rev. J. H. CANDY.—Helmet from the tomb of Sir Ralph Weldon, in Swanscombe church. It was evident that this was a real helmet, with a thin vizor added to it, to make it serviceable for a funeral trophy.

December 1, 1881.

Mr. J. HILTON, F.S.A., in the chair.

Mr. S. I. TUCKER (Somerset) read a paper on "The First Parish Registers ordered by Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, in 1538, and the subsequent Transcripts;" and illustrated his subject by laying before the meeting the original Register, on paper of the parish of Warkleigh, Devonshire, 1538-1576, which he believed to be unique of its kind. Mr. Tucker supplemented his paper by quotations and extracts from other registers of about the same period. In the discussion which took place, Mr. Morgan spoke of the great destruction of parish registers that had taken place. Not only had registers been wickedly destroyed, but, together with them, a large quantity of interesting entries of other kinds; such, for instance, as "apprentices' bonds," which ought to be found in old parish chests; much mischief had also been caused by the ignorant way in which entries had been cut out bodily and sent away in return for search-fees, by the very persons who were the curators of these historical documents.

The Rev. C. W. KING sent a paper "On The Votive Tablets of the 'Scriba' Demetrius at York," which was read by Mr. Hartshorne, and is printed at p. 23. By the theory which he advanced, Mr. King identified the "Scriba" with that Demetrius, the grammarian, mentioned by Plutarch in the opening of his treatise "On the cessation of Oracles," such identification proving, perhaps, the most curious point in Roman British epigraphy ever brought to light. Mr. King gave his reasons for believing that Demetrius visited Britain, probably Anglesea, "by the emperor's order" within the reign of Domitian, and that his visit may have been made in an official capacity and not unconnected with the instruction of the new subjects of Rome in letters. While allowing, however, that the whole matter was a question of probabilities, Mr. King showed that the characters and employments of the York "Scriba" and Plutarch's "grammarian" were identical, and that their visit to Britain coincided; and the meeting agreed that the arguments carried conviction, not because, as Mr. King hinted, "*in quod volumus credula turba sumus*," but because the proofs that were brought forward seemed irresistible.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Tucker and Mr. King.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. S. I. TUCKER (Somerset).—The original Register of the parish of Warkleigh, Devonshire.

By Mr. J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.—A large collection of rubbings from brasses in Essex, in continuation of those exhibited on May 8, 1881.

It was announced that the Annual Meeting will be held in 1882 at Carlisle on August 1st, under the presidency of the Bishop of Carlisle.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

LEABHAR COMUNN NAM FIOR GHAEL (BOOK OF THE CLUB OF TRUE HIGHLANDERS). By C. N. MC INTYRE NORTH, Architect. London: R. Smythson, Brooke Street, Holborn. Printed for the Author.

Many a native of the Land of Brown Heath and Shaggy Wood will certainly receive with thankfulness this "Record of the dress, arms, customs, arts, and science of the Highlanders," which the enthusiastic and intelligent industry of the chief of the Club of True Highlanders has brought together. Mr. North tells us in his prefatory letter that he has principally endeavoured—"Firstly, to supplement the valuable contributions to the History of the Highlands and Highland manners which have been made by Logan the historian, Menzies, Imlah, McDonald, and other members of the Club of True Highlanders; by carefully collecting the various references which, until lately, were scattered about in numerous and, in many cases, rare and costly volumes. Secondly, to weed out and detect the various mistakes, mis-statements, and errors that have gradually been accepted, without question, from so-called authorities. Thirdly, to preserve the exact form and presentment of arms, armour, musical instruments, dress, agricultural implements and other relics, by careful measured details," &c.

With the history of the formation of the Club in the early part of this century, its permanent establishment in London, its social gatherings when the pibroch "wakes its wild voice anew," its high intent of relief to the distressed, and its general history up to the present time—all of which are set forth in the Chief's rather lengthy introductory chapter—it is not to our purpose to deal, we therefore come at once to Chapter I. which treats of Ancient Celtic Life.

In his introductory remarks the Author somewhat casts scorn upon the evidences of the intelligence of the man of the later Stone Age. We are disposed to stand up for the long-headed Neolithic Man. He could grind and polish a stone into a weapon and he made earthen vessels. The researches that have been made in the graves of these men with the *dolicho-cephalic* heads, as well as in the round barrows of the round-headed men of the early Bronze Age who succeeded and partly supplemented them, have been carried out in the most systematic, painstaking, and steady manner, indeed few subjects have been so ably treated, and it has been clearly shown that the Neolithic Man had considerable sagacity and was no mere hunter of beasts; that he cultivated the ground to a certain extent; that he had a belief in a future state, and that he was not a persistent cannibal. The physique and manners of the *brachy-cephalic* man have been similarly clearly revealed, and it would appear that Mr. North is not thoroughly aware of the labours of Evans, Greenwell, Rolleston, and Thurnam; he acknowledges, however, that he stands at this period of his work "like a mist-bewildered traveller on the brae side."

The imaginary sketch of the Celtic race, about the beginning of the

Christian era, written in what men call "the popular style," and implying an amount of civilization we were hardly prepared for, is followed by a technical and popular description of the town of Bailemuir, of which a restored view is given.

We have been already somewhat startled by the effigy, on Plate V. of a Druid in full costume, and we are now quite dazzled by the serious amount of "the investiture of the tanist by the Druids." We must confess that our respect for the Druid is not now as it was in our childish days; we do not venerate him as Mr. North does, so we are glad when "the parting benediction was given, the Druid was assisted to his carriage, and as the sacred procession set off on its return journey a chant was raised by the bards, each verse of which was followed by a chorus in which all joined."

The sections devoted to the review, the sports, the feast, the preparations for war, the surprise of the town, the pitched battle, the destruction of the crannogs, the storming of the fort, and the burial of the hero are written in the same popular manner, and certainly contain much interesting matter, well illustrated by large representations of weapons and objects of personal use. We hear a good deal more about the Druids, their colleges, curses, oracles, sacrifices and omens, and we get an account of a visit to the Druid Fintan, an unpleasant monster, who, it is satisfactory to find from a *note*, is not the saint of the same name. The great wickerwork elephant, filled with living men, the terror of many a youthful mind, is of course duly fired, and we presently pass for a while, with relief, from the regions of fiction so attractive to antiquaries of the last century.

In the chapter on Celtic buildings, which is illustrated by plans and sections, Mr. North notices the stone houses, and, while he repudiates the wild imaginings of Keene as to the age of the Round Towers, he thinks Petrie is disposed to make them too late. We see nothing in the details of the Tower of Brechin, or in that of Abernethy, that suggests an earlier date than the end of the eleventh century, and it would appear that the round form was ruled by the nature of the material, or possibly necessitated by the great height, and was in no way associated with any mystic reference to the circle. Some of the Round Towers of East Anglia, formerly pronounced "Saxon," are, in fact, as late as the middle of the twelfth century.

We need not follow Mr. North into his speculations upon the creed of the Celtic race. We certainly cannot accept the Round Towers as emblems of Phallic worship, we care but little for the opinions of O'Brien, and we are sceptical about the adoration of serpents, and many other details of Celtic cult not heretofore dreamt of in our philosophy.

Mr. North's chapter on the ancient musical instruments of the Celts is very well carried out and admirably illustrated with representations of horns and harps. From the nature of the materials of which they were usually made, the horns, both for music and drinking, are profusely ornamented, but they exhibit little variety in their shapes. With the harps it is quite otherwise, and we have an interesting series of illustrations of this essentially Celtic instrument from early times, showing the variations of its character and the elegance of its form and details. Conspicuous for the latter qualities is the "Queen Mary Harp," a beautiful instrument, apparently of the latter part of the fifteenth

century. We notice the survival of interlaced "Celtic" work side by side with late "Gothic" details in harps of this period.

The next chapter, devoted to the Ancient Scale, Ancient Musical Notation, Song, &c., is illustrated with pieces of music and cannot fail to be very welcome to the numerous lovers of the simple, wild, or plaintive music, the "deep sorrows" of the harp. Any effort which tends to the preservation of these ancient melodies cannot but be commended, and we thoroughly agree with Mr. North that "if they are to be preserved *they must be left in their native purity.*"

With Mr. North's chapter on political economy it is scarcely within our province to deal, though many interesting matters are incidentally touched upon and illustrated, such, for instance, as husbandry with representations of ploughs, &c.

The second volume treats (Chapters I. and II.) of the Highland dress, tracing it from early times down to its suppression in 1746. The ban was happily removed in 1782. Mr. North also gives a curious and elaborate analysis of the fifty-four tartans, showing the predominance of the different colours in each, and their arrangement, from the simplicity of the Menzies plaid to the complicated pattern of that of the Ogilvie clan.

An admirable military chapter follows with a series of capital illustrations of swords, claymores, targets, sporrans, dirks, axes, and other implements of war, including a useful plate of sword-cutlers' marks. This chapter is perhaps the most valuable part of the book, but we suspect that Mr. North's heart was most of all in the subject of Chapter IV—the Pipes, though he reasonably rejoices that he is not called upon to describe all the instruments mentioned as follows in "The Complaynt of Scotland," 1548, "fyrst had *ane drone* bagpipe; the nyxt had *ane pipe* made of *ane bleddir*, and of *ane reid*; the third playir on *ane trump*; the feyerd on *ane cornepipe*; the fyfth playit on *ane pipe* maid of *ane grait horne*; the sext playit on *ane recorder*; the seoint plait on *ane fiddil*; and the last plait on *ane quhissel.*"

We need hardly say that this chapter on bagpipes and their music is extremely well done and fully illustrated with detailed drawings of these picturesque instruments, including the "Mc Donald Pipes," which are apparently dated 1509, and many pieces of March, Reel and Highland Fling music. From the Pipes it is but a step to the Dance, and we must commend the clear descriptions of these bewildering movements, and specially the very ingenious diagrams which elucidate the intricacies of the Sword Dance, the Highland Fling, and the Strathspey Reel.

A Chapter on Highland Sports terminates the book, which is well worthy of the complete index which we are much disappointed not to find. So important an addition would have been a valuable conclusion to a work which treats of subjects and objects which are the priceless heritage of the Celtic race.

AN ESSAY ON THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.
By GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, F.S.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

THIS is a book which cannot be passed over unnoticed, in the long bed-roll of works relating to the study of architecture which this century has witnessed. The name of George Gilbert Scott is a talisman in itself; and the erudition of the son, whatever we may think of the

principles he has espoused, is not unworthy of the fame of the father. Mr. Scott's point of view is sufficiently indicated by his title. His work is an essay on English Church Architecture "prior to the separation of England from the Roman Obedience;" and, accordingly, in his illustration of the interior of Christ Church, Hants, a large double-page wood engraving, fifteen inches by nine inches, we have the rood beam restored with a gigantic floriated cross in the middle, accompanied by saints and kneeling figures of priest and bishop. In like manner, in his preface, Mr. Scott, whilst he admits the differences that have arisen between the ecclesiological traditions of Great Britain, Italy and the East, feels himself bound to assert as an historical fact, the existence of that unity of ecclesiastical organization under one head, for which, as a theory, such enormous sacrifices were made, such unsurpassed efforts exerted, so much political genius invoked, and such terrible suffering inflicted. To the abandonment of Catholic principles at the Reformation, Mr. Scott traces many social disasters; amongst the rest, an unrestrained struggle of classes, accompanied by a degradation in the quality of art workmanship. We may observe, however, that it is one thing to study in a spirit of absorbing interest of sympathy the conditions under which great architectural works were produced, another thing to hope or to believe that such conditions can ever again subsist in the history of our country. Mr. Scott's architectural review is divided into five periods:—1, The period before the conversion of the English to Christianity; 2, The era from the mission of Augustine to the Norman Conquest; 3, The Norman style; 4, The Pointed style to the commencement of the fourteenth century; and 5, Thence to the Reformation. The first epoch, it need scarcely be said, is illustrated by no examples; indeed, a period of English church architecture before the Conversion of the English is, in itself, a misnomer. What Mr. Scott means to do, and does, is to give a description of the principal basilicas at Rome, illustrated by six handsome plates of elevations and ground plans, as a preliminary introduction to his second period, which extends from St. Augustine to the Conquest. Here English buildings begin to make their appearance—the first cathedral at Canterbury taking the lead. The plan of this church, having regard to Eadmer's narrative, is very fully discussed by Mr. Scott. He differs from Prof. Willis to this extent, that he assigns nine, instead of eight pairs of piers, to the space between the nave and the aisles; and he places the two flanking towers considerably further to the east. He considers that what Augustine found was an aisled basilica, without transepts, with apse towards the west, and portico with towers at the east end. He supposes that the eastern end was removed and the church extended in that direction, with an apse for the monks, which, as time went on, became the high altar of the church. The older type he finds in the western, the newer in the eastern, apse. Passing from Canterbury and the other first churches mentioned in Bede, we next have a view of Bradford-on-Avon; and two ground plans, one of Bradford church, the other of the confessional crypt, at Wing, near Aylesbury. The former is a view from the north-east; but the shading of the picture is such as to make it look like a view from the south-west. In fact, it is evident the engraver can have known nothing about the points of the compass. The Wing plans are interesting from the circumstance that the crypt has been recently excavated. "I have lately,"

says Mr. Scott, "been permitted, by the courtesy of the vicar, the Rev. P. T. Ouvry to reopen it, and the plan here given shows the result of the exploration." We next have a plan of Brixworth, and Mr. Scott sums up this, perhaps the most interesting chapter in his work, by describing the different sources from which, he imagines, the form of our parish churches has originated. Amongst the characteristics of churches built under the influence of Roman example, he notices, 1, the apsidal termination; 2, the confessional crypt; 3, the wide, high, chancel arch. English churches, on the other hand, generally exhibit 1, a square end; 2, transepts lower than and subordinate to the nave; 3, a central tower; 4, a high western tower; and 5, a low narrow chancel opening. To account for these latter peculiarities, which cannot have come from Italy, Mr. Scott propounds a singular theory. He suggests that when the Romans left Britain, St. Patrick crossed over to Ireland, taking with him the type of church architecture which then existed in Britain. In Ireland this type was preserved, though in a debased form. In this way we get evidence of what was the type of Christian church in Britain, which type, Mr. Scott thinks, was partly imitated by the Saxons when they arrived in this country, and was superadded by them to other elements imported from Rome. For ourselves we confess we think it far more likely that the non-Italian elements in Saxon church architecture were indigenous, than that they were copied from the British, or re-imported from Ireland. This chapter is illustrated by a very remarkable effort, namely, the attempt to reproduce from description (for as we understand there are no remains extant) the plan of two basilicas described in the writings of Paulinus, a bishop of Nola, near Naples, in about A.D. 400. One of them, that of St. Felix, was erected, it seems by Paulinus himself, at Nola, the other at Trieste. This is followed by the better known treatise of Vitruvius on the same subject. Mr. Scott's remaining chapters are illustrated by engravings of portions of Netley, Tintern, Salisbury, St. Alban's, Christchurch, and other examples, and the disquisitions abound in points of interest, not to say of controversy, arranged, it must be confessed, somewhat indiscriminately. Neither an elaborate treatise on the shape of the chasuble, nor a drawing and description of mosaics in the church of St. George, Thessalonica, arise very obviously out of an essay on English Church Architecture. Still these are interesting objects in the museum of curiosities contained in the volume. With regard to much of Mr. Scott's treatise it is impossible to use the language of criticism. Miraculous legends in Bæda, and the history of Geoffry of Monmouth are matters of religious and historical faith, not of literary judgment. They cannot be reviewed; they must be accepted in silence. They are however interesting as illustration of a great subject from an unusual stand-point; and assist to a comprehension of those wonderful works of mediæval genius, which are an unceasing subject of our curiosity, and from the contemplation of which we never retire without a suspicion that we have not yet penetrated all their secrets, or fully read the message they have to convey.

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SENS AND AUXERRE.

By EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

The cities of central Gaul are in some points less historically attractive than those which lie either to the north or to the south of them. The whole northern range, from Flanders to Brittany, is so closely connected with the history of our own island that the British or English historian counts them as coming within his immediate domain, as forming part of the necessary range of his own story. In a large part of southern Gaul this special insular connexion applies also, while there is a wider interest bearing on the general history of the world. Aquitaine and the Imperial Burgundy may for some ages pass almost as an expansion of Italy. The earlier stages of the revolutions which brought modern Europe into being were wrought at least as largely on Gaulish as on Italian soil. The central lands of Gaul have a smaller share than the lands on either side of them in either of these sources of interest. Their most stirring days come earlier still, when Cæsar had to tell the tale of Gergovia, of Bibracte, and of Alesia. In later times they do not stand out in history like the lands around them, east, west, north, or south. There is even a kind of geographical haziness about them. It is harder to say off hand how much in any age belonged to the French kingdom, how much to the Burgundian duchy, how much to smaller powers separate from either, than it is to trace out the better defined bounds of Normandy and Aquitaine. Much of the history of dukes, counts, and bishops seems, at first sight at least,

to be almost wholly of local importance. Yet these lands and cities have much to show, each for itself; they have many noble monuments, many stirring memories—monuments and memories too which bring us, oftener than might be expected, both into the great world of general history and into the special history of our own island. And the local history itself in each district and city, the story of dukes and counts and bishops and *communes*, becomes clothed with an interest of its own, as soon as we grasp its thread. Notices which we passed by without heed begin to have a meaning and a charm when we have once seen the place to which they refer, and have learned to clothe it with a kind of personal being. Among these cities I have picked out two for some measure of notice and comparison. I do not profess to be thoroughly master of their history. I write, while still journeying, from my own observation on the spot, and, from such books as I was able to pick up on the spot. At one place I could find no help of this kind at all; at the other I have learned enough to see that the story of Autessiodurum, city, county, and bishopric, might be worth telling at length. But I do not profess to be at home in either of these cities, as I might be at Lincoln or at Le Mans. For Sens and Auxerre do not, like Lincoln and Le Mans, enter into the general thread of English history and of those branches of continental history which cannot be separated from it. Both cities have a certain connexion with things and persons belonging to our own island. But the connexion is incidental only; certain things did happen at certain places, which, as far as one can see, might just as well have happened somewhere else. Still there is a certain pleasure, when one is tracing out all that one can of the history and monuments of distant places, when one lights on so many memories as in this case we do of men who have played some part, one of them a great part indeed, in the history of England. In both the cities of which I am about to speak we stand on soil which has been trodden by the feet of one of whom I may leave others to speak as the martyred archbishop, while I will myself speak of him as the great chancellor who helped his king to give England peace after the nineteen years of anarchy.

Within the modern department of the Yonne, on either side of the river of that name, lie two of those immemorial cities of Gaul which have lived on through all changes, and from which the traces of their earliest days have never wholly passed away. Their very names teach us the essential difference between the history of Gaul and the history of Britain. We have no name in English topography answering to such a name as Sens; we have next to none answering to such a name as Auxerre. No English city keeps the name of a British tribe, as Sens keeps the name of the Senones, absolutely unchanged save by mere shortening in men's mouths. Here, according to the rule in Northern Gaul, the oldest name of the town itself has vanished; the tribe name only has lived on; *Agelincum Senonum*, *Civitas Senonum*, lived on as *Senones* or *Sens*. Nor is it much more easy to find in England a town which, like Auxerre, keeps, not indeed a tribal, but a strictly local name, contracted and corrupted as usual, but never exchanged for any other. Old *Autessiodurum*, in all its many spellings, is but new *Auxerre* writ large. In England the Roman site often keeps traces of its Roman name; but it keeps only traces. *Isca* and *Venta* survive in *Exeter* and *Winchester*; but they are not there in their own presence, as *Autessiodurum* is still present in *Auxerre*. The added *chester* marks no slight difference. It marks that the modern name is not strictly the abiding name of the Roman city, but is rather the name which the conquering Englishmen gave to the Roman city, sometimes only to its site and ruins. *Auxerre* is *Autessiodurum* itself; *Winchester* is rather the *chester* which had once been *Venta*. In the like sort, *Lincoln*, in its unique ending, proclaims to the world that *Lindum* on the *Witham* was a colony of Rome, no less than the most abiding, in name at least, of all colonies, the Colony of *Agrippina* by the Rhine. But, in so proclaiming *Lindum* as a Roman colony, it proclaims it only by the mouth of the Teutonic conqueror of *Lindum*, not by that of the representatives of its own Roman colonists. In the case of *Eboracum*, the Latin name itself was twisted on Teutonic lips,—as *Jerusalem* was twisted into *Hierosolyma* on Greek lips,—so as to give it a seeming English meaning in the shape

of *Eborac* or *York*. *London* does indeed come as straight from *Londinium* as Auxerre comes from Autessiodorum; but for a long time London itself had to struggle against the prevailing tendency; it narrowly escaped surviving as *Londonwick* or *Londonborough*. It was amusing a little time back to see a writer in an English periodical, who evidently meant to be smart, speak of the ancient name of a famous Norman city as “dog-Latin” for its modern name. Such smartness revealed an ignorance, an ignorance which might easily have been kept hidden, of the whole difference between the history of Gaul and the history of Britain. The writer evidently thought that *Lexovia* was a name made out of *Lisieux*, as any one who chose might coin such a name as *Bromichamia* out of *Birmingham*, or *Northamptonia* out of *Northampton*. In truth the doggishness is all the other way. *Lexovia* is not “dog-Latin for *Lisieux* ;” but *Lisieux* might, with very little straining of language, be called “dog-Latin for *Lexovia*.” So *Wintonia* and *Eboria* are dog-Latin, though very old dog-Latin, for the purer Latin *Venta* and *Isca*. In the like sort, Autessiodurum is not dog-Latin for Auxerre, but Auxerre is dog-Latin—in other words French—for Autessiodurum. In both cases the oldest name, the tribe name at Sens, the local name at Auxerre, still lives on, mutilated indeed by what philologists call phonetic decay, but never exchanged for any other name, never lengthened by any newly added element. In Britain the names would be something like *Senchester* and *Auchester*; here they remain Sens and Auxerre. The difference between the two systems of nomenclature is one of the thousand witnesses that, among the endless revolutions which have gradually changed ancient Gaul into modern France, there has been none so sudden and overwhelming as that which, in a moment, turned Britain into England.¹

Of the two cities by the Yonne, Sens, by keeping the name of the tribe, proclaims itself as the head of the Senones, the centre of their state, in a word as *Civitas Senonum*. The name of Autessiodurum has given rise to some ingenious local speculation; in a general view of

¹ Step by step, and by very slow steps, if we look to the conquest of the whole land; but most truly in a moment,

if we look to the conquest of each particular spot.

things, it is enough that *Autricun*, *Autessio*, any of its many forms, are all something else and not *Senones*. Auxerre was not the head of the nation, and Sens was. It would seem that, even in modern remembrances, the claims of the old Agelincum, in their widest sense, are not forgotten. The Sens of our own day contains a street of Brennus: for the Gauls who encamped on the Roman forum bore the Senonian name; and, even if students of the migrations of nations may be tempted to think otherwise, it cannot be expected that local patriotism should look on the conquerors of Rome as other than direct colonists from the northern home of their race. In the Street of Brennus, within the walls of the *Civitas Senonum*, it would not do to whisper that the settlement of the Senones south of the Alps may have been as old as their settlement to the north. The dignity of the head of the Senones is still marked in the ecclesiastical position of the city. The church of Sens is still, as of old, a metropolitan church, the head of an ecclesiastical province. Of that province Auxerre was of old a suffragan see; modern arrangements have made the union still closer; Auxerre has lost its separate bishop; its diocese is merged in the arch-diocese of Sens. It may be thought a small thing to have been the metropolis of Auxerre; it is perhaps a more striking thought that, down to the seventeenth century, Sens was, in this same ecclesiastical sense, the metropolis of Paris. It was only at that late date that the church of Paris became an archiepiscopal see; till then her bishop was simply a suffragan of the Archbishop of Sens. Such a seeming anomaly proves more in Gaul than it does in any part of Britain. In Britain, both Celtic and Teutonic, the oldest episcopacy was mainly tribal or territorial; the chair of the bishop was not necessarily fixed in the greatest town in his diocese, nor the chair of the archbishop in the greatest city of his province. That London should be a suffragan see of Canterbury was the natural result of the geographical course which Christianity took in England; it does not prove that Canterbury was, even in the sixth century, a greater city than London. The ecclesiastical subordination of Paris to Sens tells us much more. The ecclesiastical divisions of Gaul so closely followed the

Roman civil divisions, and the city was so thoroughly the kernel of both, that we may set it down for certain that, when the dioceses of Gaul were mapped out in the fourth century, the city of the Parisii, the dear Lutetia of Julian, counted for less than the city of the Senones. And we accordingly find the Parisii, among other Gaulish tribes, enrolled as members of a confederation of which the Senones were the head. But the later fates of the city of the Parisii and of the city of the Senones have been widely different. Lutetia, Paris, after having seen the headship of Gaul more than once dangled before her eyes, rose at last to that headship by becoming, in the tenth century, the kernel of a new power and a new people. In that character she outstripped all her rivals, rivals which, one by one, were brought within the bounds of the kingdom of which she was more than the head, of which she was rather the cradle, almost the parent. But her ecclesiastical superior could not, except in that mere point of ecclesiastical dignity, be counted among her rivals. Sens may be said to have grown physically since the days when she was the head of the Senones ; for she has considerable suburbs outside her Roman walls. Relatively she has gone back. The size and population of Sens are far below those of many French towns which have lived on through all ages as local centres and local centres only. Sens is not even the head of a modern department ; the prefect of the Yonne has his seat at Auxerre. The city, in short, would seem to live on the memory of her old greatness, Gaulish and ecclesiastical. Her two most abiding monuments are her metropolitan church and her mighty Roman wall.

Sens then was the ecclesiastical head, as Paris was the temporal head, of France in the very narrowest sense, of the dominions which were held by the Dukes of the French at the moment when they grew into kings. But, for that very reason, neither the metropolitan of Sens nor his suffragan of Paris shared in the highest dignity which belonged to subjects or vassals of the French kingdom. Among the twelve peers of France, six spiritual, six temporal, the prelates of Sens and Paris were not numbered. The primate of Sens was not, in the chain of feudal dignity, the peer of the Archbishop and Duke of Rheims, nor was his suffragan of

Paris the peer of the Bishop and Duke of Laon. The prelates of Rheims and Laon were in theory the peers of the great temporal princes of Gaul, of the Count of Flanders and the Duke of the Normans. Like them, they held directly of the King as king. But the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishop of Paris held of the Duke of the French, just as the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Bayeux held of the Duke of the Normans. That the Duke of the French and the King of the French were the same person made no difference in this matter. The vassals of the Duke were not immediate vassals of the King. Rheims therefore remained the ecclesiastical head of the French kingdom, while Lyons remained the primatial see of all the Gauls, both within the French kingdom and beyond its borders. Sens meanwhile was simply the metropolitan see of a province of which the growing capital of the kingdom remained for so many ages a suffragan.

Of the two aspects of Sens, as the ancient city of the Senones and as the see of a long line of archbishops, the ecclesiastical aspect is doubtless the most prominent in the general look of the city, but it is hardly the most striking when we come to a more minute examination. One might almost wish that the Roman wall of Sens stood out, like the Roman theatre of Orange, as the chief object in the view, rather than the towers of the metropolitan church. Of the two cities by the Yonne, the general aspect of the city of secondary rank, the Gaulish *oppidum*, the suffragan bishopric, is incomparably more striking than that of the head of the tribe and the province. At each point, by the site of Sens and by the site of Auxerre, the broad river flows between ranges of hills of no great height. On its way to join its chief the Seine, the Yonne fittingly shares the tendency of its chief to widen and divide its stream and to embrace islands within its course. But at Auxerre the high ground on the left bank, the western bank, comes down almost close upon the stream, while at Sens the hills keep at some distance. The choice of the site of Sens was clearly determined by the presence of a considerable island, a position important for military purposes, as affording the best means of

blocking the stream against any enemy. The island was not indeed, as at Paris, itself the city ; but it gave the city its character. It rather reminds one of Meulan, where the Seine was bridged by a series of island fortifications yet more thoroughly than the Yonne was at Sens. Sens therefore is essentially a river city, not a hill city. There is of course some slope from the river's bank, but Sens does not occupy a height ; there is no akropolis ; the city, planted on the right bank of the river, looks up to far higher ground on the left bank. In the general view of the city itself the two unequal towers of the metropolitan church form the main feature. A church on the distant hill side, another near the river outside the city, one or two other towers within the city itself, come into the general landscape ; but it is the towers of Saint Stephen's which give the city its character at the first glance. The mighty remnant of earlier times which lives to proclaim the other side of the history of Sens has to be looked for ; it does not force itself on the eye of the traveller as he first draws near.

At Auxerre, on the other hand, though there are one or two islands not far off, there was none that was large enough to enter into any great scheme of military defence. The western hills moreover came close to the stream. They therefore became the site of the Gaulish stronghold which grew into Autessiodurum. But the heights immediately above the river are not very lofty ; they are an advanced range divided by a slight valley from higher hills behind them ; they do not form any distinct peaks or broad table land ; the whole city slopes down to the river, and the highest points of the hill do not come within the earliest enclosure. Few cities have a more striking general effect than Auxerre as seen at some little distance on the other side of the river. As seen in the very near view, from the bridges or from the other bank, the appearance is perhaps too much that of three great ecclesiastical buildings set in a row. But the majestic outline of two of them, their wonderful shiftings in the different points of view taken in the course of a walk on the other side, can hardly be surpassed. The centre and highest of the three is the cathedral church of Saint Stephen ; the protomartyr holds the first place at Auxerre as well as at

Sens. It is a mighty mass indeed, rising proudly over its subordinate buildings, a church of an outline thoroughly French, short and lofty, with the crossing of its four limbs unmarked by the smallest spire or bell-gable; a single tower, one of an unfinished pair, rises at the west end. It is an outline strange to the English, and even to the Norman, eye, but it is an outline which grows upon the beholder. Our first feeling perhaps is that it looks like only half a church; but we gradually feel that it makes a compact and well proportioned whole after its own ideal. To the right, outside the original city, once forming a separate fortress on its own spur of the hill, stands the famous abbey of Saint German, the renowned bishop of the fifth century to whom a large part of the fame of Auxerre is owing. The western part of the nave has perished; the single remaining tower with its spire therefore stands detached, and the general proportion of the building is of course a good deal spoiled. But this loss is hardly felt from those points of view where the east end is seen rising immediately over the river. This east end is one of the very best French type; the outline of the double apse stands clear, and is not confused, as are some French east ends, by a forest of flying buttresses almost hiding the building itself. Lastly, to the left of the cathedral, the church of Saint Peter, standing on the lowest ground of the three, and as a building not for a moment to be compared to either of the others, is forced as it were into equal terms with them by the great height and stateliness of its single side tower. All three rise with their east ends straight above the river, a noble and wonderful group, but still a group which, in the near view, suggests the idea of a row of great churches rather than of a city. This feeling is taken away in the somewhat more distant view, say from the railway station. We still lack some counterbalancing object like the castle at Durham; but now we see the whole lie of the city; smaller and more distant objects come in, and we see how low the three great churches really stand, how far they are from covering the highest points of the hill of Auxerre. The highest ground we now see to be covered by the church of Saint Eusebius with its spire; other towers, civic and military, come into sight; unluckily a rather

grotesque effect is given to the great civic tower, the strange covering which has supplanted its ancient spire. In the immediate neighbourhood too of this tower, unpicturesque civic buildings have in later times supplanted the ancient castle of the counts of Auxerre, a building whose presence is thoroughly needed both for the general variety of the landscape, and in order to bring out one leading element in the history of the city. Still from this more distant point we see Auxerre itself as a city, and not merely its three great churches. These last still stand as a noble front to the picture, none the worse because the picture itself is filled up with a background not wholly unworthy of them.

It is hardly possible, one would think, that the general aspect of Auxerre should fail to satisfy the highest expectations which can have been formed of it. It is certainly otherwise with the first glance of Sens. The one leading object is the metropolitan church, and the metropolitan church is certainly disappointing. If we lighted on it as the church of some monastery of which we had never heard or of some obscure bishopric of which we knew the name and no more, we should be delighted with such a find. But one expects more from a church of primatial rank, and one which has so long a history as the church of Sens. The whole scale and air of the building seems small and weak for a compeer of Canterbury and York, of Rheims and Rouen and Bourges. Its ground-plan would rank in England only with that of our smallest cathedral churches, nor has it the soaring height of Auxerre to bring in the characteristic feature and characteristic merit of the great French buildings. The most striking parts outside are the great rose windows of the transepts, and the two western towers. Of these, the southern is finished in a rich and late style running off into Renaissance; the northern, as it now stands, is not finished at all, having altogether lost the roof which gave it the name of the *tower of lead*, as distinguished from its fellow, the *tower of stone*. We go in, remembering the near connexion between Sens and Canterbury, how, in the rebuilding of Canterbury choir after the great fire in 1174, the fire and the rebuilding which Gervase and Willis have made memorable, the work

was begun by William of Sens and carried on by William the Englishman. We have heard, and heard with perfect truth, of the influence which Senonese models had on the works of the Senonese architect in another land. But, if we go to Sens with Canterbury in our heads, we are unconsciously led to look for something at Sens which we can measure with Canterbury. And that we shall not find. We shall find columns and capitals of that peculiar type of the latter part of the twelfth century which came nearer to the old Corinthian models than anything that was seen for some ages before or for some ages after. We are tempted to see in them the works of the Senonese William, before his skill reached its full height at Canterbury. But the church, as a whole, is a good, rather plain, minster of the second or third scale, a characteristic specimen of its age. Its adjunct, which bears the name of the Synodal Hall, is in its own way more striking than the church itself. That is to say, we have many minsters surpassing the minster of Sens; we have few or no vaulted halls of the thirteenth century to rival the hall of Sens.

From the metropolitan church we turn to its suffragan. But it sounds almost like mockery to compare the churches of Sens and Auxerre. That of Auxerre doubtless owes part of its grandeur from without to its imposing site; but it would be a glorious pile, if it stood anywhere. From some points of view, even the lack of its southern tower is not felt; the northern one almost puts on the character of a single western tower. It may be that, from every point but the west, one western tower like that of Alby would really have been the best finish. But the single tower of Auxerre is essentially one of a pair; it has no claim to compare with Alby or with any of the great single towers; it hardly equals its neighbour at Saint Peter's. The general aspect of Auxerre cathedral is distinctly one which grows upon the beholder; the mass hangs well together, and in the French ideal of a church, the parts have not the same independence which we are accustomed to look for in English minsters. One who is used to the central towers of England and Normandy, to the lantern, massive or soaring, for which the four arms seem to cry as their natural crown is

sometimes tempted to say that, if the mid-tower is gone, the transepts had better follow it, as at Alby and Bourges. But one gradually gets used to the French grouping, and, without the transepts, there would be no opportunity for the northern and southern portals of Auxerre. The transepts suggest a fair comparison with Sens. Which is to be preferred, the great round windows at Sens, round windows and nothing else, or the pointed windows at Auxerre, with a dominant circle in the head? Perhaps, on the principle of giving the prize to whatever best works out its own idea, we may here give Sens the first place. But, on the whole, if there be any real fault in the general outline of Auxerre, it is the odd fancy which has given the Lady Chapel a square end instead of an apse. Here Saint Stephen is undoubtedly surpassed by his neighbour Saint German.

We enter, perhaps by one of the western doorways, rich with their elaborate sculpture, and we find ourselves in a church which has a distinct form of beauty of its own. Its proportions are altogether un-English, but it has not the almost overwhelming height of Amiens and some other of the greater French churches. But its relative height is very great; a church which, in the ground-plan is shorter than Wells, is fully as lofty as Westminster. Mr. Petit remarked long ago that Auxerre cathedral would be better for a few more bays added to its length. In the direct western view we certainly feel this, hardly perhaps from any other point. At a first glance it strikes the eye that the choir has a depressed look, owing to the arch which is used in the vaulting being much less sharply pointed than that which is used in the nave. But this feeling soon goes off, and we come to take in the sterling merits of the building. The whole hangs together; yet the details of the thirteenth century in the choir and those of the fourteenth in the nave are well coupled and contrasted. Each time the church is entered, the satisfaction of the beholder grows. We feel more at home at Auxerre, better able to take in the special beauties of the several parts, than we feel in minsters of the very first rank in point of scale.

I remember standing at the crossing of the cathedral of Le Mans—looking one way to the unsurpassed majesty

and beauty of the choir built after Maine had lost its separate being—looking the other way to that wonderful nave, built, rebuilt, overlaid, in the best forms of earlier days, by bishops and princes whose deeds have formed no small part of my own studies—and feeling how deep, and yet how different, was the interest of the two parts of that noble and historic church. On the one side was simple artistic beauty, beauty which in its own way could hardly be outdone, but beauty which suggested hardly any thought but that of pure artistic admiration. On the other side, the main interest lay largely in the strictly historical view of art, and, to me at least, yet more in the memories which it called up of the stirring annals of the Cenomanian city and county. Here at Auxerre the feeling is different. It is hard, for an Englishman at least, to clothe the history of the county of Auxerre with the same attraction as the history of the county of Maine ; and at Auxerre the charm of all that stands above ground is artistic rather than historical. For anything which brings the cathedral church of Auxerre within the range of even Norman interests we have to go underground. The crypt under the choir is the vestige of a far earlier church, whose building attributed to a somewhat strange character of the first half of the eleventh century, Hugh, Bishop of Auxerre and Count of Challon. The Norman chroniclers delight to tell how, when the Count-Bishop drew on himself the wrath of Duke Richard the Good, he was brought so low that he was glad to make the most abject form of submission. He came to meet the Duke, so Wace tells in his French rime, as William of Jumièges had before told in his Latin prose, with a saddle on his back, that the conquering Norman might, if he would, ride on his lowly servant of Auxerre and Challon. Hugh's work above ground has utterly perished, but his crypt abides. It is such as we might look for in a work which is assigned to the year 1024. Some ancient columns are used up again, but the most part have capitals of those nondescript forms, neither classical nor Norman, which are characteristic of the time. They are the exact fellows of those in the crypt of the cathedral church of Nevers, to which nearly the same date is assigned.

The church of Sens then can hardly venture to enter into any comparison with the church of Auxerre: but the metropolis has some associations and relics in which the daughter has only a lesser share. Auxerre indeed, then a renowned seat of learning, was, naturally enough, one of the seats of the early studies of Thomas of London at a time when modern romance has daringly sent him to as yet unlearned Oxford. But Sens, one of his shelters in exile, the place where Thomas, no longer of London but of Canterbury, met the Pope for whom he endured so much and who did so little for him, claims a greater share in him than Auxerre. She proudly proclaims her right by displaying, as one of the choicest relics of her treasury, the vestments in which he is believed to have said mass at her altars. One choice object in the same treasury is an exquisite piece of Byzantine ivory work representing the history of Joseph and David, with Greek legends so faint that, as the relic now stands, they have mainly to be taken on faith. Auxerre too has its ancient and graceful treasures, but hardly any that can be set against this. Yet it has one object which suggests thoughts of quite other kinds, but which comes from the same side of Christendom as the Byzantine ivory. This is a copy of the Gospels in the old Slavonic character. What brought it to Auxerre? There was said to be somewhere in France—hardly at Auxerre—a Slavonic service-book brought in the eleventh century by Anne the Russian wife of the first King Henry. After her death it was kept as a relic; but it never found another reader till, six centuries and a half later, it was shown to Peter the Great. I know not whether any such curious story attaches to the Slavonic book at Auxerre. No one that I saw could tell me anything about it, beyond the suggestion that, in the days when Auxerre drew students from England, it may have drawn them from the Slavonic lands also.

Against the synodal hall of Sens Auxerre might perhaps strive to set the buildings to the east end of the cathedral, once the bishop's palace, now the prefecture. But as they now stand, the comparison is an unfair one. The hall of Sens may be seen inside; the palace at Auxerre has now nothing to show within. Outside, to

the east, there is a lovely gallery of rich and late Romanesque work, work almost Italian in its gracefulness, which goes by the name of the *Bishop's Walk*. To compare small things with great, this charming arcade looks down upon the Yonne almost as the sterner *cryptoporticus* of Diocletian looks down upon the haven of Spalato. But it is in the subordinate churches, even more than in the cathedral, that the great strength of Auxerre lies. Not a few have been swept away; but the abiding remnant is precious. Sens too has her churches beyond her walls. There is in the island of the Yonne a very pretty little church of much the same date as the cathedral; and the abbey beyond the walls is found outside Sens as well as outside most other cities. But it has to be looked for. It is not set down in Joanne's very useful guide-book, and I must confess that I might not have heard of its being, had I not had, shortly before I went to Sens, found it needful to turn to the chronicle of Sanctus Petrus Vivus—*Saint-Pierre-le-vif*—otherwise the chronicle of Clarius. The chronicler describes with great delight how, in one of the councils of the reign of Philip the First, his own Archbishop of Sens was set in all things on a level with the Archbishop of Rheims himself. Saint Peter *Vivus*—one hardly ventures to translate—had therefore to be found, and found he was, after a rather long walk from the eastern end of the city. The church is singularly small for its purpose, but it is of extraordinary architectural interest. It is a Romanesque building with a central tower, showing a nearer approach than is usual in these parts to that characteristic feature of the early Romanesque, the *mid-wall* shafts of Professor Willis' nomenclature. The small columns dividing the windows, set in the centre of the wall, are found in countless churches of Germany, Italy and England—above all in Lindesey, Aquitaine, and the royal Burgundy; in Normandy and France they are rare. Here, if not the thing itself, yet something unusually like it, is found in this massive tower, central, though without transepts strictly so called. Small and plain as it is, this church is no mean specimen of a rather early Romanesque; but, small and plain, hidden in a paltry suburb, it is, in its general effect, a poor competitor for the magnificent Saint German at Auxerre, rising over the river only less proudly than its

episcopal neighbour. Here a most graceful, but not very elaborate, church of the earlier French Gothic has had to deplore the loss of the western part of its nave. Thus, as I have already hinted, the one remaining western tower, Romanesque of the twelfth century and crowned with a spire, stands apart like a detached campanile. It was meant, it would seem, neither to stand apart, nor to be altogether part of the church, but to form one tower of a kind of *narthex* or great western porch, like that of the cathedral at Autun. Saint German too has his underground wonders, in a crypt yet earlier and more striking than that of Saint Stephen. This crypt shelters a store of columns and capitals, among them one pair especially for which alone the zealous student of the strange forms supplied by the darker days of art might think a journey to Auxerre no unprofitable task.

But Saint German of Auxerre has, for the visitor from Britain of either race, associations wholly distinct from its purely architectural features. It bears the name—indirectly it might be called the work—of the great Bishop of Auxerre of the fifth century, who, like Ambrose, forsook temporal for spiritual rule, and the sphere of whose spiritual labours reached to the island which was presently to become ours. Six hundred years later, Saint German of Auxerre becomes connected with the ecclesiastical history of England. It was a monk of his house who went forth, moved by a vision, to found the house of Saint German by the Ouse, that great minster of Selby, no less splendid in its own way than its parent, though so utterly unlike the mother church in every feature. Nowhere can there be a stronger contrast than there is between the apses of Saint German at Auxerre and that one great east window, noblest save one in England, which ends the choir of Saint German at Selby. And besides Saint German's, there still remain two other notable churches at Auxerre. There is Saint Eusebius, the church that crowns the whole city, a good specimen of the Transitional style, with a side tower of graceful Romanesque, crowned by an octagon with a spire. This is one of those churches in which the architects of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and even seventeenth, century began to rebuild, but commonly—we may say happily—

never finished their work. There are a crowd of churches in France where a lofty choir of late date, sometimes in pure, though late Gothic, sometimes more or less mingled with Renaissance details, soars above an earlier nave whose rebuilding after the same pattern has been designed but never carried out. So it is at Saint Eusebius at Auxerre; the new choir of the sixteenth century altogether dwarfs the tower of the twelfth. These late buildings, in which, for the most part, general mediæval ideas and general mediæval proportions are combined with every kind of mixture of mediæval and Renaissance detail, form a very curious study. In England we are used to this style in houses; we seldom see it in churches, never in churches on any great scale. But in France, where the break between past and present happened late in the eighteenth century instead of in the middle of the sixteenth, church-building went on much later than in England, and this curious class of churches is the result. Many of them are really very fine buildings; the style perhaps reaches its highest point in the great Saint Eustace at Paris, where all the feeling of a Gothic minster is kept without a single good Gothic detail. Here at Saint Eusebius the mixture takes a singular shape. The arcades and clerestory mean to be Gothic; the triforium between them, a by no means inelegant piece of work but quite incongruous with the stages above and below, belongs to that kind of Renaissance which is in fact a falling back on the more classical types of Romanesque. It would hardly be out of place at Pisa or at Ragusa.

Saint Peter's church at Auxerre, all but the lofty tower, is throughout another example of this mixed style of the seventeenth century, stately in its general effect, but far less interesting than this small piece at Saint Eusebius. But it is curious to see at this late date the Corinthian capitals, some fully finished, some half cut out, some left wholly in the block, just as we might have seen them a thousand years or more earlier. And in front of the church is a Renaissance gateway, which I must confess cost me a second glance before I felt quite certain that I was not looking on an unusually well preserved fragment of old Autessiodurum.

And now it may be thought that I have been making a comparison between the churches of Sens and Auxerre in which the suffragan see is made undutifully to lift itself up above its metropolis. But let us leave the ecclesiastical side of the two cities ; let us go back to days when, when there were bishops either at Sens or at Auxerre, those bishops ran a daily chance of becoming martyrs. Here Sens has her revenge. We may put the difference epigrammatically ; Sens still remains *Civitas Senonum* ; Auxerre has long ceased to be Autessiodurum. I mean that from Auxerre, as far as the general look of the city is concerned, all traces of the Roman enclosure have passed away. Its extent is known ; when the lines have been once pointed out on a plan, it is not hard to follow them, on two sides at least, in the present streets. The place of the western gate is marked by the mediæval clock-tower of the city, whose look, now that it is so cruelly shorn of the spire which once crowned it, has been already spoken of. This Roman enclosure lay on the slope of the hill, and by no means reached its top. It took in the cathedral church with its surroundings, and the castle of the counts of Auxerre, now represented, in its site though in no other way, by the modern *Hôtel de Ville*. It took in also several smaller churches clustering round the great one, two of which bore the speaking names of Saint Peter in the Castle and Our Lady of the City. At Auxerre, as elsewhere, from Athens onwards, the name *City* specially clave to the oldest enclosure. That enclosure left out the abbey of Saint German, and the other churches of Saint Eusebius and the greater Saint Peter. The modern *boulevards* mark the site of a far later wall, which takes in all these churches, and of which large portions, including several towers, remain. But the old lines of Autessiodurum do not show themselves above ground. They must be traced in vaults and cellars under the houses. Many fragments of the old city have at different times been brought to light, and may now be seen in the museum. Above all, there is one noble capital of the type in which the artists ventured to forsake conventional restrictions, and to bring in living forms, animal, human, and divine. Its fellows may be seen at Rome, in the Tabularium on the Capitol and in

the baths of Antoninus. Its remote descendants may be seen at Lucca, Nevers, and Wetzlar.

The cause of this difference is that the old Autessiodurum was but a small city, and that mediæval Auxerre greatly outstripped its bounds. But the Roman walls of *Civitas Senonum* took up, as became the head of the tribe, a far greater space, and with that space the city proper has been content to this day. The modern *boulevards* follow the line of the Roman walls; beyond them there is a good deal of suburb, but nothing but suburb. And on one side, the southern side, the remains of the Roman wall form one of the most striking and living bits of history which it has ever been my lot to come across in the shape of brick and stone. As we walk down from the south-eastern corner, the sight grows upon us; we feel more and more at every step that we are compassing one of the great seats of Gaulish and Roman power. We first mark here and there a few mighty stones; gradually, as we go on, we take in their full force and meaning. Here is a wall of huge stones, of the noblest Roman masonry, which has clearly been patched up in some later repair in the style of Roman work more usual in Gaul and Britain, the ranges of small square stones banded together with layers of brick. The great stones are no mere foundation for the less massive superstructure. They rise irregularly to different heights, and they have everywhere been made good in the other style. It is plain that a wall of the grandest type that the masons of the elder Empire could put together has been broken down, and repaired in that later Roman style with which we are most familiar, but which is never found in Rome itself. To overthrow such a wall must have been at least as hard a task as to build it; but the task has plainly been gone through. It is clear that the wall of massive stones needed to be made good, and it was made good in what, when we see the two side by side, we cannot help calling an inferior manner. When was the work done? The invasions and tumults and civil wars of the third and fourth centuries allow plenty of opportunities both for destruction and for rebuilding. Jublains remains as an example of a Roman town forsaken in the third century and never rebuilt.

Sens seems to give us an example of a town which underwent some fearful blow, but a blow from which it recovered. The men of Sens again built up their waste places while the Roman power in Gaul still lasted. The difference between the earlier and the later work is most striking. The contrast between the Titanic grandeur of the older masonry and the later repair that stands against it, makes us grasp more fully the truth that such Roman work as we have in Britain mostly belongs to the later days of Roman occupation.

Whether the wall of Sens is to be looked on as a monument of greater interest than the metropolitan church is largely a matter of personal taste. There can be little doubt which monument is the more striking and unique. I can only speak for myself; I was certainly disappointed in the cathedral; I was assuredly not disappointed in the wall. Sens, we might say, still remains a Roman city sheltering mediæval and modern work within it. Auxerre is a mediæval city of a very high degree of interest. But its connexion with earlier days is matter of faith and of inference. That Auxerre was a Roman city we know; if we did not know it, we could safely infer the fact from the general history of Gaul. But it does not bear upon it the same lively impress of the presence of the universal conqueror which Sens bears. At Auxerre we see a city of noble churches, associated with great names in ecclesiastical history. At Sens we see the tale told by the Augustan historians, by Ammianus and the Panegyrists, graven, as long as man's works can hope to last, on the stones and bricks which are still alive to tell it.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

It is unnecessary to state before an educated audience reasons for calling attention to a place which stands alone amidst the great cities of Europe—unique equally in its history and in its present appearance. At first sight we are entertained by the matchless beauty of the prospect, where the eye wanders with delight over the waters now expanding into the Sea of Marmora, now contracting into the Channel of the Bosphorus; or follows with no less delight the ridges of hills and mountains ascending to the summit of the Bithynian Olympus. But on closer inspection the monuments of former ages reveal themselves—Greek Churches converted into mosques, pre-eminent as specimens of Byzantine art; the ancient walls of Stamboul with their numerous towers and inscriptions; and in obscure corners many a trace of occupation by Venetians, Genoese,¹ and strangers from the distant north.²

I. The walls of Constantinople may justly be regarded as the most remarkable antiquities of their kind in the whole world. This statement will appear to some exaggerated, but arguments in support of it can easily be

¹ The antiquarian traveller will be greatly aided in researches of this kind, if he is able to secure the assistance of Mr. George Sklirakis, whom I engaged as a dragoman on the recommendation of the Rev. Canon Curtis, minister of the English Memorial Church at Constantinople. Mr. Sklirakis is not an ordinary guide; he has carefully studied the monuments of the city and the literature connected with them.

² Information concerning Varangian monuments would be best obtained by application at the Swedish Consulate. The Varangian body-guard appear in a mosaic at San Vitale, Ravenna, of which there is a coloured copy in the South Kensington Museum. For references on

this subject see my paper on the Antiquities of Scandinavia, section ii, Byzantine influence, "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxv, p. 261, note 2. The testimony of Codinus shows that some at least of these soldiers were English, Πολυχρονίζουσι Βάραγγοι, κατὰ τὴν πατρίον καὶ οὗτοι γλῶσσαν αὐτῶν, ἔχουν Ἰγκλιμιστὶ, p. 90 [p. 57, ed. Bonn], quoted by Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," chap. liii, vol. vii, p. 22, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith. A series of seals relating to the Varangians has been discovered; they are described by Dr. Mordtmann in the "Revue Archéologique;" one of them is remarkable as belonging to the διερμηνευτῆς or chief dragoman.

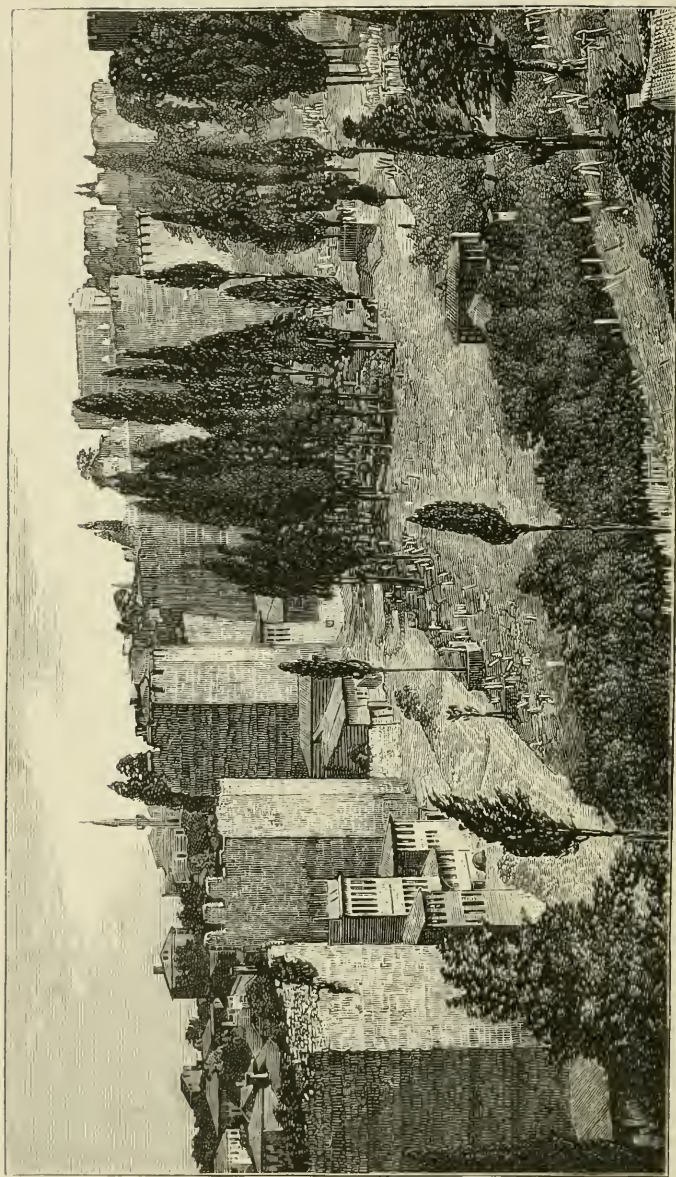
adduced. Our curiosity has often been excited by the Cyclopean fortifications of Greece, Italy, and Spain. But these were rude structures, for the most part, if not altogether, without towers, erected by semi-barbarous races, and connected with poetry and mythology rather than with the facts of history; they either consist of uninscribed stones, or bear some mysterious characters, which successive generations of antiquaries have failed to decipher. Again, the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus in Britain, and the Teufelsmauer from Hohenstaufen to the Main¹ were boundaries of great importance, and will always be objects of special interest to the nations in whose territories their ruins still exist. But the ancient ramparts on the land side of Constantinople far surpass those to which I have alluded, whether we consider their picturesque situation between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmora,² the inscriptions upon them extending over many centuries and containing most exact dates, or lastly, the series of events which they have witnessed, ending in the long decay and death-struggle of the Roman empire.

The best work on this subject is that published by Dr. Paspatis in the year 1877, and entitled *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται*,

¹ The following works concerning the great Roman wall in Germany may be consulted with advantage—"Geschichte und Topographie des Maingebietes und Spessarts unter den Römern" . . . von Hofrath Dr. Steiner, Darmstadt, 1834; "Der Römische Grenzwall (Limes Transrhenanus) von Hohenstaufen bis an den Main," von Edward Paulus, Stuttgart, 1863; "Die Vermessung des Römischen Grenzwalls in seinem Lauf durch Württemberg," von Dr. Ernst Herzog, Stuttgart, 1880. "The Pfahlgraben," by Thomas Hodgkin, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 8vo, 1882. These books contain useful maps. Mr. James Yates has appended to his valuable essay, "On the Limes Rhaeticus and Limes Transrhenanus," 1852, a very copious list of books relating to this Roman boundary.

² This line of fortifications, carried over hills and valleys, is far more pleasing to the eye of the spectator than any similar structure on a flat surface; the architectural beauty is also enhanced by the richness and variety of the surrounding vegetation. The walls are well represented in M. Berggren's photographs,

taken from many points of view. This artist is specially employed by the local savants to copy ancient monuments. Dallaway notices the hilly site and the trees growing in the fosse; he justly compares the projecting battlements with those in the castles at Conway and Carnarvon: "Constantinople, ancient and modern, with excursions to the shores and islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad," by James Dallaway, M.B., F.S.A., late chaplain and physician of the British Embassy to the Porte, 1797. Compare also a memoir by the same author in the "Archæologia," vol. xiv, pp. 231-243, which is illustrated by four large engravings. Dr. Mordtmann's "Guide to Constantinople" contains a coloured map of the city and its suburbs by Stolpe, in which the walls are clearly exhibited, the circular towers being distinguished from the rectangular. This map is corrected to the year 1880; it gives the ancient and modern names, with descriptions in French and German; and it supplies much information by means of signs and abbreviations.



Walls of Constantinople.
(From a photograph by M. Berggren.)

“Byzantine Studies;” it is written in modern Greek approximating as much as possible to the ancient, which renders the perusal comparatively easy to the classical scholar. Dr. Paspatis’s treatise exhibits a profound acquaintance with the mediæval historians, and communicates the results of laborious investigations, which none but a resident at Constantinople could have pursued.¹ To this work I am indebted for a large part of the present memoir, and in many cases I shall only translate the learned author, being conscious that I cannot improve upon what he has already said so well.

The land walls (τὰ χερσαῖα τεῖχη) were built about A.D. 413, under Theodosius II, by the Praetorian Prefect Anthemius; having been overthrown by an earthquake they were rebuilt thirty-six years later by Cyrus within two months—an almost incredibly short space of time, which, however, is attested by inscriptions as well as ancient authors.

After an interval of 200 years Heraclius, well known as the greatest general of the Byzantine dynasties, erected a new wall to include the church and palace of Blachernae; this was called Μονότειχος or Καστέλλιον τῶν Βλαχερνῶν.² Two centuries more had elapsed when Leo the Armenian added a wall in front of the Heraclian; but being only one-hundred mètres long it scarcely deserves to be mentioned together with the gigantic structures of his predecessors. The land walls join that on the Golden Horn near a gate now closed,³ by the side of which a colossal bas-relief of Victory, carrying a palm branch in her left hand, may still be seen. It is a very conspicuous object on the traveller’s right as he returns from Blachernae to his quarters at Pera. A

¹ As a proof of the success that has followed Dr. Paspatis’s researches, I may mention that he has discovered fifteen Greek Churches at Constantinople.

² Blachernae is a district on the South side of the Golden Horn, through which the traveller passes on his way to the mosque of Eyub. This name is probably the same word as the English *bracken* and the Danish *bregne*: Sophocles, “Lexicon of Byzantine Greek,” Βλάχρον or Βλάχρον=πτέρις fern, with references: Ferrall, Repp and Rosing, Danish Dictionary, Bregne fern; (i Massevis voxende)

brake, (prov.) bracken. Codinus proposes three explanations of the etymology, “De Originibus Constantinopolitanis,” Venet., ed. Lambec., p. 38 (edit. Paris, p. 48), ἡ ὕτι βλάχρα ἦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ τόπῳ . . . ἢ ἐκλήθη λακέρνα καὶ βλαχέρνα, ὕτι λακκώδης ἦν ὁ τόπος καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐν αὐτῇ πολλὰ ὕδατα, ἢ ὕτι Βλάχρου τινὸς κέρμα ἦν ἐκεῖσε.

³ This gate is called Jagdthor in Stolpe’s map, and Porte du Chasseur à Balata in Berggren’s photograph; it is close to Blachernae.

local antiquary describes this figure as Michael the archangel (*ἀρχιστράτηγος*)¹; but the face, breasts and drapery show unmistakably that a female is here represented. Comparing this gate with the triumphal arches of the Romans, of which so many examples remain, I feel little doubt that this Victory was one of the original ornaments decorating an important entrance into the city.²

Between the palace of Belisarius and the Old Harbour Bridge, not far from this Victory, there is a remarkable slab with reliefs on it. My attention was directed to it by the Rev. Canon Curtis, who kindly assisted me to explore this part of Stamboul. The *plaque* is high up in the wall; partly on this account, and partly from the general excellence of the workmanship, one might mistake it for a fragment of classical art; but the subject is taken from the Old Testament, as Mr. Curtis ascertained by examining it with a glass from a window in an upper storey of the house opposite. He was able to read the the letters Π Α Ι of the word *παῖδες*, and discovered that one of the figures was winged, so that we have here the Three Holy Children mentioned in the Book of Daniel, and the Angel of the Lord appearing with them.³ This interesting monument has been assigned with great probability to the fourth century, because this period is specially distinguished by the development of Christian

¹ Ducange, s. v. *Ἀρχιστράτηγος*; epitheton vulgo S. Michaeli a Graecis attributum; quo unico etiam vulgo appellari solet. He also quotes the phrase, *ἀρχιστράτηγος τῶν ἑνὸς τάξεων*.

² Besides the well-known example in the arch of Titus at Rome, compare Montfaucon, "Antiquité Expliquée," vol. iv, Part I, p. 170, Plate, Restes de l'Arc de Cavaillon: Supplement, vol. iv, p. 78, Plate—L'arc de St. Rémi en Provence. "Au-dessus de la porte il y a sur chaque côté une victoire." But it is still more to the purpose to observe that in Constantinople itself at the Porta Aurea a statue of the goddess Victory, of bronze gilt, was placed upon the platform over the gate together with one of the emperor Theodosius: Dallaway in the "Archaeologia," xiv, 241.

³ Daniel iii, 25. The letters ΠΑΙ correspond with the Greek title of The Song of the Three Holy Children in the Apo-

crypha, *τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν ὕμνος*; and the winged figure is explained by verse 26: The Angel of the Lord came down into the oven together with Azarias and his fellows. The same subject appears on a remarkable Sarcophagus in the church of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan; on one side of the medallion-portraits of the deceased we see the three kings adoring the infant Saviour, and on the other the three youths refusing to worship the image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up. This symmetrical arrangement, which is quite in accordance with the practice of ancient art, exhibits the contrast between Christianity and idolatry. Lübke, "Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte," vol. i, p. 253, and engraving p. 254, fig. 172; comp. Lübke, "History of Sculpture," English translation, i, 341, and illustration in "Oesterreich Denkm." of Heider, Eitelberger, &c., vol. ii, p. 27 et seq.

sculpture, preceding the grand mosaics executed in the fifth and sixth centuries.¹

We may note three principal epochs in the reparation of the walls, though of course on many other occasions alterations and additions were made. After an earthquake which took place in A.D. 740, Leo the Isaurian, first of the Iconoclast Emperors, levied a tax for this purpose. About a hundred years later Theophilus directed his attention specially to the ramparts on the sea-side, parallel to the Golden Horn, from Haivan Serai Kapousou, near Blachernae, to Baluk-Bazar-Kapousou, near the New Harbour Bridge.² He is said to have raised the walls, to have effaced the traces of age, and to have made the defences inaccessible to enemies. As this emperor was engaged in foreign wars with the Arabs during nearly the whole of his reign, we can easily understand the causes of his extraordinary activity in fortifying his capital. During the few years that immediately preceded the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, many repairs were effected by John VIII Palaeologus, last but one in the series of Byzantine emperors.

Those who cannot visit these wonderful fortifications may be interested in learning that a contemporary illustration exists in Byzantine coinage. A concave gold *solidus* of Michael VIII Palaeologus has on its reverse the Virgin with uplifted hands, surrounded by a plan of Constantinople, in which towers and crenellated walls may be distinctly seen. The same type appears on the coins of this emperor's son, Andronicus II; they were wrongly assigned by Ducange and Banduri to Andronicus I Comnenus.³ Their mistake was corrected by Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. viii, p. 267, sq.; and there

¹ "Sarcophagi bearing a distinctly Christian character scarcely appear before the fourth century." Dr. Wm. Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," vol. ii, p. 1864. Je viens de citer un Sarcophage de l'année 273; il en est peu d'un pareil âge: Le Blant, "Etude sur les Sarcophages Chrétiens Antiques de la Ville d'Arles," Introduction, p. 4.

² See "Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel," vom v, bis xii, Jahrhundert, von W. Salzenberg, Plate xxxviii, Geometrical patterns in marbles and tiles of the Hebdomon; Inscription

on Wall, ΠΥΡΟΘΕΟΦ, fig. 14. The map in Murray's "Handbook" shows the Hebdomon a little north of the Palace of Belisarius.

³ Ducange, "Familiae Augustae Byzantinae," edit. Paris, page 169. Banduri, whom Eckhel contemptuously calls *asscula Ducangii*, has copied the engraving of his predecessor, "Numismata Romanorum a Trajano Decio ad Palaeologos Augustos," vol. ii, Plate on p. 753; the description of the coin above-mentioned is given at p. 760. Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, Plate lix, No. 3.

can be no doubt on the subject, as Pachymeres, lib. vi, cap. 8, expressly informs us that Michael VIII changed the old devices, and engraved the city on the reverse.¹ It might be supposed that he only intended to exhibit the Virgin as patroness of Constantinople; but on closer examination we shall see that, in some cases at least, the reference was local. In Sabatier, Plate LX, No. 4, we have the letters B--A on either side of the bust of the Virgin, and these are evidently the first letters of *Βλαχερναι* or *Βλαχερνίτισα*. As Andronicus II repaired and adorned the church of St. Mary in this suburb, it was natural that he should commemorate the fact by placing her effigy on his money.²

In the coins above mentioned the walls of Constantinople are represented with as much accuracy as could be obtained in so limited a field; at an earlier period we find only an emblematic bust of the city, like that of the goddess Roma. The device on the obverse is a female head with laureated helmet, and imperial mantle on the shoulders; on the reverse we see a galley rowed by five men, the captain seated at the stern, and three military ensigns in front of him, while a Victory stands on the prow, holding a crown in one hand and a palm-branch in the other. From its rude execution M. Cohen infers that this type should be assigned to successors of Constantine down to the time of Justinian.³

II. These walls suggest many topics for investigation, but amongst them I have selected the inscriptions, because they are very interesting, and have been scarcely

¹ Sabatier, ii, 241, *μετεγεγράφω μὲν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν σημείων, τῆς πόλεως χαραττομένης ὑπὲν*. Comp. F. de Sauley, "Essai de Classification des Suintes Byzantines," p. 428, Pl. xxxii.

² In Borrell's "Catalogue," p. 96, a coin of Constantine XII Monomachus is mentioned; it has on the obverse a full-faced bust of the Virgin, with nimbus and hands elevated; the legend is *Η ΒΑΑΚΕΡΝΙΤΙΚΑ*. This type is very fully explained by Mr. Madden in the "Numismatic Chronicle," 1878, Part III, New Series, No. 71, p. 207. He gives at p. 186, *ib.*, the representations of Christ and the Virgin on coins in chronological order.

³ "Médailles Impériales," vol. vi, Pl. iv, No. 4; the coin is described p. 175,

and the date of it is discussed in a note, p. 174. The same plate contains the head of Urbs Roma, No. 7. The earlier Byzantine coinage exhibits some remarkable devices; one of them is the Star and Crescent, afterwards adopted by the Turks as their national emblem: Leake, "Numismata Hellenica," p. 31; Murray's "Handbook," introductory historical sketch, prefixed to the account of Constantinople, p. 48. In the reign of Gallienus we see upon a reverse two cones joined by their bases; these are probably baskets used in the fisheries for which Byzantium was renowned, Leake, *ib.* Other types may be seen in Hunter's "Catalogue," pp. 74, 75, Tab. 13, Nos. xvii-xxv; cf. "Eckhel Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. ii, pp. 26-32, especially 27.

noticed by English antiquaries. It would be difficult elsewhere to find a line of fortifications containing memorials of this kind extending over a thousand years; the earliest belong to the reign of Theodosius II, A.D. 408-450, and the latest to that of John VIII Palaeologus, A.D. 1425-1448. Dr. Paspatis has carefully examined these records, and in the work above-mentioned has transcribed forty-one of them.¹ But his account, though copious and learned, does not altogether supersede the compilation of Böckh in the "*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*;" for the latter writer gives the forms of the characters more accurately in his text, and adds many references to the works of travellers. A comparatively small space is allotted to the epigraphy of Constantinople; it will be found between Nos. 8664 and 8794.²

Most of these inscriptions are Greek, but some are Latin, as we might expect from the mixed population, which contained doubtless, in ancient as in modern times, many residents who did not understand Greek. Prose is the form usually employed; there are however instances of hexameters, and one of elegiac verse. They relate chiefly to the building of walls by emperors or prefects; in a few cases they are sepulchral. It has been truly remarked that, if all histories of Imperial Rome had perished, the chief events therein recorded would have been known to us from devices on large brass coins;³ similarly, without the assistance of the Byzantine writers, we should have been able to ascertain the most important facts connected with these walls from the evidence of the letters still extant upon them. They exhibit the names of at least twelve emperors, and state sometimes not only the year but even the month, in which a reparation was made or a new construction added. On the other hand, as far as I recollect, the great wall from Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne supplies only a single inscription

¹ Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, Κεφάλαιον δευτέρου, Ἐπιγραφὰι τῶν χειρσαίων τειχῶν, pp. 33-61.

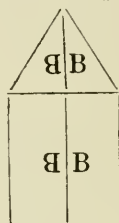
² The Inscriptions of Constantinople are contained in vol. iv of *Corp. Inscr. Graec.*

³ Admiral W. H. Smyth, "Descrip-

tive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large Brass Medals," Introduction, p. 5. "They record a greater number of remarkable events; fix precisely more chronological dates; and afford better traces of manners and customs, than any other class of coins."

from which we can infer that Hadrian built it ;¹ and in the earth-work (*murus cespitiatus*) between the Clyde and the Forth one legionary tablet has been found mentioning Q. Lollius Urbicus, the Imperial Legate, who erected the Antonine rampart.² Again, if we pass from our own country to the line of defence connecting the Danube with the Main, we should search in vain among the stones of the Teufelsmauer for the chronological details which abound at Constantinople.

As many of the inscriptions closely resemble each other, it would be a tedious and unprofitable task to investigate them all ; I shall therefore discuss only those which are more interesting than the rest on account of their relation to history or antiquities.



No. IX, p. 42 in Dr. Paspatis's *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται* is on the Theodosian wall, where it joins that of Heraclius, a little to the north of the Gate of the Incorporeals (*Ἀσωμάτων*) i.e., Angels. There are here six windows which are supposed to have belonged to the church of the Nine Orders ; on one of them is a shield divided into four compartments, with the letter B in each. We have here the initials of *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων*, *Βασιλέων Βασιλέουσι*. This abbreviation appears also on the walls of Galata.³

¹ Dr. Bruce, "Roman Wall," p. 16. Inscription found in Castle-Nick Mile-Tower, Imp. Caes. Trajan. Hadrian. Aug. Leg. II. Aug. A. Platorio Nepote Leg. Pr. Pr. "Lapidarium Septentrionale," No. 199, p. 106, comp. Nos. 200-202

² Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," vol. ii, p. 40. The name of the Emperor Antonius Pius appears on an inscribed and sculptured stone found at Bridgeness on the Forth, and preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh ; it is described in their Catalogue, No. 157*.

³ Other interpretations of the four B's have been proposed. Jacques Gretser thought they were the armorial bearings

of Constantinople, and that they represented the steel used to strike a light, being similar in form to this utensil. So Ducange, *Palaeologorum insignia*, quæ plenam crucem cum quatuor igniariis fociibus praeferunt. But this explanation seems improbable, as the heraldic usages of the West were not adopted by the Byzantines. Some say that these letters denote the kingdom of Christ extending over the four quarters of the world. Lastly, it has been suggested that we have here an allusion to four Emperors reigning together. The legend AVGG NN shows that there was more than one Augustus at the same time, but Constans II associated his three sons

Our inscription may be illustrated by Byzantine coins, *e.g.*, of John I Zimisce, who reigned A.D. 969-976, in the century succeeding the Iconoclasts, when Christian art and symbolism began to revive. Accordingly at this period we meet with the legend IC-XC-BAS-ILE-BAS-ILS, and the bust of our Lord on the reverse holding the Gospels in his hand. A little later, Constantine XII Monomachus, expressed the same idea in Latin words, Rex regnantium.¹ Among the Parthians this title was first assumed by Mithridates I (Arsaces VI), and often adopted by his successors, as the coins abundantly testify.² But if we look to the material employed, a rock-tablet at Behistan supplies evidence more apposite for our present purpose; it contains the figure of Gotarzes pursuing his enemies and crowned by Victory, together with the inscription ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΩΝ, Satrap of Satraps, which is equivalent to *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων*.³ I need scarcely add that this Eastern title has for us an additional interest, an account of its application by the writers of the New Testament. St. Paul says that our Saviour is the blessed and only Potentate (*δυνάστης*), the King of kings and Lord of lords; and a similar phrase occurs twice in the Apocalypse.⁴

with himself in the government of the empire, so that they formed a *τραπεζασιλεία*. "Revue Archéologique," Février, 1877, pp. 92-101, Sur les quatre B, Lettre à M. Schlumberger, par M. G. Sathas.

¹ Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, p. 142, Pl. xlvii, 17, *Cf.* xlviii, 2, 3, 4, 5. The words "Rex regnantium" occur on the gold coins of John I Zimisce, Sabatier, *ib.* p. 141.

² Lindsay, "History and Coinage of the Parthians," p. 213, Appendix, No. 2, Titles on the coins of the Parthian kings; of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ there are many instances, but Arsaces XII alone uses the form ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. The Parthian monarchs by this appellation proclaimed their supremacy over dynasties of dependent kings and viceroys who governed provinces (*Vitaxae*, *Βίστακες*); Rawlinson, "Sixth Oriental Monarchy," pp. 87, 88. For Mithridates I *Cf. ib.* p. 90 and foot-notes. But the most remarkable example occurs in a letter from Phraataces to Augustus; the Parthian calls himself King of kings and addresses the Roman Emperor as *Cæsar* (*ἐκέλευον δὲ Κάισαρα μόνον ὀνομάσας*). Rawlinson, p. 218 and note 2.

³ Sir R. Ker Porter, "Travels in Georgia, Persia," &c., vol. ii, p. 150, has an engraving of the mountain called Besitoon, which is variously spelt Behistun, Bilsutun, Bisutun and Baghistan. At p. 151, describing the inscription of Gotarzes, he says that very little of it can now be discerned; accordingly his copy is quite fragmentary. The words are better given by Rawlinson, who has profited by the researches of more recent travellers, p. 260, note 1; see also chap. xxii, "On the Architecture and Ornamental Art of the Parthians," p. 389, woodcut of the Bas-relief of Gotarzes from Flandin and Coste. Victory is a frequent device on Parthian coins: Lindsay, Pl. iii, No. 61, Two Victories crowning King's head; *cf.*, Pl. v, No. 11, and Pl. vii, No. 5.

⁴ I Tim. vi, 15, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυριεύόντων, parallel passages will be found in Bloomfield's note. The margin of the Revised Version renders the participles accurately—King of them that reign as kings, and Lord of them that rule as lords.—Rev. xvii, 14; xix, 16.

† THEODOSII JUSSIS GEMINO NEC MENSE PERACTO
CONSTANTINUS OVANS HAEC MOENIA FIRMA LOCAVIT
TAM CITO TAM STABILEM PALLAS VIX CONDERET ARCEM †¹

† Theodosii jussis, gemino nec mense peracto,
Constantinus ovans haec moenia firma locavit;
Tam cito, tam stabilem Pallas vix conderet arcem. †

“By order of Theodosius and in less than two months Constantine rejoicing made these walls strong: Minerva would scarcely have built a fortress so quickly and so permanent.”

Paspati, No. XXII, p. 50. This inscription on the Melandesian gate, in all probability, belongs to the fifth century, and is therefore one of the earliest at Constantinople. It was discovered by Guys, a French archaeologist, in 1770; at the present time the latter part of it is difficult to read, as the stone is overgrown with moss produced by water dripping from the cornice. Theodosius here mentioned is the second of that name; Constantine, the architect, is the same as Cyrus, who occurs several times in the Byzantine writers. His career was a remarkable one. The skill and energy he had shown in repairing the walls made him famous, and the populace exclaimed—“Cyrus will gain other victories and higher promotion.” Whereupon the Emperor became jealous, compelled Cyrus to take orders, and appointed him Metropolitan of Smyrna, with the hope that this dignity would prove fatal, as four of his predecessors in the see had been murdered.

With the Latin inscription quoted above another on the same gate should be compared:—

† ΗΜΑ ΙΝΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑΦΙΛΟΚΗΠΤΡΩΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΕΔΕΙΜΑΤΟΤΕΙΧΕΙΤΕΙΧΟΣ †

† “Ἡμασιν ἐξήκοντα φιλοσκήπτρῳ Βασιλῆι
Κωνσταντῖνος ὑπαρχος εἰδείματο τείχει τείχος †

“In sixty days for the scepter’d king the prefect
Constantine built a wall in addition to a wall.”

Paspati, No. XX, p. 47, in his interpretation, has printed the last word of the former line Βασιλεῖ; it should be Βασιλῆι to complete the hexameter: it is given correctly by Dallaway, *Archaeologia*, vol. xix, p. 241, note. But

¹ In *Theodosii* the first two syllables must be pronounced as one, by Synæresis; so Virgil, *Georgics* II, 453, ends the line with *ilicis alveo*. Similarly the

Attic dialect, by Crasis, contracts *θεο* into *θου*, *c.g.*, Θεοκυδίδης Θουκυδίδης, Θεοκλῆς Θουκλῆς.

he has made a still worse mistake in the second line by omitting the verb *ἰδίματο*, which is required for the sense and metre alike. The trench must have been excavated subsequently to the outer wall mentioned above as *additional*: otherwise we could not account for the distance of the trench from the inner or great wall.¹

† ANENENΘΗΤΟΠΡΟΤΕΙΧΙΣΜΑΤΟΤΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΑΚΟΥΤΕΙΧΟΥΤΣΕΠΙ
ΙΟΥΣΤΗΝΟΥΚΑΙΣΟΦΙΑΣΤΩΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΩΝΗΜΩΝΔΕΣΠΟΤΩΝ
ΔΙΑΝΑΡΣΟΥΤΟΥΕΝΔΟΞΟΤΑΤΟΥΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΚΑΙΛΑΡΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΑΝΗΚΟΝΤΟΕΙΣΤΠΟΡΤΓΙΑΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΤΟΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΤΑΤΟΝΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΝ. †

† Ἀνενέωθη τὸ προτείχισμα τοῦ θεοδοσιακοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ
Ιουστ(ί)νου καὶ Σοφίας τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν
διὰ Ναρσῶν τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου Σπαθαρίου καὶ Σακ(ε)λ)λαρίου
καὶ Στεφάνου ἀνήκοντος εἰς ὑπουργίαν δούλ(ω)ν τ(ῶ)ν
σεβαστοτάτ(ω)ν δεσποτ(ῶ)ν. †

“The outer wall of the Theodosian fortification was renewed in the reign of Justin and Sophia, our most pious lords, by Narses the most glorious Swordbearer and Treasurer, and Stephanus employed for this service, slaves of the most august lords.”

Paspatis, No. XXI, p. 49. This inscription is one of the most remarkable in the whole series, as it contains the name of Narses, the famous general of Justinian, exarch of Ravenna, and rival of Belisarius; it also gives us some insight into the Byzantine Court, and shows how far the Romans had degenerated from the better days of the early Empire, when every citizen would have scorned to use the terms of adulation which are repeated here.² Justin above mentioned was the second emperor of that name and nephew of Justinian; he and his wife Sophia (surnamed *Λωβή* leprous) are said by Codinus, *De Originibus Constantinopolitanis*, to have erected many public buildings,³ so that his statements harmonize perfectly with

¹ It is now impossible to ascertain how deep the trench was originally, because it is to a great extent filled up with manure and stones from the adjoining gardens and plantations. Opposite the Golden gate the depth is now more than ten mètres; between the gates of Selymbria and of the Seven Towers one, and in some places three mètres. Near the Sea of Marmora the trench is almost on a level with the road. From the gate of St. Romanus to the Melandesian the depth varies between three and seven mètres.—Paspatis, p. 7. According to

Gibbon, clxviii, vol. viii, p. 158, ed. Smith, the depth was one hundred feet. Paspatis says this is one of very many mistakes made by the profound (*βαθύνοος*) historian, who had never travelled in the East.

² Gibbon, c. iii, vol. i, p. 206, ed. Smith: The emperors . . . disdained that pomp and ceremony which might offend their countrymen, but could add nothing to their real power.

³ Codinus “De Originibus Constantinop,” p. 35, ed. Lambec. Venet., mentions Justin, Sophia and Narses together,

the sentence inscribed on the wall. The empress, we are told, had observed from the balcony of the Palace the vessels tossing on the stormy waves; she therefore induced the Emperor to order the construction of a harbour, which Narses superintended. Justin and Sophia built the Orphanage of St. Paul and the church of St. Zoticus, with a hospital for lepers attached to it. Three churches are mentioned as having been erected by Narses, who also converted a residence of his own into a lodging-house for strangers and an asylum for the aged.¹

It is with hesitation that I differ from so great an authority as Dr. Paspatis, but "*aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*," and in this case I venture to remark that his interpretation is incorrect. He says that Narses repaired the wall with the assistance of the Sacellarius and Stephanus, as if the Sacellarius was a different person from Narses. But it seems clear from the context that Sacellarius (treasurer) is a title of Narses, like Spatharius (sword-bearer), the word immediately preceding it. Stephanus seems to have been the architect employed under the direction of Narses. Lastly, the word *Σακαίλαριον* should be noticed; it contains three irregularities, and would be correctly written *Σακκελλαριον*. It is derived from the Latin *saccus*, *sacculus* (a bag), and bears only an accidental resemblance to *sacellum* (a chapel).²

ΙΩΝΧΩ

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ

ΤΟΡΟΤΟΥΠΑΛΑΙ

ΟΛΟΓΟΥΚΑΤΑΜΕΝΑΟΚΤ

ΤΟΥΣΘΗΣΕΤΟΥΣ

Ἰω(άννου) ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ

αὐτοκρά-

-τορος τοῦ Παλαι-

-ολόγου κατὰ μῆνα Ὁκτ(ώβριον)

τοῦ σθῆς ἔτους

6946 — 5508 = 1438 A.D.

"(The work) of John Palaeologus Emperor in Christ
in the month October of the year 6946."

Paspatis, No. XXIV, p. 52. It is worthy of remark that the date is here reckoned from the creation of the

as they occur in the Inscription. Speaking of four columns which Sophia placed in the middle of the harbour, he adds: *ἐφ' ὧν ἔστησε τὰς στήλας ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ Ἀραβίας τῆς ἀνεψιᾶς αὐτῆς καὶ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ Ναρσῶν τοῦ ἐκέισε παρισταμένου.*

¹ Codinus, *ib.*, p. 42, *μετετέθη εἰς ξενῶνα καὶ γηροκομεῖον παρ' αὐτοῦ.*

² Ducange, "*Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*," *Σπαθάριος*, Spatharius, Armiger. *Chronicon Alexandrin.* in Juliano, καὶ ἀνέστησαν οἱ κουβουκουλάριοι ἐυνούχοι καὶ Σπαθάριοι. *Σακελλάριος*, Sacellarius, Dignitas Palatina . . . qui Sacelli seu Fiscī Imperatorii curam habebat. *Σάκελλα*, *Σακέλιον*, Saccellum, Sacculus, Crumena, Ficens,

world, which is supposed to have taken place 5508 B.C. ;¹ the month is also mentioned, and similarly on other tablets we find January, April and June. Seven inscriptions, from 1433 to 1444 A.D. bear witness to the great zeal of this emperor in strengthening the fortifications of Constantinople, which had suffered during the siege by Sultan Murad (Amurath II) in 1422, when the Turks employed cannon for the first time.² The pains which John VIII Palaeologus took to repair these walls are not mentioned by the historians ; but his activity in this matter is quite in accordance with his energetic endeavours to promote the union of the Greek and Latin churches, in order to obtain military assistance from the Western Powers.

In some of the letters on the walls we may observe small round holes, which can easily be explained. The Greek characters were cut, like an intaglio (*κατάλυπτος*), not in relief (*ανάλυπτος*), as some have stated ; the cavities were then filled up with lead, fixed in its place by pegs inserted in these holes. The contrast between the dark colour of the lead and the white marble slab made the words very legible ; and this was necessary, because they were at a considerable height above the spectator. At present the difficulty of deciphering is considerably increased by the disappearance of the lead and the accumulation of dust during so many centuries.³

¹ Montfaucon, "Palaeographia Graeca," gives many examples from manuscripts of this mode of computation, *e.g.*, p. 50, *σφνδ* 6554, *i.e.*, A.D. 1046 ; *σφνη*, 6558, A.D. 1050.

² Finlay, "History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires from MLVII to MCCCCLIII," p. 611, notices the egregious exaggeration of Gibbon, chap. lxxv, vol. viii, p. 71, ed. Smith ; following Phrantzes and Ducas, he makes the besiegers two hundred thousand.

The present condition of the Turkish Empire in its degradation and diminishing extent presents a striking parallel with that of the Greeks during the former half of the fifteenth century ; see Finlay, *ib.* p. 613.

At p. 615 he quotes a curious passage from the Travels of a Burgundian Knight, Bertrandon de la Brocquière (A.D. 1432, 1433), describing a visit of the empress to the Church of St. Sophia. He says that he found more probity in the Turks

than in the Greeks—a statement which modern travellers would confirm. For Bertrandon's account of Constantinople see Bohn's "Antiquarian Library," Early Travels in Palestine, pp. 334-342 ; this volume contains much information concerning other countries besides that mentioned in the title.

³ The importance of attending to holes of this kind in ancient monuments is well known : by this means it was discovered that the inscription on the attic of the Church of Septimius Severus at Rome had been altered ; originally it contained the name of Geta, this was expunged and other words substituted. Nibby, "Roma Antica," Parte I, pp. 478-479, Una gran confusione apparisce ne' fori de' perni, imperciocchè i primitivi non si poterono affatto cancellare. Similarly in the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon the holes that still remain show that the bridles were made of metal, probably gilt bronze. Michaelis, Der

III. There are many ancient Greek churches at Constantinople, and the number of those known to us has been greatly increased by recent investigations; but I propose on the present occasion to notice only two. The Church of Chora was the residence of some learned writers who shed a ray of genius athwart the gloom of the declining Empire; and it contains even now most precious remains of mosaics, which rival, and perhaps surpass, the master-pieces that we admire at Rome and Ravenna. This monastery, *Μονὴ τῆς χώρας*, is now called Kahriëh or Kakriëh Jamisi; but the modern Turkish name seems to be only a corruption of the Greek *χώρα*, which has been frequently misunderstood. It means the space left vacant, probably for a distance of sixty cubits, on either side of the city walls; a precaution obviously taken for purposes of defence, that invaders might not be able to shelter themselves in any buildings, so as to assail the fortifications advantageously. The mosque, for so it may be called from its present use, is now within the walls, but was originally outside them; it is so described by Byzantine writers, and is classed by Ducange with the *Monasteria Suburbana*.¹

That an edifice for Christian worship existed here long before Justinian appears from the account of the martyrdom of St. Babylas, who was put to death A.D. 298.² This Emperor, however, seems to have restored the Church; it was afterwards rebuilt by the mother-in-law of Alexis Comnenus, but specially adorned and enriched by Theodorus Metochita, who died and was buried here. He was a friend of Andronicus the Elder (Palaeologus), held the office of Magnus Logotheta (Accountant)

Parthenon, S. 248, Erklärung der Tafeln, Tafel xiii. Im ganzen Reiterzug des Südfrieses waren Metallzügel angebracht, zu deren Befestigung regelmässig drei Löcher dienten, eines im Maule und eines hinter dem Ohre des Thieres für den Kopfriemen (*κορυφαία*), ein weiteres in oder neben der Hand des Reiters für den Zügel (*ἡνία*, *χαλινός*). Comp. Sir H. Ellis, "Elgin Marbles," vol. i, p. 196.

¹ Ducange, "Constantinopolis Christiana," lib. iv, c. xv, *Monasteria Suburbana*, Sec. V. Chora seu *χώρα*, pp. 126-127, ed. Venet., relates the history of this Church.

² Ducange, *ib.* 126, s.f. *Extra urbis muros statuitur in Menaeis ad iv Sept., ubi de S. Babylae . . . reliquiis, quas in hoc monasterium allatas ait Synaxarion. 'εν τῷ βορείῳ μέρει ἔξω τειχέων . . . ἔνθα 'εστὶ μονὴ Χώρα 'επονομαζομένη.*

D. Pulgher, "Les Anciennes Eglises Byzantines De Constantinople," p. 31, inaccurately translates *Μονὴ τῆς Χώρας* by "Couvent de la ville." He also makes an erroneous statement in the line immediately following, *Premièrement l'église avait été construite par Justinien I^{er}.*

Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, and attained great distinction as an author; he displayed a versatile genius in commentaries on Aristotle and miscellaneous essays, both philosophical and historical.¹ His pupil also, Gregoras Nicephorus, a learned mathematician and astronomer, wrote the history of Byzantium within these walls.

Crispus, son-in-law of the Emperor Phocas, was suspected of sedition by Heraclius; he was, therefore, according to a practice common in those times, compelled to embrace the monastic life, and imprisoned here: the same punishment befell Cyrus, Patriarch of Constantinople, under the Emperor Constantine Copronymus.

During sieges a very famous picture of the Virgin Mary, with the title *Hodegetria*, was carried in procession on the walls of Constantinople in order to encourage the defenders; it was afterwards deposited in this monastery for the adoration of the faithful, and, as the Turks in 1453 entered the city by the *Cercoporta* only a few paces distant from the Church, it was one of the first objects that became a prey to their violence; they plundered the sacred edifice, stripped the picture of its ornaments, and divided it in four pieces. Different explanations have been given to account for the name *Hodegetria*. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Painting*, Plate lxxxvii, has an engraving of a copy of this picture, in which the Virgin appears standing, with our Lord as a child, seated on her left arm;² and he says that the title inscribed here means "Protectress of armies and travellers." But I think he is mistaken, and that the correct interpretation

¹ In the *Parecclesion* (side-chapel) of this church is deposited an arch decorated with beautiful foliage; above it is the bust of our Lord with crucigerous nimbus and hand raised in benediction; an angel occupies the spandrel on either side. The frieze is covered by a long inscription in six lines, consisting of twenty-four iambic verses. It was previously considered to refer to *Metochita*, but Mons. Veludo has shown that it was probably composed in honour of Demetrius Tornices. An incorrect copy is given by Pulgher, p. 38, which is in some parts quite unintelligible; but he has repeated it, p. 43, as emended by Veludo. For an engraving of the arch and facsimile of the inscription see Pulgher's "Atlas of Plates," No. xxvi.

Some interesting particulars concerning *Metochita* will be found in Fabricius, "*Bibliotheca Graeca*," vol. x; biography, pp. 412-414; edited writings, pp. 414, 416; unedited writings, with the titles of cxx chapters, pp. 416-425. Gregoras calls him a living library, and Reinesius justly describes him as *Vir plane summus et major saeculo suo*.

Metochita means prior; so *Metochium* is defined by Ducange to be *Cella monastica a monasterio aliquo principall dependens*; cf., *Μετόχιον*, Stephens' "Lexicon," ed. Dindorf.

² *Madonna greca*, *Pittura in tavola a tempera xiii sec.* The word *Ὁδηγήτρια* appears in the inscription on the right of the Virgin.

is to be found in Codinus De Originibus Constantino-
politianis, who informs us that Michael the Drunkard
built the church of the most holy mother of God, called
Hodegus (guide), where there had been an oratory pre-
viously. In this place there was a sacred spring fre-
quented by the blind, who bathed and recovered their
sight; hence the Virgin received the epithet Hodegetria,
as if she guided their steps, and the picture of her
would naturally be named after the Church in which it
was at one time kept.¹ According to tradition it was
painted by the Evangelist St. Luke on a panel (ἐπὶ σανίδι).
It was sent as a present from Jerusalem by the Empress
Eudocia to her sister-in-law Pulcheria; subsequently it
used to be carried, like an imperial palladium, into the
battle-field, and on this account may be compared with
the *sanjak sherif* or sacred banner of Mahomet, which all
Mussulmans are bound to follow.²

But the chief interest of this Church lies not so
much in the historical associations that gather around
it, as in the frescoes and mosaics that adorn its
outer and inner vestibules. They are in a good
state of preservation, and quite unparalleled at Con-
stantinople, because they present a departure from the
dry and hard style, which is characteristic of Byzan-
tine art; in fact they astonish us by their animation and
variety. Dr. Paspatis dwells with enthusiasm on the

¹ Codinus, p. 33, edit. Venet., διὰ τὸ ἀναβλέψαι δυν ἑκείσε τοὺς τυφλοὺς ἐκλήθη ὁδηγός.

The writer of the Article Mary, in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," vol. ii, p. 1152, seems not to have understood the origin of this appellation.

Ducange, "Constantinopolis Christiana," p. 5, has a map of the city as it was in the year 1422; he marks the church of the Hodegetria near the sea-wall, and East of Santa Sophia. In the same work he gives an account of this church amongst those dedicated to the Virgin, lib. iv, c. ii, No. 24. Montfaucon, "Palaeographia Graeca," p. 51, mentions this monastery, and another in Calabria de lo Patire, or de Patirio, which was distinguished from the former by the name *réas* Ὁδηγητρίας.

² Compare Paruta, "La Sicilia descritta con Medaglie da L. Agostini," Lione, 1697, p. 96, and Plate. Signum

Wilielmi Regis Magni Siciliae. Hoc signum (i.e., crucem) sibi praeferri a vexillifero facit, cum ad bellum aliquod procedit.

The Sanjak sherif is preserved in the Treasury of the Seraglio, but it is not shown; Murray's "Handbook," p. 73. Von Hammer-Purgstall, "History of the Ottoman Empire," translated into French by J. J. Hellert, vol. i, p. 243. The Prophet had chosen for his standard the colour of the sun (yellow), the Fatimites that of the earth (green), &c. *Ib.*, vol. vii, p. 277, Reign of Mourad III. Towards the end of November, 1594, the sacred standard, said to have belonged to the Prophet, which had been kept at Damascus as one of the most precious relics conquered from Egypt, was transported for the first time to Constantinople by the Syrian Janissaries, and then sent, under an escort of a thousand men of the militia, to the army operating on the Hungarian frontiers, to decide fortune in favour of the Ottomans.

colouring of the drapery, the symmetry of the limbs, and the expression of the faces. At first sight we are surprised to find in a Greek Church features so different from those that usually prevail; but I think the reason is not far to seek, if we bear in mind the period in which these works were executed. Many writers have noticed the influence of the Byzantine School on Italy, and the proofs of it are well known: on the other hand, Italy must have acted powerfully upon the Greeks at Constantinople. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Italian republics were rapidly developing free institutions; art and literature were awaking to a new life; and at this time Venice, Genoa and Pisa were establishing colonies in the capital of the Lower Empire.¹ Theodorus Metochita, who may be regarded as the founder of the church that we now see, died A.D. 1332, so that he was contemporary with Cimabue and Giotto, the greatest painters who preceded Raphael, the former of whom died in 1300, and the latter in 1336. If we also take into account the prominent part which the Italians played at Constantinople during the Crusades, this comparison of dates seems sufficient to explain the cause of the difference observable between these monuments and the works of earlier Byzantine artists.²

In the outer narthex the first subject on the spectator's left hand as he enters the church is the Dream of Joseph; the second is probably the journey to Bethlehem in order to be taxed, not the Flight into Egypt, as no child is represented. Next we have the Magi travelling on horseback, and standing before Herod, so that two scenes of the same story appear as it were in one picture. Lastly, at the opposite end of the corridor Herod's massacre of the Innocents is portrayed with frightful

¹ Gibbon, chap. lxii, vol. vii, p. 368, ed. Smith. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent conqueror accepted their oaths and allegiance, &c. See also chap. lxiii, *ib.*, pp. 406-112.

² Mr. Curtis traced a resemblance between the mosaics in this church and the works of Jacobus Torriti who flourished in the latter part of the thirteenth century, so that he synchronizes nearly with Metochita: see engravings of the Tri-

bunes of S. John Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, Kugler, "Handbook of Painting," ed. Eastlake, vol. i, pp. 113, 114. The latter is more important on account of its beautiful composition, and because it represents the coronation of the Virgin; we see here the severity of the old style revived with much freshness of feeling; Lübke, "Grundriss Der Kunstgeschichte," i, 382; English translation, i, 463.

realism ; he is issuing his decree, and mothers are weeping for their children.¹

Proceeding to the second Narthex we find as a principal subject the Virgin Mary surrounded by Jewish kings and prophets ; the former wear crowns, and the frequency of this head-dress produces some resemblance to the group of four-and-twenty elders ; where, however, the crowns are only derived from a passage in the Apocalypse. Names are attached to each personage, in some cases legible, in others very difficult to decipher, *e.g.*, Hezekiah and Abraham are clear, Malachi is obscure. Instead of Rehoboam, the form occurring in the Septuagint, Roboam, is written (I Kings, xi, 43.)² As these figures adorn the cupolas and are therefore at a considerable distance above the spectator, he should provide himself with a good glass to examine the details. This church sometimes bears the name of our Saviour (*Σωτήριος*) instead of the more usual title, *Moné té's Choras* ; hence our Lord is appropriately represented here healing the deaf and blind and Peter's mother-in-law, who was sick of a fever. To the right of the door of the mosque there are two very large figures of Christ and the Virgin ; among the mosaics recently discovered are Saints Peter and Paul, the latter has a book of a rectangular form, which is more modern than the scroll.³ Many scenes in these decorations relate to the life of the Virgin, and (as I have remarked on other occasions) undue prominence given to this subject indicates a late period. But from an historical point of view and considered in connection with the church itself, one group transcends all the rest ; it consists of Theodorus Metochita offering a model of the sacred edifice to our Lord seated on a throne. This design is executed in mosaic, and placed over the great door leading to the interior ; Metochita wears a turban, which corresponds

¹ Pulgher, *Eglises Byzantines*, Atlas, Vienne, 1880, Planches xviii, xix, Coupe longitudinale de l'Exonarthex et du Narthex. These engravings give a general idea of the ornamentation, but they do not reproduce all the subjects which the vestibules contain.

² Καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Ῥοβοὰμ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. The Vulgate also has Roboam.

³ Similarly there is a mosaic in the

porch of S. Sophia, where our Lord appears holding a book of this form. Lübke, "Grundriss Der Kunstgeschichte," i, 263, 264, Fig. 177. It occurs very frequently on the coins of the later Greek Emperors : Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, Pl. xlvii, Constantine X ; Pl. xlviii, John I Zimisces ; Pl. xlix, Constantine XII Monomachus, &c. De Saulcy, "Classification des Monnaies Byzantines," Pls. xxi-xxvi, &c.

with the date already assigned to these works of art.¹ On the right and left of our Saviour the letters $\overline{\text{IC}}\text{-}\overline{\text{XC}}$ are inscribed, and below them $\text{HX}\Omega\text{PA T}\Omega\text{N Z}\Omega\text{NT}\Omega\text{N}$ "the land of the living" apparently with allusion to the name, *Μονὴ τῆς χάρας*,² like canting heraldic mottoes. Numerous analogies present themselves to the enquirer, who compares the churches of Constantinople with those of Ravenna; and here we have a striking example of them; Ecclesius who built San Vitale in the latter place appears performing the same act of homage as Metochita.³

Till within the last few years a colossal figure of our Lord remained uncovered in the interior of the mosque, accompanied by the inscription, "Come unto me all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you." Very touching must have been the sight of these words, placed conspicuously in the midst of a suffering people, and inviting them to a divine source of consolation. The Russians had expressed a wish to obtain the mosque for the purpose of converting it into a church; this proposal excited the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, who in their fury destroyed the mosaic.

Though the Greek rite forbids images, a few bas-reliefs may be seen here; one of them represents the column on which Symeon Stylites, or some other pillar-saint, passed his life. It deserves notice that a staircase and a window of an apartment at the top are clearly indicated; hence we should be disposed to infer that the holy man purchased his reputation for asceticism rather cheaply, enjoying a considerable amount of comfort, and seeing his friends whenever it suited his convenience.⁴

¹ The turban is distinctly seen in Pulgher's Plate, No. 19, Fig. 1; the model of the church is also drawn accurately, and shows the three cupolas. A mitre like a turban is still worn by Greek ecclesiastics; see the engravings accompanying a work by the Rev. John Glen King, D.D., Chaplain at St. Petersburg, entitled "Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia," containing an account of its doctrine, worship, and discipline, 4to. Lond., 1772.

² With the explanation of *Χώρα* given above compare P. Gylli "De Constantinopoleos Topographia," lib. iv, translated by John Ball, 1729; in Book I, Of the Walls of the City, he says, "The country

opening without the walls is not incumbered with buildings."

³ See Mr. Edwin Freshfield's Paper in the "Archæologia," vol. xlv, On the Byzantine Origin of the Church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, &c. The account of Ecclesius, pp. 420-422, is derived from Agnelli, "Liber Pontificalis," Modena, 1708. In Murray's "Handbook for Northern Italy," ed. 1863, p. 532, Euty chius is incorrectly substituted for Ecclesius.

⁴ Fabricius mentions three saints of this name, vol. x, pp. 522-525. The first ascended his column near Antioch in Syria, A.D. 419, and lived on it till A.D. 460. Johannes Phocas informs us the

The church of Sergius and Bacchus, now Kuchuk Aya Sophia, *i.e.*, Little Santa Sophia, is not less interesting than the one just described, but its claims on our attention are founded on a very different basis. It belongs to a brilliant period in Byzantine history, it possesses high architectural merit, and it seems to have been the model followed in San Vitale at Ravenna. Justinian, before his accession, inhabited the palace of Hormisdas, and built this church close to it, so that both were often called by the same name.¹ They were situated behind the Hippodrome, and near the Sea of Marmora. At present a space of about 700 mètres separates the church from the western boundary-wall of the palace, but the expressions of the historians prove that in ancient times they were more closely connected. This topographical relation should be borne in mind, because it enables us to understand why the church was visited by the Emperor in state during Easter week, and a portion of it appropriated to the performance of the Latin ritual by ambassadors from the Pope.

column grew up spontaneously (*αυτοφυής*), and that Stylites remained in the open air—a statement which does not agree with the window in the bas-relief.

In Pulgher's "Eglises Byzantines" the text is sometimes inaccurate, but the Atlas of Plates will be found most useful. He says of the Kahrijé Dzamissi (so he spells the words), C'est l'unique église qui reste à Constantinople avec toutes ses mosaïques historiées, découvertes et bien conservées, ainsi que les fresques et les sculptures en haut relief.

Of thirty Plates, half, Nos. xvi-xxx, are devoted to this church, and six of them are beautifully coloured. The following deserve special notice:—xvi, the principal Façade; xxii, fifteen details showing a great variety of patterns; xxv, part of a Cupola, Roboam between Solomon and Abia (Abijam in the Authorised Version), under a medallion of the Virgin with the infant Christ on her lap, both nimbed; the letters MP—ΘΥ are also inscribed. Comp. Sabatier Pl. xlvii, No. 18, John I, Zimisces; Pl. L, No. 12, Romanus IV and Eudocia. The representation on the coins is similar to that in the mosaic, but not identical.

An engraving of the church, on a very small scale, is given in the "Archæol. Journal," vol. xxiii, p. 5, as an illustration

of Remarks on Mediaeval Architecture in the East, by the Rev. J. L. Petit. The name is there written Moné tes Koras (*sic*); this error apparently derived from Mr. Fergusson's "History of Architecture," would lead to a wrong interpretation, substituting κόρη puella for χώρα locus.

Photographs of the mosaics of the Kakrieh Jamisi have been taken for Mr. Freshfield, and I saw them at the Syllodus (Greek Literary Society) in Constantinople, but they were not for sale. The result was rather unsatisfactory, probably in consequence of defective light.

¹ This name is evidently Oriental. "En pehlwi, Okhromazdi; en persi, Aourh-mazdaï; en persan, Aourmoud et Hormouz; en arménien, Ormizt; en arabe, Hormizdan." Nouvelle Biographie Générale, Didot, Paris, 1858.

Ducange, "Constantinopolis Christ," lib. iv, c. vi, No. lxxxviii, quotes from the Synaxaria, vita S. Theophanis, "Ὁς παραλήθεις ἐν τῇ Ὁριόσδου μονῇ Σεργίου καὶ Βάκχου τῇ παρακειμένῃ τῷ Παλατίῳ."

The palace may have taken its name from Hormisdas mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, fil. regis Persarum (exul), xvi, 10, 16; xxiv, 1, 2. His son occurs in xxvi, 8, 12, edit. Eyssenhardt.

Vigilius, a contemporary of Justinian, who attained a scandalous notoriety by purchasing the Papal throne for 200 pounds of gold, took refuge here, when he had incurred the emperor's displeasure by excommunicating the Patriarch Menas. About three hundred years later the Iconoclast patriarch John, tutor of the Emperor Theophilus, presided over the church as abbot (*ἡγούμενος*), an orthodox historian calls him a serpent lurking in a hole.¹

Gyllius, who wrote within eighty years after the taking of Constantinople, visited this edifice, and has described it accurately.² He says that the round cupola of brick rests on eight piers, and that between them there are two rows of Ionic columns; sixteen on the basement, of which six are green, ten white marked with spots; eighteen above them, of which eight are green, ten white with red spots; the former support galleries, the latter semidomes. These galleries were set apart for women, as was also the case in San Vitale. The same usage still prevails, as I had the opportunity of observing at the inauguration of the new Greek cathedral at Constantinople, when only one lady, and she an invalid, appeared in the basement amidst a congregation of several thousands. At present the various colours that pleased the eye of Gyllius are no longer visible, and a dingy brown tint pervades the interior. When I visited it last Autumn (1880) swarms of pigeons were flying over our heads, the roof was falling in, and part of the floor had been destroyed for fire-wood. Much mischief was done by Mussulman refugees from Bulgaria, a loathsome and barbarous race, who left the building in a state of the vilest pollution. During the occupation by these savages it was simply impossible for the tourist to enter, and even long after their departure he paid a heavy fine for gratifying archaeological curiosity, and returned to his quarters covered with vermin.

Unfortunately an external agency assisted the des-

¹ Ὁ τρικατάρατος, thrice accursed: Paspati, *Βυζ. Μελ.*, who gives copious references.

² Some account of P. Gyllius will be found in the preface to Ball's "Translation." He was a Frenchman sent by

Francis I. to Italy and Greece to collect manuscripts; he also travelled in Asia and Africa, and resided for some years at Constantinople. He was well acquainted with the ancient authors, and competent to criticise them.

troyers who were at work within. The Adrianople railway passes close to the building, so that the motion of the trains has shaken it severely, and caused some fissures in the cupola. Several stones and bricks have fallen out, disclosing faults of construction formerly concealed by whitewash. Partly from poverty, partly from the decline of art, Justinian's successors were unable to repair the walls as he had originally built them.¹

One of the most striking features in this church is an inscription in large Greek capitals on the frieze above the lower row of columns. Notwithstanding the size of the letters they are very difficult to read in consequence of the height at which they are placed, and the discoloration resulting from causes already mentioned. This inscription is in hexameter verse, and extends over the whole circle of the interior; its purport is as follows:— 'Other kings have honoured dead men whose labours were inconceivable,² but Justinian has erected a splendid temple to commemorate Sergius, a servant of Christ, who was not terrified by fire, sword or tortures, and won heaven by his blood, dying for Christ. May he guard the sovereignty of our sleepless king, and increase the power of divinely-crowned Theodora, whose mind brightens up with piety, whose labour and expenditure are fostering and liberal.' Under these verses we see vine leaves and clusters of grapes figured above the pilasters, with allusion to the name of the Saint, Bacchus, just as the inscription *χώρα τῶν ζώντων* refers to the name *Μονὴ τῆς χώρας*.³

¹ The railway almost touches the church at the south-east corner, and this part of the building is ready to fall (*ετοιμῶρρος*): Paspatis, *Βυζ. Μελ.* p. 334; Pulgher, p. 15.

² *Ἀνόητος* has two meanings: 1, passive—not to be conceived; 2, active—not understanding, senseless. Salzenberg, who reproduces the inscription in Greek capitals, translates the words *Ἀνέρας ὧν ἁνόητος ἔην πόνοσ* on the second line, by *Weil im Leben sie Grosses vollbracht*. On the other hand, in the "Acta Sanctorum," edit. Antwerp, vol. 49, Oct., Tom. iii, p. 842 E, Sec. 37, the Latin version is *Quorum hand sana fuerat vitæ ratio*; so Pulgher, *Dont les actions étaient insignifiantes*. But I think the first meaning is preferable here.

As the inscription stands in the *Acta Sanctorum*, the words *τῶν* in the fifth line and *ἀκομήτοιο* in the ninth line violate the metre, the margin therefore proposes *δς* and *ἀκομήτοιο* respectively.

Pulgher's Pls. ii and iii show the ground-plan of the church, section and details, the semi-circular apses between the piers, part of the inscription, clusters of grapes below it, and foliated capitals. Comp. Salzenberg, "Alt - Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel," Pl. v. *Agios Sergios*, Grundriss, Längenschnitt, Detail der oberen Säulen, des unteren Gebäudes, des oberen Kämpfersims.

³ Procopius, "De *Ædificiis Dn Justiniani*," lib. i, c. iv, p. 400, ed. Venet., describing the churches of SS. Peter and

Mr. Fergusson, in his *History of Architecture*, speaking of San Vitale at Ravenna, remarks that there is nothing at all to justify the title of Byzantine usually applied to it:¹ but in the second volume of the same work he almost contradicts himself; for, describing the Church of Sergius and Bacchus, he says—"Internally the arrangement of the piers, of the galleries, and of the pillars which support them are (*sic*) almost identical with those of San Vitale at Ravenna."² In a former Paper I expressed an opinion that the architecture of San Vitale could only be explained on the supposition of Byzantine influence, and that Mr. Fergusson was consequently mistaken in treating it as Romanesque. I am now confirmed in this opinion partly by having seen the church of Sergius and Bacchus, partly by the perusal of Mr. Freshfield's memoir on this subject in the *Archaeologia*.³ Of course the most conclusive evidence is derived from a comparison of the two buildings, and it is of such a nature as to strike even a superficial observer; but we may notice the following facts as corroborative arguments. 1. San Vitale is contemporary with SS. Sergius and Bacchus, for it was begun by Ecclesius and consecrated by Maximianus, both of whom appear in the mosaics with their names affixed; it was in course of erection from 526 to 546 A.D. 2. Both these prelates visited Constantinople. 3. At this period Ravenna was very closely connected with the capital of the Eastern Empire, and Narses resided there as exarch. A monastery at Ravenna bore the name of S. Maria ad Blachernas,⁴ which doubtless came from the quarter of Constantinople mentioned above. 4. This was a most flourishing epoch of Byzantine art, as the cathedral of S. Sophia alone sufficiently proves; but there are other monuments whose remains illustrate the treatise of Procopius, in

Paul and SS. Sergius and Bacchus, says that the splendour of the marbles surpasses the brightness of the sun, and that on every side the buildings display an abundance of gold and costly offerings
 ὁμοίως μὲν γὰρ ἑκάτερος (ναὸς) τῇ ἀγλῇ
 τῶν λίθων ὑπεραστράπτει τὸν ἥλιον. The word ἀγλή corresponds exactly with ἀγλήεντι in the fourth line of the inscription;

Ξέργιον ἀγλήεντι δόμῳ θεράποντα γεραίρει
 Χριστοῦ παμμεδέοντος.

¹ Vol. i, p. 386.

² *Ib.*, vol. ii, pp. 313, 314.

³ Vol. xlv, Art. XXI, pp. 417-426, quoted above.

⁴ Gyllius calls Blachernæ a barbarous word; Book IV, chap. 5. Of the Blachernæ, the Triclinium of the Blachernæ, of the Palace, the Aqueduct, and many other places of antiquity. This remark confirms the opinion that the name is connected with *bracken* and *bregne*.

which he, an eye-witness, describes the public buildings erected by Justinian. Hence it is natural to suppose that they would serve as models to those who were erecting similar edifices at Ravenna.

Sergius and Bacchus suffered martyrdom in Syria during the persecution of Maximianus II, commonly called Galerius, who reigned 305-311 A.D. The anniversary festival of these saints was observed on the 7th October, and under this date a long account of them will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*.¹ It is stated that Bacchus was beaten to death with thongs made of undressed hides, and that Sergius was beheaded after having been compelled to walk nine miles with spikes in his boots. This Sergius must not be confounded with another, who is a patron Saint of Russia. The latter lived 1314-1392 A.D.; we are informed that he began his career as an anchorite, and built a cell, in a forest sixty versts from Moscow, where he shared his meals with a bear; afterwards some human companions came and imitated his austerities.²

IV. Lastly, I beg permission to make a few remarks on the Museum at Constantinople, with the view of calling attention to its treasures; and I do so partly because the account given in Murray's *Handbook*, under the heading 'Repository of Antiquities,' is so brief and inadequate that it might even deter a traveller from visiting the collection.³ It is easily accessible, though not on every day, being deposited in the Palace of Mohammed II, near the Church of St. Irene, now used as an armoury. An introduction to Dr. Déthier, the curator, should be obtained from a local resident; this gentleman deserves credit for some important discoveries, but his attribution of antiques cannot be implicitly followed.

(1.) The first object that meets the eye is a colossal figure of Hercules, placed at the end of the corridor leading to the apartments of the Museum.

We have here a very ancient representation of a deity

¹ Loc. cit., pp. 833-833; the narrative is full of tedious repetitions. See especially p. 834 E, section 7; and p. 835 F, section 11. While suffering torture, the holy martyr of Christ replied to his persecutor, Antiochus, Your punishments are not bitter to me, but sweeter than

honey and the honeycomb (*dulces super mel et favum*).

² *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, s.v. Serge (Saint).

³ Constantinople, section 10, The Seraglio, p. 73.

whose worship can be traced back to the earliest times. Underneath the admirable photograph by M. Berggren it is described as "Statue d'Hercule Silène-Fontaine en grès de Chypre, prov. d' Amathounte." I am at a loss to understand why the name of Silenus should be introduced here; he is usually the attendant of Bacchus and shows the effects of intoxication, but he plays no part in the myths relating to Hercules.¹ That this statue is the Phœnician Hercules may be inferred from the style of execution and the place whence it came; the square proportions and the position of the hands are similar to those observable in a group on a marble sarcophagus discovered at Amathus, a seat of the worship of this deity, whom the Phœnicians called Melika or Melkarth.² The lion's skin held in front is the only attribute; from its head, in which a large aperture has been made, water seems to have issued. In antiquity lions' mouths were the most common form used for fountains, spouts or gargoyles, as we see them in the remains from Himera preserved at Palermo, or in the Attic Temples published by the Dilettanti Society. I am inclined to think that the image was originally set up as an object of adoration, and that its adaptation to a fountain was an afterthought of some Greeks or Romans into whose possession it came.

In support of the attribution given above we may remark that the *provenance* is an element too important to be disregarded. Amathus retained more distinct traces of Phœnician origin than Paphos or Citium; Ash-tareth, the goddess of the Sidonians, after whom Solomon went, had a temple here; and the name of the city calls to mind the Hamathite descended from Canaan.³

¹ Professor Percy Gardner suggested that the mention of Silenus here might be traced to the idea of the Satyric Hercules. Sileni and Satyrs can hardly be distinguished: K. O. Müller, "Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst," section 386, Eng. Transl., p. 499. Hercules is introduced into the thiasos of the Bacchian attendants, and reposes among the satyrs: *ib.*, section 411, Eng. Transl., p. 559.

² Kenrick's "Phœnicia," pp. 320-323. Pl. ii, No. 7, exhibits a coin of Heraclea, otherwise Minoa, in Sicily. The legend means "Head (*Ras*, promontory) of Melkarth," from whom the promontory Heracleum had its name.

The Sarcophagus found at Amathus is described in chap. x, p. 264, of General Di Cesnola's "Cyprus, its ancient tombs, cities and temples"; comp. Pl. xv, opposite p. 256. Mr. King thinks the figures, repeated four times at the end of the Sarcophagus, are not Hercules, but the Pataici represented as Pygmies: Herodot., III, 37, τοὺς οἱ φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρῶταισι τῶν τριήρεων περιάγουσι . . . πυγμαῖον ἀνδρὸς μέγεθός ἐστι.

³ Genesis, x, 15-18, Canaan begat Sidon his first-born, . . . and the Arvadite (Aradus), . . . and the Hamathite.

Amathus was undoubtedly a very ancient city, but Di Cesnola is wrong in saying that Tacitus, Ann. III, 62, calls

(2.) Two statues, about six feet high, of Roman ladies, found at Aptera.

They have been described as Diva Claudia and her mother Poppaea, but there are strong reasons for doubting the correctness of these appellations. The features of the elder figure bear no resemblance to those of Poppaea, as she appears on a coin struck at Alexandria;¹ secondly, the arrangement of the hair in several rows of small curls over the forehead and a coil at the back of the head is equally at variance with the attribution proposed for the other statue. Tacitus informs us that Claudia, daughter of Nero and Poppaea, died before she was four months old; however, divine honours were paid to her memory, and on a small bronze coin we see the legend DIVA CLAUD. NER.F., and a woman standing in a temple of six columns for the device.² Though dying thus early she may have been worshipped in this form at Rome, but it would seem strange to find a statue of her as a full grown woman at Aptera in Crete. Here, as in many other cases, we find it much easier to disprove than to prove. An elaborate mode of dressing the hair in artificial curls belongs to a period extending from Titus to Hadrian, and the example under consideration is in this respect very like Julia, daughter of Titus, engraved on a beryl by Evodus;³ hence it would follow that the statue must be assigned to a date later than Diva Claudia. As to the so-called Poppaea, the more simple

it *Vetustissima* (*sic*); Tacitus uses the word *Vetustissimum* with reference to the temple (*delubrum*) of Venus at Paphos.

After further inquiry I have come to the conclusion that the Colossal statue in the Museum at Constantinople would be more correctly described as Bes or Bessa, an Egyptian deity, but probably of Asiatic origin. Many particulars relating to him will be found in Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," edited by Dr. Birch; vol. i, p. 419, Bes figured on wooden pillows; *ib.*, p. 469, playing on a trigon, a triangular instrument with nine strings; vol. ii, pp. 6, 7, 13, often on boxes or other objects of the toilet—distinct from Typhon; but see especially vol. iii, pp. 149-153, Bes a short, deformed man, with tail and curly beard, approaches near to the figure of Hercules, Pl. XXXIII. Compare Pierret, "Pantheon Egyptian," who has an engraving of this deity.

Mr. Poole thought the statue at Constantinople might be dated about B.C. 900.

¹ Cohen, "Médailles Impériales," vol. i, Pl. XII, opposite p. 176, No. 3, ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ L. IA; the coin is described *ib.*, p. 218.

² Tacitus, Ann. xv, 23, *quartum intra mensem defuncta infante*, with Orelli's note: Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vi, 287; Suetonius, ed. Burmann, plates at the end of vol. ii, Tab. xxv, No. 3, ad Patini Not. in Sueton. Comp. Tacitus, ed. Brotier, "Stemma Caesarum," No. 38, vol. i, p. 15.

³ C. W. King, "Antique Gems and Rings," vol. ii, p. 69; Pl. I, No. 1. "The masterpiece of Roman glyptic art," Mongez, "Iconographie Romaine," Pl. XXXV, No. 3; Text, vol. ii, pp. 310-312; compare Domitia, Epouse de Domitien, Mongez, same plate. K. O. Müller, "Denkmäler," Part I, Pl. LXIX, No. 381.

arrangement of the hair, in large masses over the forehead and covering the nape of the neck, indicates a period antecedent or subsequent to that of the other figure.

Aptera, the wingless, is said to derive its name from having been the scene of a contest between the Muses and Sirens, in which the latter were defeated and deprived of their wings. Its situation is accurately shown in Admiral Spratt's map of Western Crete, and also in his engraving of Suda Bay.¹

(3.) Statue of Caracalla.

The head of this figure is laureated and inclined to the left side, a favourite posture with this Emperor, as Aurelius Victor mentions;² but the face does not wear the ferocious expression, which might be expected from Caracalla's well known cruelty, and which is very evident in his bust at the British Museum.³ The costume is military, consisting of a cuirass with a paludamentum hanging from the shoulders. In front of the lorica we see two Victories crowning Pallas helmeted, who holds a shield in her left hand and stands upon a wolf suckling the twins, Romulus and Remus. A similar group of Victories and Palladium is given by Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture Ancienne et Moderne*, Plate 916B, No. 2504A; Tome v, p. 266.⁴ Below these decorations hang a series of straps, which protect the thighs like a kilt. The left foot treads on the neck of a youth, doubtless with allusion to some victory gained by the emperor. This posture reminds us of types that appear on coins of a later age; Constantine I is represented kicking a prisoner, and dragging a barbarian by the hair; Constantine II places

¹ Aptera is on the north-western coast of Crete, east of Khania (Cydonia), and opposite Minoa. Admiral Spratt, "Travels and Researches in Crete," vol. ii, pp. 127-131, notices the remains of the city—walls, theatre, tombs and cisterns. Pashley discovered the position of Aptera, "Travels in Crete," vol. i, chap. iv, pp. 48-57, and vignette p. 25, at the head of chap. iii; some account of the coins of Aptera, with references, will be found, pp. 56, 57, and note 51; Murray, "Handbook for Turkey in Asia," p. 224.

² *Ad laevum humerum conversa cer-vice*, Aurelius Victor *De Vit. et Mor. Imp. Roman Epitome*, c. xxi: the bust

in the British Museum has the head turned over the *right* shoulder.

³ "Ancient Marbles in the British Museum," Part X, Pl. xii, p. 23; Mongez, "Icon. Rom.," Pl. xlix, and vol. iii, p. 166, *Le regard farouche et le mouvement de la tête rappellent le soin qu'il apportait à se donner l'air terrible et à imiter Alexandre, dont la tête était inclinée.*

⁴ The helmeted female may be the Goddess Roma, who is often figured like Minerva: comp. the large brass coins of Nero, Galba and Vespasian. Clarac gives other examples of the Palladium on a cuirass; Pl. 914, No. 2,335; Pl. 919, No. 2326.

his foot on the knee of a suppliant Sarmatian.¹ In this instance reference is perhaps made to Caracalla's campaign against the Parthians, when he devastated Mesopotamia, took Arbela, dug up the tombs and scattered the bones of the kings who had been interred there.² Lastly, Caracalla wears cothurni, boots reaching half way up the leg, the upper part of which is ornamented with the head of some animal resembling a panther; but it may perhaps be a lion incorrectly executed, for we often see the latter animal in similar cases. The cothurnus was a part of the costume of deities, and hence probably it was transferred to emperors, along with other accessories, by the flattery of artists.

It may be objected to the attribution given above that the statue represents a tall man, whereas we are informed by the historians that Caracalla was short, and Dion Cassius expressly states that he was nicknamed Tarantus after a gladiator who was below the usual height.³ But this objection has little force, for the same spirit of adulation that bestowed on emperors the ensigns of gods would not hesitate to add a cubit to their stature. Some of us can remember the portrait of a statesman, great in mind but little in body, on the walls of our own Academy, in which the painter had practised the same exaggeration.⁴

This statue was found at Hierapytna in Crete, so that the *provenance* harmonises with Caracalla's Eastern expedition. The place is now called, with a slight modification, Ierapetra or Girapetra. In ancient times it must have been a town of considerable importance, as it had, like Pompeii, two theatres and an amphitheatre. An interesting account of the state of its ruins in the sixteenth century was written by Onorio Belli, and some extracts

¹ Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi, p. 93, Pl. IV, No. 14; vol. vii, Supplément, p. 386, Pl. VIII, No. 1. M. Cohen characterizes the devices of this period, vol. vi, p. 264, note; Monotonie dans les types lorsqu'ils ne sont pas barbares, barbarie lorsqu'ils ne sont pas monotones.

² Dion Cassius, lib. lxxviii, c. i, τὰ τε Ἀρβηλα παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τὰ βασιλικὰ τῷ Πάρθων ἀνορύξας τὰ ὅσα ἔρριψεν. Lindsay, "History of the Parthians," Arsaces XXX—Vologeses V and

Arsaces XXXI—Artabanus V—209-227, A.D., pp. 113, *seqq.* See especially Rawlinson, "Sixth Oriental Monarchy," pp. 349-357; he relates Caracalla's treacherous attack on Artabanus, and states reasons for preferring Herodian's account to that of Dion.

³ Dion Cassius, lxxviii, 9, Τάρανταν, ἐκ μονομάχου τινὸς προσηγορίας καὶ σμικροτάτου καὶ κακοειδεστάτου.

⁴ Lord John Russell.





From a Photograph by M. Berggren

ROMAN EMPEROR.

from his manuscripts have been published by Mr. Falkener and Admiral Spratt.¹

(4.) Draped female figure, of which the bust is wanting, 1.50 mètres in height.

Two opinions have been expressed regarding this statue; one that it is part of a group by Scopas, and the other that it represents Cyrenaica greeting the Emperor Hadrian. Thus the figure is placed at epochs differing by an interval of nearly 500 years, for Scopas flourished B.C. 395-350, Hadrian reigned A.D. 117-138. The attenuated proportions observed here distinguish the later Attic from the more vigorous and muscular school of Phidias, and they agree with the style of Scopas in the frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus; but there is no reason for assigning this work to Scopas rather than to any of the sculptors who were contemporary with him. It was found at Leptis Magna, a city situated on the north coast of Africa between the two Syrtes, and Scopas does not appear to have been in any way connected with this part of the Grecian world. He was born at Paros, and executed many statues for various places in Greece proper, *e.g.*, Tegea, Megara, Corinth, as well as for the

¹ According to Strabo, Hierapytna was in the narrowest part of the Island; Dr. Wm. Smith's "Dictionary of Classical Geography," s.v. Pashley, "Crete," vol. i, p. 271, gives a coin of this place, with the usual device, a palm-tree, on the reverse. Falkener's "Museum of Classical Antiquities" contains a valuable article on Crete, with a map: for Hierapytna, v. pp. 271-273; on the last page there is a Greek Inscription of twenty-six lines recording a treaty between the inhabitants of the city and the province of this name. Much information concerning Hierapytna is supplied by Admiral Spratt's "Travels in Crete," vol. i, pp. 253-288, with engravings and map at the end of the volume; see also "Appendix vii on the Greek Inscriptions found in Crete" by the Rev. Churchill Babington, vol. ii, p. 422, No. 21, Plate i.

Mr. Goold says that the figure described above is Q. Metellus Creticus, "Catalogue du Musée Impériale de Constantinople," 1871; but this conjecture may be dismissed as highly improbable. M. Al. Sorlin Dorigny thinks that we have here a statue of Hadrian, "Gazette Archéologique," published by J. De

Witte and François Lenormant, 1^{re} Livraison, 1880, p. 52; he gives a minute account of the ornaments and other details. The face certainly resembles Hadrian's, well-known from his numerous coins; on the other hand, this Emperor is not represented in a cruel attitude, trampling on a prostrate foe, but raising up suppliant provinces, who kneel before him, *e.g.*, Achaia and Bithynia. There are some signs of joining in the neck of the figure; hence it seems most likely that the head of Hadrian has been placed on the body of some other Emperor, perhaps Caracalla, whose ferocious character is quite in accordance with the posture.

The height of the marble is two mètres, 81 centimètres.

Amongst other particulars M. Sorlin Dorigny notices the two lemnisci (bandellettes) of the Emperor's crown, which fall down on his shoulders. He refers to Winckelmann, "Monumenti Inediti," Plates, No. VIII, where there is a figure which he calls an Archigallus, but according to Winckelmann it is Cybele. A more apposite illustration is derived from a picture of Victory in the pyramid of C. Cestius; she holds a lemniscus in one

Troad, Caria and Ionia; but we do not read of any by him in Africa.¹

The second hypothesis is plausible; however, I can see no arguments strong enough to prove it. Hadrian was a great patron of art and visited every province of his vast empire, conferring favours on the inhabitants wherever he went. Hence it was most natural that statues should be erected in his honour, and that they should personify the countries that hailed his approach. Moreover, Spartianus mentions that he quelled an insurrection in Mauretania, which is commemorated by the legend on his medals *RESTITUTORI MAURETANIAE*.² His stay in Egypt, where his favourite Antinous died, is well known, and it contributed much to the introduction at Rome of rites peculiar to that country. These circumstances favour the supposition that the statue represents the district of Cyrenaica or some African city; on the other hand, the absence of an inscription and the mutilated condition of the figure prevent us from maintaining positively any opinion concerning its motive or its author.³

Septimius Severus was born in the neighbourhood of Leptis Magna, and is said to have adorned his native city with various buildings, so that the existing remains have chiefly been attributed to him; but I think the figure under consideration cannot be included in this category, because its style belongs to a better period. Sculpture had already declined in the age of the Antonines, but the reliefs on the Arch of Severus at Rome

hand, and a corona lemniscata in the other; Rich, "Companion to the Latin Dictionary," s.v.

The same writer calls attention to the symbolical owl and serpent on the cuirass; they seem to indicate that Pallas, not Roma, is represented here.

Lastly, he observes that this is one of the finest iconographic statues of Roman Emperors that remain to us from antiquity.

¹ Pausanias, lib. viii., c. 45, Sec. 4, ἀγάλματα πολλὰ τοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος, τὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίαν τε καὶ Καρίαν ἐποίησε.

² Gregorovius, "Geschichte des römischen Kaisers Hadrian und seiner Zeit," p. 32.—In Mauretanien war ein Aufstand ausgebrochen, den Hadrian dämpfte, wofür ihm der Senat Supplikationen zuerkaunte; note 1, *ib.*, Spart. Hadr.

c. xii. Münzen mit dem Titel *RESTITUTORI MAURETANIAE*. Birag. p. 177. See also Spart. Hadr., c. v, Martio Turbone, Judaeis compressis, ad deprimentum tumultum Mauritaniae destinato.

I have not found this legend in Cohen's "Méd. Imp.;" but he gives *RESTITUTORI AFRICAE, LIBYAE*. Cf. Spart. Hadr., c. 13, multum beneficiorum provinciis Africanis attribuit; *ib.* c. 22, ab Africanis dilectus est. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vi, pp. 488, 497, 498.

³ Mr. C. T. Newton thinks that this figure may be a Niobid. It must be admitted that the posture of the limbs and arrangement of drapery resemble what we see in the daughters of Niobe at Florence, marked *h* and *i*, Plate XXXIII, Müller's "Denkmäler," Part I.

and other monuments show that in his day the deterioration was still more marked.¹

(5). Cenotaph of Euripides.

A marble sarcophagus in this collection has been so named, and the following inscription has been placed over it :

ΟΝ ΣΟΝ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΤΟΔ ΕΣΤ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΣΥΤΟΝΔΕ
ΤΗΣΗ ΓΑΡΔΟΞΗ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΤΟΔ ΑΜΠΕΧΕΤΑΙ.²

"This is not thy memorial, Euripides, but thou (art a memorial) of this,
for this memorial is surrounded by thy glory."

The sentiment here is paradoxical, and the antithesis strained; but there is sufficient resemblance to remind us of a better epigram on the poet's monument near Athens.

Μνημα μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἅπασ' Ἑυριπίδου ὀστέα δ' ἴσχει
Γῇ Μακεδῶν ἥπερ δέξατο τέρμα βίου.
Πάτρη δ' Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλὰς Ἀθῆναι πολλά δὲ Μούσας
Τέρψας, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.³

"All Greece is a memorial of Euripides; but Macedon has his bones, for there he received the end of life. His native country was Athens, the Greece (*i.e.*, the soul) of Greece; he delighted the muses much, and has also praise from many."

A cornice of egg and tongue decorates the top of the sarcophagus. Its front exhibits two distinct scenes; but both are, I think, connected with the same hero, Meleager. On the left we see three females standing, one of whom supports an infant kneeling on a cippus or altar; another female, seated, is apparently the mother of the child. It seems most probable that these three women are the Fates, who are said to have appeared when Meleager was only seven days old, and to have announced that his life would last as long as a brand on the hearth was unconsumed. Behind the group just described a

¹ Spartianus, Severus c. i, Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit; cui civitas Leptis. The ruins of Leptis Magna are very extensive, and correspond with the important position which the city held under the Romans. Cf. Sallust, Jugurtha, cc. 77, 78.

² It should be observed that this inscription is a recent addition, and that it is not on the Sarcophagus; consequently it has no authority.

³ See "Euripidis Bacchae," edit. J. E. Sandys, Camb. 1880, Introduction, Sec. 3, Euripides in Macedonia, p. xxxiii. Anthologia Pal. vii, 45; Brunek, "Ana-

lecta Vet. Poet. Graec.," vol. ii, p. 236. Mr. Sandys gives a poetical version, in which he translates *πάτρη* by *home*. This word seems unsuitable here, because the contrast is between Athens, the native country of Euripides, and Macedonia, where he died and was buried. It may be objected that the poet was born at Salamis, but this island belonged to Athens, and was one of the Attic demi.

Pausanias saw the cenotaph of Euripides (*μνημα Ἑυριπίδου κενόν*), as he went from Peiraeus to Athens; lib. I, c. 2, sec. 2.

boy stands, who is cutting with an axe a branch of a leafless tree above his head: this figure may be regarded as referring to the same legend, and, therefore corroborates the interpretation I have adopted. If the low column on which the child kneels is an altar, it may indicate some religious initiation, corresponding to our christening. The mother has both arms raised as if in supplication; her attitude betokens that she deprecates the fulfilment of the terrible prophecy, which menaces her offspring with an early doom.¹

Proceeding towards the right, we observe a man seated, holding a spear in his left hand, and an attendant engaged in removing an animal that looks like a wild boar from the back of a horse, who is drinking out of a shallow vessel. There can be little doubt that these figures represent the return of Meleager from the famous hunt at Calydon. As the hero would be fatigued with the chase and the horse with his burthen, the postures assigned to them are natural and pleasing; the former enjoys repose, while the animal slakes his thirst.² Upon

¹ Ovid "Metamorphoses," viii, 451—
Stipes erat, quem, cū partus enixa
jaceret

Thestias, in flammam triplices posuere
sorores :

Staminaque impresso fatalia pollice
nentes ;

Tempora, dixerunt, eadem lignoque
tibique,

O modo nate, damus.

² For the illustration of this Sarcophagus by other monuments the following references will be found useful:—
Millin, "Galerie Mythologique," secs. 410-415; especially 414, the bas-relief exhibits two scenes—Meleager fighting with his mother's brothers, and the burial of the hero. Winckelmann, "Monumenti Inediti," Tome II, Part II, pp. 116-119, Plates 87, 88. "Catalogues," Vente de la Galerie Pourtalès, p. 47, No. 204, La chasse du Sanglier de Calydon—couleur brune qui rehausse le sanglier. "Antiques du Cabinet Pourtalès," Pl. xi, pp. 57, 58, Vases Grecs en terre peinte, with which compare Crater in the Second Vase Room of the British Museum. Clarac, Pl. 805, No. 2021, Meleager of the Vatican. It should be observed that his left hand originally held a spear, of which traces remain on the pedestal: Comp. Crystal Palace, Roman Court

Catalogue, No. 293, p. 51. Catalogue of Vases in the Brit. Mus., No. 930, probably Meleager and Atalanta conversing. C. O. Müller, "Archäol. d. Kunst," sec. 134, Remark 3.

Philostratus Junior, Icones, xv, ed. Kaiser, p. 18, gives us a vivid description of the wild boar; 'Ορᾶς γὰρ ὄφαιμον μὲν ἀντὶ τὸ ὄμμα, λοφία τε φρίττουσα, καὶ πολὺς ὁ κατὰ τῶν ὀδόντων ἀφρὸς, ἐς πολὺν ἀνεστηκότων, καὶ τὴν διχμὴν ἀνρίπτων. In the edition of "Olearius," Lipsiae, 1709, fol., p. 886, there is an engraving taken from Spon, "Miscellanea," p. 312. Cf., Philostrati Icones, xxviii, Σουθῆραι, ed. Kaiser, p. 402.

Pausanias VIII, 45, 4, account of sculptures in the pediments of the temple at Tegea.

The boar hunt was a favourite subject with ancient artists: Dodwell's "Classical Tour in Greece," vol. ii, pp. 197-200, with two beautiful coloured plates of an archaic vase, opposite p. 197; Thersandros and other names are written on the cover. C. O. Müller, "Denkmäler," Part I, Pl. III, No. 18. It is sometimes indicated on coins and gems: e.g., Denarii of the gentes Durnia and Hosidia in Cohen, "Méd. Consulaires," and Riccio, "Monete delle Antiche Famiglie di Roma;" Intaglio in Cesnola's "Cyprus,"

and around this sarcophagus are grouped many miscellaneous objects—statues, busts and reliefs. Some are Greek or Roman, others evidently Oriental; amongst the former we can easily recognise Pan with a shepherd's pipe and goatskin, a head of Medusa with snaky locks, and, in very low relief, Aesculapius and Hygieia (Salus) seated, feeding a serpent. The latter class show considerable variety, as we might expect from the *provenance*, for they are executed in Cyprian limestone. We have here specimens of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Phoenician styles, just as they appear in the engravings of Di Cesnola's work on Cyprus.¹

(6.) No. 1, Battle of the Amazons, is a fragment of a frieze containing three figures nearly complete and parts of others. On the spectator's left stands a female, perhaps a goddess, fully draped and much taller than the rest, so that the head rises into the cornice, which it supports like a Caryatid.² Next comes an Amazon, helmeted, holding up a shield with her left arm behind a horse's head, wearing a short tunic that leaves the knees uncovered—*nuda genu*, as the huntress is described by Virgil. The costume and general appearance of the Amazon remind us of the sculptures in the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, preserved in the British Museum.³ Before the other figures is a naked warrior falling on the ground, and supporting himself on his knees and left elbow.

No. 2. Death of Neoptolemus. This bas-relief, like the last, is in a very fragmentary condition. On the left we see a warrior advancing and holding a shield; the greater

Pl. XXXVII, No. 9; "Gazette Archéol.," for 1880, p. 94, Peleus and Atalanta "se saisissent pour engager la lutte"—a boar's head is placed between them.

For the initiation of children mentioned above see the Commentary of Donatus and Stallbaum's note on Terence, *Phormio*, Act i, sc. i, v. 15, *Ubi initiabunt*.

At one end of the Sarcophagus a scene is represented, which has no connection with that in the front; it is probably the abduction of a heroine; she is seated in an attitude of grief, and male figures appear to be removing her to a vessel, the aplustre of which is distinctly visible.

¹ No attempt has been made to classify these antiques: the confusion in which they lie seems an emblem of the disorder produced by Turkish misrule; however,

we must be thankful that Mahometan barbarism, so often destructive, has in this case been contented with neglect.

² Admiral Spratt, "Crete," vol. i, p. 279, gives an engraving of a Sarcophagus found at Hierapytna, which is now in the British Museum. A figure of Persephone, with the head rising into the cornice, stands at each end of the front. The subject of the reliefs is Achilles at the court of Lycomedes; they are minutely described in "The Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures in the department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Part I, second edition, p. 16, No. 44 A (1879).

³ C. T. Newton, "Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Chidus and Branchidae," Atlas of Plates, Nos. ix and x, Frieze.

part of his body is concealed by the shield of another warrior. On the other hand, a man without drapery or weapons of any kind, is kneeling on a cushion and hurling a stool at his assailants; his distorted features show that he is excited by pain and rage to the last degree, and form a striking contrast with the placid expression of his opponent. Neoptolemus had carried off Hermione, the the wife of Orestes; and the latter, in revenge, instigated the Delphians to murder him. Virgil says that his death took place "*patrias ad aras.*"¹ At first sight I thought that the words of the poet found an apt illustration in the monument before us. But Professor Percy Gardner has pointed out that the object in the man's hands is not an altar, but a stool, which would have four legs, if complete. Hence, as well as for other reasons, it is impossible to connect this bas-relief with the story of Neoptolemus. Below is the upper part of a man with outstretched arms; as the figure is both mutilated and solitary, we cannot with certainty assign any probable motive to it.²

In conclusion, may I be permitted for one moment to refer to the circumstances under which I first saw Constantinople? A white mist from the sea rested on the city, concealing everything except the highest cupolas and minarets: gradually it lifted, and all the charms of a fairy scene were disclosed to view. I would fain regard it as an omen of success crowning the labours of modern scholars, whose investigations raise the veil drawn over the history and monuments of former times. My stay was too short to make, or even attempt, discoveries; but I shall rejoice, if any efforts of mine, however humble, cause the labours of others to be more widely known and better appreciated.

¹ Virgil, "*Aeneid*," iii, 330.
Ast illum, ereptae magno inflammatus
amore
Conjugis, et scelerum Furiis agitatus,
Orestes
Excipit incautum, patriasque obtruncat
ad aras.

² The names prefixed to the foregoing account of statues and reliefs are, for the most part, those printed on M. Berggren's Photographs, and were selected, I believe, by Dr. Déthier, but they are, as has been already shown, very questionable.

APPENDIX.

In this Memoir I have omitted the church of Santa Sophia, because the great work of Salzenberg, published under the direction of the Prussian Government, supplies ample information concerning it. Some interesting remarks on the mosaics were made by Mr. Poynter and Sir Digby Wyatt at a meeting of the Archæological Institute; they are reported in the "Journal," vol. xii, pp. 94-96.

For the Serpentine Column at Constantinople the chief ancient authorities are Herodotus, viii, 82, ix, 81; and Pausanias, x, 13, 5. It stands in the Hippodrome now called Atmeidan. The modern name corresponds closely with the ancient; *At* meaning a horse, and *Meidan* an open space: Redhouse, Turkish Vade Mecum.

See also Rawlinson's "Translation of Herodotus" and foot notes, vol. iv, pp. 328, 329, and 451, 452. At p. 452 there are two engravings of the column, as seen by Spon and Wheler in 1675, and as drawn by Dawson Turner in 1852. The Excursus A, pp. 483-488, "On the Inscription recently found upon the stand of the tripod dedicated by the Greeks at Delphi out of the Persian spoils," contains the text of the Inscription, but not in fac-simile, an account of the archaic forms of the letters, and a comparison of the list of Greek States on this pillar with other lists in Herodotus and Pausanias. Spon and Wheeler's drawing, which shows the three serpents' heads entire, is copied in the Plates appended to Ball's "Translation of Gyllius."

The obelisk, now standing in the Hippodrome, was originally erected by Thothmes III in the earliest part of his reign. It is of great interest on account of its historical and geographical indications; the hieroglyphs inform us that the King has gone round the great waters of Naharina, *i.e.*, Mesopotamia: Dr. Birch, "Notes upon Obelisks, in the Museum of Classical Antiquities," edited by Falkener, vol. ii, pp. 203, 239, No. 7, Sept. 1852, especially p. 213. But for a full explanation of the sculptures see Dr. Birch, on the Obelisk of the Atmeidan in the "Transactions" of the Royal Society of Literature, Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 218-228, with a Plate of the Hieroglyphics.

Zoega, "De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum," fol. Romæ MDCCXCVIII, Synopsis, pp. ii, iv; Greek Inscription p. 55, Latin Inscription p. 56, both on the pedestal; Reliefs on the base, p. 58; account of the Obelisk, chiefly derived from Gyllius, pp. 88-91. Zoega, p. 91, mentions a drawing of this monument by Niebuhr, the celebrated traveller: Carsten Niebuhr's Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern, Kopenhagen, 1774, tom. i, p. 32.

Seroux d'Agincourt, "History of Art by its Monuments"; Sculpture, Plate x, Bassirilievi del Piedestallo dell' Obelisco rialzato da Teodosio nell' Ippodromo di Constantinopoli: Medaglie dello stesso tempo, iv Secolo. "The Emperor is here represented receiving the petitions of his subjects, and presents from persons who are kneeling."

Compare with M. Berggren's Photographs, Plate viii, in Ball's "Translation of Gyllius."

The reliefs on the base are very curious, because they exhibit the

machines—ergatae, windlasses—by which obelisks were moved in ancient times : Wilkinson, "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," chap. x, vol. iii, pp. 324-334 ; at p. 328 there is a wood-cut, No. 390, "Mode of transporting a large colossus."

Those who desire further information on the subjects discussed in this Memoir will find it in the following works :—

Jules Labarte, "Le Palais Impérial de Constantinople et ses Abords, Sainte-Sophie, le Forum Augustéen et l'Hippodrome, tels qu'ils existaient au Dixième Siècle," Paris, 1861.

Charles Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan, "L'Architecture Byzantine," Lond. 1864.

Guglielmo Heyd, "Le Colonie Commerciali degli Italiani in Oriente nel medio evo, dissertazioni recate in Italiano dal Prof. Giuseppe Müller," Venice, 1866 and 1868.

These three books are included in the list of authorities prefixed to Dr. Paspati's *Βυζαντινὰὶ Μελέται* ; it is placed between the Preface (*Πρόλογος*) and the Table of Contents (*Περιεχόμενα*.)

Banduri, "Imperium Orientale," Paris, 1711.

Charles Lebeau, "Histoire du Bas-Empire," revue, &c., par M. St. Martin, 21 vols., 8vo., 1825-26.

J. C. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton de Gifford,) "Journey through Albania, &c.," Letters xlviii and xlix.

Ferdinand Hirsch, "Byzantinische Studien"; this work gives an account only of *some* Byzantine annalists, their names will be found in the Table of Contents (Inhalt) immediately after the Preface.

E. A. Sophocles, "Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods" (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100.) This dictionary is useful for reference, but, as the title itself implies, far from complete ; in many cases the inquirer will obtain much better assistance from the Greek Glossary of Ducange.

ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀνθολογίαν . . . Μετάφρασις ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ πονήματος τοῦ γραφέντος παρὰ τοῦ Ἀιδεσιμωτάτου κ. Κ. Γ. ΚΟΡΤΗΣ, ὑπὸ Π. ΚΟΝΤΟΓΕΩΡΓΗ.

G. Braun (Bruin) "Civitates Orbis Terrarum," 1576, lib. i, has a curious map of Constantinople, showing the walls, towers, churches, columns, palaces, &c., and costumes of the period ; v. Index No. 51, at the end of vol. i.

"Mémoires du Sylloge de Constantinople."

"Revue Archéologique," April, 1876, Marques d'Ouvriers Byzantins, par M. A. Choisy.

"Revue Archéologique," June, 1876, La Partie du Trésor Troyen au Musée de Constantinople, par M. le Dr. Déthier.

"Revue Archéologique," August, 1876, Inscriptions Céramiques Byzantines, par M. Al. Sorlin Dorigny.

"Revue Archéologique," October, 1880, Monuments Numismatiques et Sphragistiques du Moyen Age Byzantin, par M. Gustave Schlumberger—Méreaux d'Eglises—Tessères servant aux Distributions Charitables—Sceaux de Fonctionnaires de l'Assistance Publique à Byzance.

"Revue Archéologique," August, 1881, Monnaies et Bulles Inédites de l'Empereur Focas, par M. Al. Sorlin Dorigny.

"Archæologia," vol. xlv, pp. 383-392, with two Plates, Mr. Freshfield

on Byzantine Churches, and the Modifications made in their Arrangements owing to the Necessities of the Greek Ritual.

"Archæologia," vol. xlv, pp. 65-162, with two Plates, Mr. Fowler on the Process of Decay in Glass, &c. ; p. 93, Manufacture of Glass at Constantinople ; p. 94, reference to Theophilus ; p. 153, Illustrative example from St^a Sophia, No. 87.

"Proceedings" of the Society of Antiquaries, Second Series, vol. vi, p. 335. Print of Constantinople, 13 feet 1½ inches long, by about 15 inches wide—a series of eight views forming a Panorama.

"Catalogue of Glass," Slade Collection, 1871. Notes on the History of Glass-Making by Mr. Nesbitt ; Sec. 4, Glass of Byzantium and the Eastern Empire, pp. xxiii-xxvi. Catalogue of the Collection, Glass of Byzantium, A.D. 400-1300, pp. 57-59, Figs. 74, 75.

The popular works on Constantinople by Théophile Gautier and Edmondo de Amicis abound in animated descriptions of human life and external nature ; but they supply few of those exact details on which, as on a sure foundation, the science of Archæology reposes.

I have quoted the Byzantine Historians in folio, as I had not access to any other copies. The Bonn edition is better and more convenient in size ; however, the improvement is not as great as might have been expected from the eminent scholars who published it. Gibbon, chap. lxviii, note 97, and Milman's remark (*) in his edition of Gibbon, vol. xii, p. 248.

My special thanks are due to the Rev. Canon Curtis, who kindly pointed out to me many objects of art and antiquity, and enabled me to form a correct estimate of them.

THE CASTLES OF ENGLAND AND WALES, AT THE LATTER
PART OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

(Concluded.)

By G. T. CLARK.

There remain to be enumerated the castles west of the Severn and the Dee up to the dyke of Offa. To this tract must be added on the one hand the half of Shropshire, which was on the English side of the Severn ; on the other, one or two valleys like those of the upper Severn and the Wye, penetrating into the heart of Wales ; and to the north and south a tract of seaboard, reaching in the one case to the Conwy, and in the other to Pembroke and including Aberystwith. Of this borderland, divided between the northern, middle and western Marches, the first was given in charge by the Conqueror to Hugh Earl of Chester, the second to Roger Earl of Shrewsbury Arundel and Montgomery, and opposite to the last, most of which was as yet unconquered, was placed William Fitz Osberne Earl of Hereford. In the north and middle Marches the opposing parts of Wales were mountainous and strong, exceedingly dangerous to invade and of little value to a conqueror, but in the south the country was far more open and more fertile, far less dangerous to the invader and offering far greater attraction to the cupidity of the settler. The general policy was to penetrate the country by the open valleys and the seaboard, and at certain frequent points to erect castles strong enough to resist a sudden attack, and occasionally capacious enough to contain men and stores sufficient to reinforce troops in the field or to receive and rally them when worsted.

The three principal fortresses which, placed upon English territory, formed in a military point of view the

base for operations in Wales, were Chester on the Dee, Shrewsbury upon the Severn, and Gloucester at the mouth of the same river, and under the Mercian kings a place of great strength and importance. Chester and Gloucester were of Roman, Shrewsbury of British origin. In advance of Chester, and beyond the estuary of the Dee, were the castles of Hawarden, Ewloe, Halkin, Flint, Diserth, Rhuddlan, and Diganwy, extending upon or at no great distance from the sea coast as far as the Conwy river. More inland and south of these are Caergwrle, Mold, Ruthyn, Denbigh, and Basingwerk, the last nearly upon Watt's Dyke. Hope Castle is mentioned, but is probably the same with Caergwrle, and Overton, which though on the Cheshire side of the Dee, was held by the Princes of Powis. It seems to have been founded by William Peverel, and was by him defended against Stephen in 1138. Most of these castles are mere ruins; of others the extant buildings are Edwardian additions. Hawarden, however, has a tolerably perfect circular keep, with a small mural oratory, and an exceedingly complex but later arrangement for defending the approach.

Considerably south of these castles, where the Dee has ceased to be the dividing stream of England and Wales, is the hill castle of Dinas Brân, an early and strong place, by whom built is uncertain, but which was held for long periods by the Welsh Princes. Again south, upon the Ceiriog river, and a few yards east of Offa's dyke, is Chirk Castle, inhabited and much altered, but of early date.

The western side of Shropshire and the adjacent part of Montgomery formed nearly the whole of the Middle March. Earl Roger, its custos under the Conqueror with powers which William only delegated from absolute necessity, and which it took his successors centuries to resume, was the only Norman Lord who gave name to a county in the conquered land. Under him and his lieutenants, Roger Corbet and Roger Mortimer, the March was feud out to a number of knights and lesser barons, all of whom built castles, and thus defended the common territory, while protecting their own private estates. The task of construction probably was not so

onerous as at first sight might appear. Shropshire and Herefordshire, and especially their most exposed parts, were already studded over thickly with strong places constructed after their own fashion by the Mercian invaders and settlers, and of these it is evident that the new Lords availed themselves until they were able to make additions to them in masonry.

Of Shrewsbury Castle, the citadel of the middle March, and the "caput" of Earl Roger's Earldom, enough remains to shew that, though small in area, it was a place of excessive strength. The mound upon which the Earl placed his keep in 1080 still rises to a great height direct from the river, and of the works to make room for which 51 English burgages were swept away there still remain parts of the wall, a gatehouse, and the foundations of a later hall. In the Hundred roll, in the reign of Edward I, occurs the following very curious entry. The jurors declare—"Quod unus magnus turris ligneus qui edificatur in castro Salop corrui in terram tempore domini Uriani de St. Petro tum vicecomitis et meremium ejusdem turris tempore suo et temporibus aliorum vicecomitum preterea existencium ita consummatur et destruitur quod nichil de illo remansit in magnum dampnum domini Regis et deteracionem ejusdem castri." Was this a wooden keep upon the mound? "Quoddam Barbican," is also mentioned, and we are told the "dampnum mote" amounted to 60 marcs, which damage the jurors do not attribute altogether to the Abbot's Mill, for thirty years before, the mote of the castle was injured. This can scarcely mean the ditch, for which "fossa" is the word used. It is evidently the mound. The castle formed part of the town wall, and occupied an angle of its area. Both castle and town were included within the foldings of the deep and broad Severn, and indeed often needed its protection.

In advance of Shrewsbury and placed along the most exposed border of the county, and sometimes a little beyond it, were seventeen castles, all strong and of early foundation, though not all of equal importance. Of these the principal were Cleobury, Ludlow, Richard's Castle, Wigmore, Knighton and Knucklas or Heyhope to the south, the one just within the other, a little beyond the dyke. To the west were Clun, Bishop's Castle, Mont-

gomery, Cause, Abberbury, and Knockyn, and to the north Oswestry, Whittington, Ellesmere and Whitchurch.

Of these castles Ludlow stood next to Shrewsbury in importance, and was fully its equal in strength, and far its superior in dimensions and architectural display. It was, indeed, a superb Norman castle, the work of Roger de Lacy in the reign of Rufus, and before it Stephen was foiled, and very nearly captured in 1139. The rectangular keep, some of the mural towers, and most of the lower part of the containing wall are original. The curious circular chapel, though Norman, is rather later, and the magnificent hall, kitchen, and lodgings, are later still. The castle is built on the eastern bank of the Lug which here flows down a deep rocky ravine; the town also was strongly walled. Cleobury, to the east of Ludlow, attributed to Roger de Mortimer in 1074, is more probably the work of a later lord in the reign of Stephen. It was taken by Henry II. in 1155. Wigmore, of which the castelry is mentioned in Domesday, the chief seat of the great border family of Mortimer, is actually in Herefordshire, but belongs to the Shropshire fortresses. It occupies a rocky ridge, defended by a natural ravine and steep slopes. The small mound that bore its keep remains, and below is a Norman tower, and more or less of ancient masonry. The outworks seem to have been strong. Richard's Castle, the Auretone of Domesday, founded by Richard Fitz Scrob in the reign of the Confessor, though also in Hereford, lies between Wigmore and Ludlow, and was closely associated with Shropshire. It retains its ancient mound, near the church, and a part of its shell keep, and is still defended by a very formidable ditch. There is, however, no masonry of the age of the Confessor, nor is it probable that the keep was constructed before the reign of Stephen, if so early. Wigmore and Richard's Castle were the advanced posts of Ludlow. Cleobury Mortimer was held by Ralph Mortimer at the Survey and probably came to him from the forfeiture of Earl Roger de Britolio. Knighton and Knucklas are on the right bank of the Teme, just outside the Shropshire border. Their exposed position made them very important posts. In 1180 Randulf Puher, Sheriff of Herefordshire, accounted for the expenses of works at the castles of Knighton and

Camerino, and a little later while employed in building a border castle, he was slain by the Welsh. Of Knighton only the mound remains. The masonry, now removed, has been attributed to one of the Lords of Clun. Of Knucklas or Choclâs Castle there are scarcely any vestiges. It was probably built by Roger Mortimer soon after the Conquest, its mound known as Castle Hill being of course older. Clun Castle is three miles within the dyke, but the intervening country is very rugged, and exceedingly favourable to the operations of undisciplined troops such as the Welsh. Clun was held under Earl Roger by Picot de Say, and became afterwards the castle of Alan the son of Flaald, and the cradle of the House of Stewart. There remains a rough but grand square keep, a mound, strong circumscribing earthworks, and beyond the church, an advanced bank and ditch of formidable dimensions. It is evident that those who laid out these earthworks were well aware of the peril of the position. Bishop's Castle or Lydbury is well within the frontier. It was the residence of the bishops of Hereford from 1085 to 1154, and was taken by storm in 1235. By their possession of this castle the bishops became Lords Marchers. Montgomery was the centre and one of the most exposed castles of the frontier. It occupied the summit of a steep rock, and was almost impregnable. It has however been taken, destroyed, and rebuilt at least twice, so that little if any of its masonry is of the time of Earl Roger. It stands just within the dyke.

North of Montgomery, and protected by the well known Long Mountain, is Cause Castle or Alreton, the earliest seat of the Corbets, who named it from the Pays de Caux, whence they came. It was built towards the close of the reign of the Conqueror, and is remarkable for its massive keep and capacious well, and for the rare example of the substitution of a Norman for a native name. North of Cause is Abberbury, the seat of the Fitz Warines before they held Whittington. It was held under Cause. Knockin castle, the head of the Barony of Strange, was probably built by Guido le Strange in the reign of Henry II. Far more exposed, and having the mountainous ground of Denbigh in its front is Oswestry, supposed by Mr. Eyton to be the Castel Luare (L'Ouvre)

of Domesday, the work of Rainald de Ballieu, and long celebrated as a seat of the Earls of Arundel. It is now reduced to a mound and the foundations of a keep. The outworks have been levelled and built over by the encroaching town, and the ditches filled up. The town walls are also removed. Very near to Oswestry is Whittington, founded as a Norman work by William Peverel in 1138, but better known from its later lords the Fitz Warines. This is the castle that defied the Welsh in 1223, and the strength of which lay not only in its shell keep, towers, and gatehouse, parts of all which remain, but in a curious arrangement of outworks in earth with several broad and deep ditches connected with a morass, the limits of which may still be traced. The original mound, scarped and enclosed like Bungay in a revetment wall by the Norman engineer, is a good example of the manner in which those early fortifications were adapted to the masonry of later times. Ellesmere is a Peveril castle, but was held by the Welsh princes as late as the reign of Henry III. Whitchurch was founded probably by William de Warren, whose wife was stepdaughter to the Conqueror. It was the Weston of Domesday, and by a singular inversion became widely known afterwards as Blackmere. These complete the outer line of defence of the Middle March.

Connected with these were a large number of other castles, mostly, though not always, held by men of lesser rank and power. Wein, now entirely destroyed, was founded by William Pantulf, holding under Earl Roger. Middle Castle was held of the Fitz Alans by the Lords Strange, as was Ruyton. At High Ercal is a moated mound, but whether masonry was ever added to it is doubtful. Srawrthlin or Sharwardine had a castle, probably before 1165. There seem also to have been castles at Charlton, Howgate, Braincroft, Corshall, Shipton, Ryton, and Le Botwood. Pulverbath was the castle of Robert Venator in the eleventh century. Tonge was Earl Roger's private demesne, but the castle achieved its fame under the Pembrugge family. Church Stretton or Brockhurst Castle was held direct by the Crown, but was demolished at an early period. At Brooymeron, near Tugford, there seems to have been a castle. Corfham was held by Fitz

Ponce, the ancestor of the Cliffords. Wattlesborough, an early Corbet Castle, still preserves a small but tolerably perfect rectangular keep. Stone has some traces of a castle, and at Hopton is a square keep of Decorated date, on a slightly raised knoll, with some extensive and marshy outworks. Besides these may be mentioned Castle Holgate, thought by Mr. Eyton to be one of the four earliest castles built under Earl Roger, the others being Shrewsbury, Montgomery, and Oswestry, all in some shape of earlier date than the great Survey. Holgate was built by Helgot de Stanton, and used by Henry II in 1109. Bryn Castle was an early seat of the Gerards; Bromfield and Cainham are destroyed; of Shiffnall little is known; Stottesden was granted in 1159 by Henry II to Godfrey de Gamaches or Gamage; Stokesay is said originally to have been built by Picot le Say; Tirley, near Market Drayton, was the work of Roger de Corcelle, but taken by Ralph le Botiler of Wem, who left it unfinished in 1281. The Fitz Alans seem to have had a castle at Wroxeter, the Lords Strange at Cheswardine, and at Morton-Soret, now Corbet, the Sorets built a castle. West of Ludlow was a castle at Stapleton-en-le-Harness, built probably by the lords of Richard's Castle. Kinnerley Castle, taken by Llewelyn in 1223, has long since disappeared. Alveton was held by Theobald de Verdon in 1389.

Robert de Belesme, the son of Roger and the third Earl of Shrewsbury, built two castles which played a part in the struggles of the time, and are mentioned by historians. One, Carregchova, was in advance of the frontier, and in Montgomery. It is said to have been built about 1101-2 in great haste. In 1160 it was held and garrisoned by Henry II. It has long been utterly destroyed. The other, Bruges or Bridgenorth Castle, was upon the Severn below and inland of Shrewsbury. Earl Roger had built a castle not far off upon the ancient earthworks of Quatford, opposite to Oldbury, one of the burhs thrown up by Queen Æthelflæda. This castle, of which there remain a mound and a deep well, Earl Robert removed in 1102 to the top of a steep rocky platform above the Severn. It was strong and spacious and had the church of St. Mary Magdalen for its chapel, and within its area accommo-

dation for some thousands of men. Of all this there remains now little save a fragment of the keep and parts of the containing wall. It was besieged by Henry II in 1155, and was surrendered for political rather than for military reasons.

In advance of the borders of Shropshire are two or three castles of doubtful origin, and which were frequently held by the Welsh. Such were Powis or Pool Castle, attributed to Bleddyn ap Cynfin about 1109; Mathraval, on the Vyrnwy, the residence of the Welsh Princes, but fortified by Robert de Vipont. This was one of the few local castles that resisted the Welsh outbreak of 1212, soon after which it was destroyed. Dolforwin is a small hill castle on the left bank of the Upper Severn, much resembling Dinas Brân, and far to the west. Deep in the defiles upon the western flank of Cader Idris is the castle of Bere, the remains of which fell into the friendly hands of the late Mr. Wynn of Peniarth, who has shewn that the building was of the Early English period of architecture, and unusually ornate in its details. How an Early castle came to be placed so far from the border, and in a position by no means abounding in the means of subsistence, is a mystery.

The plain of the Upper Severn, open and fertile, outside the Shropshire border, was contested from a very remote period between the Mercians and the Welsh, and was at times completely and permanently occupied by the former. The Mercian fortresses of this very perilous district were moated mounds similar to those thrown up in England in the ninth and tenth centuries. Of these there are very many along the course of the river or in its tributary valleys of which the chief are Keri, Hên-domen near Montgomery, Nanteribba a fortified natural knoll, Guilsfield, a burh at Chirbury thrown up by Æthelflaeda and now removed, Welsh Pool designated in 1299 as Mota de Pola, a mound on the Luggy, Wiusbury, Dudston, Brynderwen, several mounds about Llanidloes and Moat lane: Tafolwern, a fine mound upon the junction of two streams with the Afon Lwymyn, and whence some of the charters of the Welsh princes are dated, and a remarkable mound at Talybont near Towyn, whence Llewelyn dated a letter to the Archbishop of

Canterbury, and which was visited by Edward I. Very few of these 'Mottes' were surmounted by works in masonry, and the accompanying extract from the Close Roll shews that even as late as the reign of Henry the Third timber was the recognised material for their defences.

"Rex et c dilecto et fideli suo Godescallo de Maghelins salutem. Recipimus tibi quod ex parte nostra firmiter precipias omnibus illis qui motas habent in valle de Muntgunery quod sine dilatione motas suas bonis bretaschiis firmari faciant ad securitatem et defensionem suam et parcium illarum. Teste Rege apud Weston xxx die maii, 9 H iii, 1225." (Close Roll). The Brut y Tysogion says that the castles of Llandwnyl, Trevuwerw, and Cynfig were begun in 1092 to be built stronger than before, for before that time castles were of wood, and before long the Frenchmen had built their castles over the whole country. Although it is evident that the moated mound was an English and not a Welsh fortification, yet many of these mounds are found in situations where no English could have lived, and others like Tafolwern and Talybont are known to have been Welsh residences, so that it would seem that the Welsh, finding this form of fortification both simple and strong, easily thrown up, and when burned easy to repair, had recourse to it in imitation of their foes. Almost all the castles in Shropshire on the border were held of Earl Roger, or some Lord Marcher by the tenure of castle guard, and many of the lesser castles had lands attached to them held by the same honourable service. The usual condition was attendance upon the lord in time of war, armed, for a period of forty days, or an engagement to defend and sometimes to repair a particular part of the lord's castle. Lord Coke indeed speaks of tenure by castle guard as always attached to some specific part of a castle. The manor of Hodnet was held by the service of seneschal, and in war by attendance in the outer bailey of Shrewsbury Castle. The inquest on William de Bollers in 1299 shews that he held a tenement in Mariton by the tenure of providing one soldier in war time at the Mote of Poole with a bow and arrow and a bolt, for a night and a day. Mr. Eyton takes the Mote of Pool to be Powis Castle, but may it

not more probably be the mote which is seen, or was recently to be seen near the Welshpool railway station? In an old map in 1610 this mound is lettered, "Domine Castell" and a mill near it the Domen (Tomen, Tunulus, Tump) Mill.

The Southern, commonly called the Western March, from its extension in that direction, included the counties of Radnor, Hereford, and Monmouth, the eastern part of Brecknock, much of Caermarthen and Cardigan, Pembroke and the whole of Glamorgan; that is to say the country from the Teme to the Bristol Channel, and the whole seaboard of South Wales from Chepstow to Aberystwith, all which territory was thickly set with castles, the footprints of the Norman, and before him to some extent of the Englishman.

Included in South Wales, but in a military point of view more connected with Shropshire and the middle March, was the county of Radnor. This was a mountainous tract, very Welsh, and but a small strip of which was on the English side of the dyke, but the imminence of the danger seems to have led to great encroachments upon the Welsh territory, and to the establishment of a considerable number of castles along the lines specially exposed to attack.

Knighton, the chief castle of Radnor, and Knucklas, both upon the Teme and bordering Shropshire, have been mentioned. South of Knighton was Norton, and again south Old Radnor, Cruker or Pen-y-Craig, destroyed by Rhys ap Griffith in the reign of King John, and New Radnor, of which there remains a large mound with concentric entrenchments, and parts of the walls of the town are still to be seen. The castle is said to have been founded by Harold in 1064. Pains Castle or Leanbedr, in Elvet, near the southern border of the county, was so called from Pagan or Payne de Cadurces, Cahors, or Chaworth, Lord of Kidwelly, who built it about 1130, possibly to secure his passage into Caermarthenshire. A few fragments of masonry still remain. Pains Castle was taken by Rhys in 1196, and subsequently besieged by Gwenwynwyn, Prince of Powis in 1198. Near to Pains Castle, on the left bank of the Wye, was Boughrood Castle said to have

been held by Eineon Clyde in 1140. Fragments of masonry long remained visible. The passage of the Wye is commanded in this district by the strong castle of Builth. Just outside the county and higher up the river, which here divides Radnor from Brecknock, was Aberedw Castle, built by Ralph de Baskerville, one of the Norman invaders, but speedily taken and held by the Welsh. Still higher up is Rhyader-Gwy, founded it is said by Prince Rhys in the twelfth century, but better known as a castle of the Mortimers. It was taken by assault by the Welsh in the reign of Henry III. The outline of the works may still be traced. Nearer the centre of the county, upon the Ython and the Aran, were other castles. Moelynaidd and Castell Colwyn or Mauds Castle, fortified by the Earl of Chester in 1143, were on the former river, and near them was Cefn-Lys or Castell-glyn-Ython, a rather celebrated Norman castle, but often taken by the Welsh. It was held latterly by the Mortimers, and rebuilt by them in 1142. Dwybod Timpeth or Tilloedd, also on the Ython, was a place of great strength of which many fragments of masonry remain. The name has been said to be a corruption of Talbot. This castle was levelled by Llewellyn in 1260. Cwm Aron on the Aron river, was an early Norman castle, destroyed by the Welsh and restored by Hugh Earl of Chester in 1143. This also came to the Mortimers. There are considerable remains of the earthworks. Near to Presteign were Warden and Stapleton Castles, the latter built by Chandos the founder of Goldcliff priory. There was also a castle at Clyro and upon the Lug at Castell Haled or Vallet: and at Clâs Cwm on the Arrow is some masonry said to represent Brynlllys Castle.

The remaining parts of South and West Wales containing much open and tolerably fertile land, and having a long and exposed frontier towards the purely Welsh districts of Brecknock, Caermarthen and Cardigan, were the scene of perpetual inbreaks from the Welsh and required more than usual strength in the defences. The Castle of Gloucester, already mentioned, was the base of all extended operations in South Wales. Here the kings of England often held their court, and here their troops were mustered. Brictric had a castle at Gloucester, but

his mound has long been removed and with it all traces of the Norman building.

Next to Gloucester in strength and importance and far more exposed, came Hereford, strongly posted on the Wye, and surrounded by a very fertile territory. Unlike most other cities Hereford is of purely English foundation, though by whom founded is not precisely clear. It was fortified by Harold, and probably received the Norman additions to its castle from Osborne soon after the Conquest. The castle was attacked by Edric the Wild in 1067. Part of the defences of the city remain, and of the castle an immense bank and deep wet ditch, now in part being filled up, and formerly communicating with the river Wye. The keep stood upon a large mound now levelled. Herefordshire contained many castles, mostly, however, intended for the protection of private estates and placed accordingly. Goderich on the Wye is one of the chief. It is large, well built, protected by the river, and has a small but early rectangular keep. It was long held by the Talbots. Ewias Harold and Kilpeck commanded from either side the valley of Irchenfield. Both were strong and had shell keeps built upon mounds of large size. Of Kilpeck parts of the wall remain, and a small Norman church. In 1134 Hugh, son of William Norman gave to Gloucester Abbey the church of St. David at Kilpeck and the chapel of St. Mary in the castle. Ewias was a stronger place, but nearly all the masonry is now gone. The Harold from whom it derives its distinctive name was an English proprietor before the Conquest. Of the lesser castles were Croft, for centuries the seat of a still extant family of that name. Lingen, an early castle built by Turstine de Wigmore; Lyonshall, an early D'Evereux castle; Kingston, of which no trace remains; Almley, reduced to its original mound; Kingsland, reputed a Saxon seat; Weobley, a de Lacy castle in the reign of Stephen; Castle Frome, also built by the Lacys, and now a mound only; Asperton, a Grandison castle built on the edge of the Roman way, is now destroyed, as are Ellington and Mortimer's Castle at Much Marcle. Of Huntington on the Radnor border, a De Braose Castle, the mound remains, as of Eardisley called in Domesday, a "*domus defensabilis*." Cubbington

was a castle of the De la Field's, and Bredwardine of a family of that name who gave place to the Baskervilles. Whitney Castle stood on the Wye, as a little higher up did Clifford, of which the masonry was the work of Ralph de Toden and his successor Fitz Pons, ancestor of the great house of Clifford who hence derived their name. The Castelry of Clifford was held at Domesday by Roger de Lacy. Wilton Castle on the Wye, the seat of a well-known Barony, was built by Longchamp in the reign of Henry I, and of that age were Pembridge and probably Tretire, a Fitz Warine Castle now destroyed. Besides these there are others of which less is known ; Longtown or Ewias Lacy built in part of Roman material ; Snodhill, probably Norman ; Twyford and Urishay in Peterchurch, a De la Hay work ; Eccleswall and Castle Comfort reduced to their mounds : the bank and ditches of the latter seen on a hill side half-a-mile from Leominster, are the reputed remains of the palace of Werewald, King of Mercia, late in the seventh century. Mention is also made of Mouse Castle near Hay ; Dorston, a Soler's Castle ; Cusop, a mere tower ; Bransil, on the Worcester-shire border, now a ruin ; Kinnersley ; Eaton Tregoz, a Baskerville seat in 1251 ; Moccas, of which the moat remains ; and Penyard, probably Norman. It is to be remembered that most of the castles in masonry in Hereford and Radnor were built upon earthworks of far earlier date.

Brecknock, though a wild and mountainous and therefore strongly Welsh county, is penetrated both by the Usk and in some measure by the Wye, of which Bernard Newmarch and his invading followers well knew how to take advantage. The castles on the Wye being common to Radnor and Brecknock have duly been enumerated, save the strongest of them all, Builth, which ever played an important part in the local wars, and was held by the Barons de Braose, the successors of Newmarch. Of masonry there remains but little, but the mound and annexed ditches and platforms are of a very formidable character and justify the reputation of the fortress for strength.

Builth was placed near the junction of the Yrfon with the Wye, and thus commanded the entrance of an

important pass leading into Caermarthen. It was, however, by the Usk that Bernard Newmarch marched in 1096 against Bleddyn ap Maenarch, and it was at Brecknock, not far from the Roman Bannium, that he established the strong and spacious castle of which the earlier mound and much of the masonry can still be seen. The possession of Brecknock, Builth, and Abergavenny Castles secured the district which Newmarch parcelled out among about $\frac{3}{4}$ 15 of his chief followers, some of whom built castles which they continued to hold under his son-in-law, Milo Earl of Hereford and their successors the Barons de Braose and Cantelupe. Next above Abergavenny was Crickhowell, of which the mound, ditches, and a tower remain. This was the castle of the Turbervilles. Near it is Tretower, an early and very curious structure, where a rectangular keep has been gutted and an early English round tower erected in its centre. Tretower stands in the marshes of the Rhiangol, higher up which stream is Dinas, a hill castle now in ruins, but a place much resembling Morlais in Glamorgan, and which commands the pass from Abergavenny to Talgarth and the Wye. Higher up the Wye, upon a pass by which the road cuts off an inaccessible bend of the river, was Blaenllyfni, a large and strong castle usually held by the chief lord himself. Near it towards Brecknock was Pencelli Castle. At Devynock was the tower of Rhyd-yr-Briew, and some miles above Brecknock, near the head of the Usk, a tower at Tre-castle, of which the mound remains, was placed at the summit of the regular road between Brecknock and Caermarthen. On the Honddu above Brecknock was Castell Madoc, probably a Welsh fortress, and on the Llyfni between Brecknock and Hereford the Peel of Talgarth and the very remarkable cylindrical tower of Bronllys. The remains of the Castle of Hay stand upon the Wye at the north-eastern angle of the county. It was built by Sir Philip Walwyn, destroyed by Henry III in 1231, and probably rebuilt soon afterwards. A part of it is still standing. The town was walled and had three gates.

Besides these were Scethrog, the tower of Sir Miles Pichard; Burghill built by Sir Humphrey of that name: Langoed and some others, fortified houses rather than castles, and of which in most cases nothing remains but

the moated mounds, only a few of which have been occupied by the Normans.

Monmouthshire, though exposed to occasional inbreaks, was, in the eleventh century, and especially after Harold's Welsh war of 1063, as completely a part of England, as Hereford or the contiguous parts of Gloucester. Its western border was the Rhymny, but by much its more important part lay between two very deep and rapid rivers, the Wye and the Usk, and upon each were posted formidable castles; those of Monmouth and Chepstow, upon the one river, and those of Newport, Usk and Abergavenny upon the other. Chepstow is placed upon a cliff on the western or right hand bank of the river, evidently, like Newport, intended as a "tete du pont" to cover the passage of troops, the river not being fordable. As the name imports the settlement is of English origin, though its Domesday designation Estrighoil corrupted into Striguil, is Welsh. The castle is divided from the town by a deep ravine, and is altogether outside the wall, which was unusual. The keep, of Norman masonry, may be the work of William Fitz Osborne, Earl of Hereford, or at latest of Roger de Britolio, his son and successor. As early as in the reign of Henry I Chepstow had come into the possession of the de Clares of the Strongbow line often called Earls of Striguil. Its possession enabled the Mareschals, successors to the de Clares, to hold their earldom against Henry III. Monmouth castle occupied the top of a promontory of rock between the Wye and the Monnow, and was long held by a line of border barons to whom it gave a name.

Upon the Usk the old castle of Newport has long been replaced by a later structure, but parts of Usk Castle, some miles higher up are old, and Abergavenny, which descended from de Braose through Cantelupe and Hastings to the Nevilles, is still held by the chief of that family, though little remains of it save the original mound. It was at Abergavenny Castle that William de Braose slaughtered in 1175 a number of unarmed Welshmen, in revenge for the murder of his uncle Henry of Hereford. Caerleon, between Newport and Usk, though founded by a Norman upon an earlier English site connected with very

celebrated Roman remains, was the heritage of a Welsh family, and continued long in their occupation. Between the Usk and the Wye the ground, in itself strong, was strongly occupied.

Upon the Monnow were placed Scenfrith and Gros-mont, which with Whitecastle formed the famous trilateral, so important in the war between Henry III and the Earl of Pembroke. The keep of Scenfrith is a round tower of early date placed within a right lined enclosure. Though small it was very strong, and its remains are tolerably perfect. Grosmont, also of early date, is somewhat larger, and its remains are also considerable. White Castle is an enormous shell of lofty walls and mural towers placed within a most formidable ditch, beyond which are very extensive outworks both of masonry and earth. It stands very high, commands a most extensive view, and its defences are wholly artificial. All these three castles are reported to have been originally Welsh seats; but their earthworks have an English aspect. They were obviously intended for the general defence of the country, and as usual were always in the hands of the great Lords or of the Crown; there were besides several smaller castles or fortified houses, the centre of private estates. Of these were the castles bordering the chase of Wentwood Dinham, long since a ruin; Penhow, the cradle of the House of Seymour; Pencoed, which still retains some early masonry; Llanvair, built by the Pain or Pagan family; and Castroggy, where is seen a part of the hall and some other masonry. Upon the Ebbw, west of Newport, stood the small castles of Greenfield and Rogeston, and at Castleton is a mound, said at one time to have been accompanied by masonry. On the hill above Ruperra is a very large and very perfect moated mound, but without any trace or tradition of masonry. Llangibby is an old Monmouthshire castle.

The occupation by the Normans of the valleys of the Wye and the Usk no doubt served to protect the exposed flank of Monmouthshire, but beyond the Rhymny in Glamorgan, this protection ceased and the hill territory of Glamorgan contained a native population ever ready to assist their countrymen, who frequently invaded that Lordship from the north west. The Norman settlers all dwelt in

the strip of open and more fertile land from six to twelve miles in breadth that intervened, like the Concan of Western India, between the mountains and the sea, where the remains of their castles are placed so near together as to raise a question as to whence the inhabitants derived their means of subsistence. The chief castle of the Lordship was that of Cardiff on the Taff; but the lord also held castles at Dinas Powis, Llantrissant, Kenfig, and by an early acquisition, at Neath, all which may be presumed to have been intended for the general protection. Cardiff, upon the 'via maritima' of the Romans, is a very remarkable fortification. It is rectangular, protected on three sides by a very high bank and ditch, and on the fourth towards the river by a very strong wall. In one corner at the river end is a large moated mound still bearing the Norman keep, and which stood upon the line of a second wall now destroyed, by which that end of the area was cut off and protected from the rest. The analogy of this work with those of Tamworth, Wareham, and Wallingford, and in some degree with Leicester, is remarkable. It also has some points of resemblance to Hereford. Dinas Powis is a small oblong enclosure of the type of Dinas Brân and Dolforwin, probably of Norman date. It occupies the top of a rock in the gorge of a deep valley and must have been strong against any mere assault. Llantrissant Castle was of rather larger dimensions. It stood, and indeed a fragment of it still stands, in a notch in the hill high above the plain and many miles from the sea. Kenfig, which stood upon a brook near the sea coast, has been completely swallowed up by blown sand "*consumptum per sabulonem*," and only a fragment is now visible. Neath, the most exposed castle in the whole county, was founded by de Granville, said to be the brother of Robert Fitz Hamon. The only other castle in the Lordship held by a public functionary was that of the Bishop at Llandaff, which seems to have been a place of strength, though the gatehouse and enclosing wall still remaining are probably as late as the reign of Henry III or Edward I.

Proceeding westward, the nearest castles to Cardiff were Sully and Barry, held by families from whom the

manors derived their names, as did Bonvileston or Tre-Simon and its castle from Sir Simon de Bonville. Penmark was the seat of the Umfravilles : Fonmore with its rectangular keep of the St. Johns : Wrinston of the de Reignys and Raleighs : Wenvoe of le Fleming : and St. Fagan's of the le Sore family. Of Peterston and St. George's there remain fragments of masonry. East Orchard, the seat of the Berkerolles family, and Beaupré, of the Bassets, probably were originally castles ; but the one shews the ruins of a fortified house, the other of a manor house of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Part of Castleton Castle is old ; of Liege Castle there remains a light earth-work only. Llandough was built by the Welsh family, and Llanquian, a round tower, by the de Wintons. Llanblethian Castle was the seat of the St. Quintin's, Talavan of the Siwards ; at Penlline is a part of a rectangular keep with herring-bone masonry, built by the Norrises. Cowbridge town was an appanage of the chief Lord, and was walled and strongly fortified. St. Donats, in its present form, is very late, and it is doubtful whether the Haweys, its early lords, had a castle in this county. Part of Dunraven is old. It was built by the Butlers, who held it under Ogmore. Ogmore, the chief seat in this lordship of the de Londres, lords of Kidwelly, has a square keep. It stands on the river whence it is named. Near it are the remains of a small castle of the Cantelupes, known as Cantelupe's-ton or Cantleston. At Bridgend is a late Norman gateway, the entrance to a small walled enclosure, also probably Norman. It bears the name of Newcastle. Near it is Coyty, a famous Welsh seat, but built or rebuilt by the Turbervilles. The buildings are considerable and tolerably perfect. The adjacent priory of Ewenny was fortified. Also the Welsh Barons of Avan had a castle upon the Avon river at Aberavan.

The Lordship of Cilvae extends from near the Neath to the Tawe, upon which is posted the castle of Abertawe or Swansea, a structure remarkable for its open parapet with a rampart wall above the arches, the work of Bishop Gower. Swansea was the "caput" of Gower under the Earls of Warwick and the de Braoses, and subsidiary to it were the castles of Oystermouth, still standing, and

Lwchwr on the Burry river, called the keys of Gower. Lwchwr is now but a small square tower standing upon an indistinct mound, and connected with a large Roman camp. Within the peninsula are Penrice, an early castle of that family with a good round keep, and in the parish, and near the church, a moated mound : Oxwich, a late building of the Mansels, a good example of the transition from the castle to the fortified house; Pennard, a quadrangular castle of the Edwardian type; Weobley and Llanrhidian. At Scurlage and Llandewi were castles, and at Llandimor. Mr. Freeman has remarked that twelve of the sixteen churches of Gower have towers evidently built for defence. The exterior doors, where they occur, are usually insertions. The low country beyond the Burry is protected by Kidwelly, a tolerably perfect early castle built by the de Londres family, and inherited from them by the Chaworths. It stands upon the Gwendreath, and to its north is the strong castle of Carreg-Cennen. But the real defence of Caermarthen is the river Towy, strengthened by the four castles on its banks, Llanstephan, Caermarthan, Dynevor, and Drysllwyn, to which may be added Laugharne upon an adjacent inlet of the sea, and the tower at Llangattock, which commanded the end of the pass from Brecknock. Near to Llandeilo was Llany-midhyfri, which in 1113 belonged to Richard de Pons. Most of these castles seem to have been established by the de Clares of the Strongbow line, but strong as they were, and usually well defended, they had to bear the brunt of the border war, and were often taken and retaken by and from the Welsh who at times permanently occupied them.

This was much or even more the case with the castles of Cardigan, which, though usually small, and with two or three exceptions not individually of great importance, were very numerous, and collectively served sufficiently well for the ordinary defence of the territory. They were almost all founded by the de Clares and their followers early in the twelfth century. At the head of them and exceptionally strong stood Aberystwith near the north of the county, upon the shore of Cardigan Bay, and partly covered by the junction of the Ystwith with the Rheidol. Its position on the sea and in the rear of

the strongest parts of South Wales made it particularly obnoxious to the Welsh, and strong as it was both by art and nature, it was exposed to the full fury of the attacks from both North and South Wales, and was often taken and retaken, destroyed and rebuilt. Between it and the extreme limit of the county, the Dyfi, were the lesser castles of Geneur-glyn and Glan-Dyfi and near it was Stradpythyll Castle, built by Ralph, steward to Earl Gilbert. It was besieged in 1122. Cardigan is traversed obliquely by the Teivi, and near the head of that stream was the great castle of Ystrad-Meyric founded by Gilbert de Clare, and of which the ruins remain. Tregaron was lower down, as were a number of other strong places, such as Llanllwyni, Llanfihangel, Llandissul, Llangollen, of which it is difficult to say whether they were castles of the de Clare period or earlier residences. Blaen-porth-gwythian Castle was built by Earl Gilbert before 1112. At Newcastle was a strong castle also on the Teivi, and nearer to the mouth of the river, on the Cardigan bank, the castle of the town of Cardigan. Besides these there occur in local histories the names of Castell-Gwynionydd or Coedvon near Llampeter, Castell Abereinon; Humphrey's Castle in Llandissil; Blaen Porth near Cardigan; Iscoed, where the mound seems to have had a keep in masonry: Llanven; Llampeter, where the mound remains but the masonry has been removed; Dinerth, the mound of which is called Danish, but where Roger de Clare founded a castle in 1135; Castel Rhos in Llannyrysted, built in 1158; Caerwedro, taken by the Welsh in 1135, and Llanyondri.

Pembroke, far less exposed than Cardigan to the common enemy, is divided by the Haven of Milford, owing to which the southern part of the county, partially peopled by a colony of Flemings, was completely sheltered from the Welsh incursions and became in fact a purely English territory. It was protected but also dominated by the grand castle of Pembroke, founded by Arnulph de Montgomery the first Norman invader, but known as the seat of Strongbow and the Mareschals who thence took the title of their earldom. Pembroke Castle, though a ruin, retains much of its ancient magnificence. The hall, gatehouse, curtain wall and mural towers still

remain, and the grand round keep continues to give mass and character to the whole group. The town also was strongly walled, the castle forming part of the circuit. At the other end of the root of the peninsula, on the sea, was the Castle of Tenby, also attached to the earldom, strong in its position and also, as its remains shew, well fortified. The town of Tenby was walled, and still retains a portion of the wall and one of its gates. Near Tenby was Manorbier an early castle, though in its present form probably of the date of Henry III. There is no keep and the hall is vaulted. The gatehouse remains. The ruins shew it to have been strong. It is celebrated as the birth-place of Giraldus Cambrensis or de Barri. Carew Castle no doubt represents an early fortress, and hence sprung, as is supposed, the families of Fitz-Gerald and Windsor, and most certainly that of Carew. Lamphey was a castle of the Bishops of St. Davids, and has an arcaded parapet, a poor imitation of that of Bishop Gower at Swansea, and Castle Martin was the residence of the Barons Martin. At Nangle was a fortified house of the Sherbornes, and it is very probable that Stackpole Court was preceded by an early castle built by the founder of the family of that name. North of the Haven, that great fiord which gives its distinctive feature to the name of Haverford, is the strong rectangular keep of Haverford-West, the present state of which reflects utter discredit on the county. It was the work probably of Gilbert de Clare early in the twelfth century, and around it, scattered over the whole face of the county, are an unusually great number of small castles and strong houses, built and inhabited by the Norman knights who followed Arnulph and Strongbow, and whose descendants continued to hold them by military service under the succeeding earls. Such was Upton, the castle of the Malefaunts, of which remain the chapel and the gatehouse: Dale, placed on the root of the peninsula of St. Ann's Head, belonged to the de Vales: Narberth was founded by the Perrotts: Lawhaden was the chief seat of the Bishop of St. Davids and the "caput" of the Episcopal Barony; of it there remain a fine gateway and some other buildings: Wiston, the castle of Sir Philip Gwys, and afterwards of the Wogans,

is mentioned as taken by the Welsh in 1146; Picton is thought to have been founded in the reign of Rufus. Besides these, are Wallwyn's Castle, of which only the mound remains; Castle Byth; Little Newcastle; Castell Hendre or Henry's Moat; Roche Castle, a square keep perched upon a rugged rock and built by Adam de Rupe, founder of the de la Roche family; Cilgerran, on the Teivi, a very considerable castle, of which much remains; it was held by the chief lords; Nevern, the chief castle of the old Barony of Cemaes, afterwards replaced by Newport, of which the remains are considerable. Mention is also made of Benton Castle; of Castle Coning near St. Dogmells; Castleton built by the family of Castle; and Punch or Poyntz Castle, a grange of the Bishops of St. David's, where there is a large moated mound. Probably there are many other castellets and fortified houses, in the northern and more exposed half of Pembrokeshire, the sites of which are confounded with the earlier Rathes and circular earthworks of a period preceding the Norman Conquest. The term Rath, and the pattern of the fortification also, are probably imported from Ireland, where a circular bank and ditch surrounded the dwelling-place of almost every landed proprietor, differing from that in use in England and Normandy by the absence of the mound. The Irish enclosure and the regular outline of the exterior court also was level, and therefore, though perhaps more convenient, certainly less strong. Of these Rathes there are several in Pembrokeshire. Here also is another rather peculiar feature. Many of the church towers are evidently constructed for defence, intended no doubt as a ready refuge against a sudden and temporary incursion of the Welsh or a descent upon the coast by the Scandinavian pirates. Such a post, like the Irish round towers, could be held safely for a few hours until the alarm brought relief.

The castles of the Welsh border have not been critically examined, and it is, therefore, difficult to give a list of them that shall at all approach accuracy; it may, however, be stated roughly that there were in Wales at the close of the reign of Henry II 251 castles and castellets of which 21 had rectangular keeps, and 20 shell keeps.

Of castles of which little is accurately known, or which do not admit of classification, there were about 220.

According to the preceding enumeration, there were at the close of the reign of Henry II in England and upon the Marches of Wales about 657 castles, of which 55 had rectangular and 96 shell keeps, while of 506 little is known, or else they do not come under one or the other of the regular Norman types. Considering the difficulties which stand in the way of accuracy in obtaining these figures, the above total does not differ very widely from Moore, the only authority on the subject, who gives a list of about 568 of the earlier castles, including therein those of the reign of Henry III and the three Edwards.

NOTES ON THE PRIORY OF DARTFORD, IN KENT.¹

By the Rev. C. F. R. PALMER.

In the thirty-sixth volume of the *Archæological Journal* for 1879 appeared a History of the Priory of Dartford, in Kent, belonging to the Sisters of the Second Order of St. Dominic. The account of that monastic establishment embraced in main outline all that had been gathered chiefly at the Public Record Office and the Library of the British Museum. A very recent residence for some months at Rome has afforded both opportunity and leisure for extensive researches in the Archives of the Master-General of the Dominicans, to which the kindness and liberality of the present head of the Order, F. José Maria Larroca, gave free and unlimited access. The registers of generals bring to light fresh facts in the later history of this Priory, which possess at once, interest, as they cannot be found in the national records; and value, as they disclose important events, adjust one or two trifling inaccuracies, and even afford a glimpse behind the grill into the discipline of monastic seclusion.

There are no original registers of the masters now existing in these archives more ancient than the year 1474. Political crises and revolutions probably scattered and eventually destroyed the earlier records: even those which are still preserved had a very narrow escape of loss, in 1870, when the Piedmontese occupied Rome, and made it the capital of Italy.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF THE MASTERS-GENERAL.

1474, June 27th. Sister Beatrice, Prioress of Dartford, has licence to use linen "propter debilitatem et antiquitatem;" to dispose of, and dispense within the Order, the goods conceded to her use by the Order; and to give alms.

1481, June 19th. Sister Anne Barn, prioress, may choose the confessor for her monastery, and he cannot be forced to a priorship: a president may be given them by the provincial, with their consent; the sub-prioress may be absolved and deposed, notwithstanding any other authority; and servants and workmen may enter the monastery without detriment of fame or honour.

Same date. Sister Jane *Tyrellis* (*sic*) may talk in the common speak-place with friends of honourable fame, and without a companion, and

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, 4 May, 1882.]

cannot be removed by her sub-prioress, who educated her ; and in time of sickness is exempted from the service of the choir.

Same date. Sister Jane Fitzh'er, "nobilis et generosa," may have a preceptor in grammar and the Latin tongue ; and he may enter the common *locutorium* (speak-room). Also she and other gentlewomen may be called to learn.

1489, July 4th. All things are confirmed which the provincial has done about the absolution of Sister Alice from the office of prioress, and the confirmation of Sister Elizabeth Crescener as prioress.

1500, May 11th. Sister *Giana* (Jane?), a nun, may be thrice absolved in all those cases wherein the master-general has power ; and she may speak at the grill with relatives and friends being persons of no blame.

1501, June 2nd. Master Nicholas Stremer is instituted provincial ; and, according to custom, may allow blameless women to enter the convents of Sisters.

—, June 6th. Sister Cresner may choose a confessor of the Order, and be absolved once a-year, "et si placuerit *pleratis* (*praelatis*?) *pluries*."

1502 (about end of May.) The provincial, F. Nicholas Stremar, may absolve and confirm all priors and prioresses, and especially the prioress of Dartford ; and the letters of Master Joachim¹ are revoked, if they have anything to the contrary.

1503, June 8th. The nuns of England may not retain secular women within their monastery ; and the provincial may bind them to this order by all means.

The Registers from 1513 to 1520 are wanting and those from 1520 to 1524 very scanty and deficient.

1527, July 23rd. The concession made to Sister Elizabeth Cresner by F. Antoninus de Ferrara, formerly vicar of F. Master-General Garsias,² is confirmed, that she may receive any well-born matrons, widow of good repute, to dwell perpetually in the monastery, with or without the habit, according to the custom of the monastery ; and also that she may receive young ladies, and give them a suitable training, according to the mode heretofore pursued.

Sister Elizabeth before mentioned, at her own supplication, is absolved from the office of prioress ; and the vicaress is instituted (with the authority which sub-prioresses have on the death or removal of a prioress) whom she names. The vicaress, however, may not administer the temporalities of the monastery, without the counsel of four mothers nominated by the same Sister Elizabeth, until a prioress is elected and confirmed ; and after the confirmation the authority of the vicaress and consultive mothers shall expire. Sister Elizabeth may also execute last wills, provided only it be for the good of religion. (If she ever actually resigned her office, it is evident that S. Elizabeth Cresner was speedily reinstalled.)

(Shortly after this time the communication between the English province and the Master-general was cut off ; and in 1538-9, the province was scattered and destroyed.)

¹ F. Joachinus Turrianus, Master-General from 1487 to 1500. His register for England from 1494 to 1496 is blank.

² F. Garcias de Loyssa, Master-General from 1518 to 1524.

1560, May 7th. To the lady nun Elizabeth Crener is committed the charge of true prioress, in spiritualities and temporalities as she had in England, over all the sisters exiled with her in Zeeland. She and her companions may be incorporated either in the province of France or Lower Germany, wherever they find benevolent nuns of the Order to take them in. They may take the government of the convent of Lelien-dael, if committed to them by the provincial and fathers of the province of Lower Germany, with the consent of that convent, in which, it is asserted, there are only four nuns. In case of their not being received there, they are assigned anywhere, at their own pleasure and the disposition of the consuls of the Catholic King.

1567, Jan. 1st. As the English nuns exiled in Zeeland for the faith are deprived of their vicar and confessor by the death of F. Richard Hargrave, and have no father of the Order who speaks their language, they may confess to Henry *Folifus*, Dean of Bristol,¹ also in exile there. To him is given all the authority for administering the sacraments to them, which F. Richard had. Also the prioress may dispense with the nuns labouring under any sickness, for the use of linen.

—, June 30th. At the petition of the nuns, the care of their temporalities is committed to the charge of the same dean; or if he is prevented to another nominated by him and at their pleasure.

1574 (beginning of Jan.) The prioress and mothers of Engelendael are ordered to receive charitably into their monastery the three surviving nuns out of England, and the latter are to betake themselves thither.

¹ Henry Jolliffe, S.T.B., was installed Dean Sept. 9th, 1554, and was deprived in 1558.

SOMERTON CASTLE.¹

By the RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF NOTTINGHAM.

The history connected with this ancient castle was but little known until 1857, when it was elicited through a visit of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society ; and now I have much pleasure in laying the result before the members of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

The remains of the Castle of Somerton lie two miles westward of the village of Boothby Graffoe, and eight miles south of Lincoln. It was erected by Anthony de Bek, or Bec, in 1281, two years previous to his elevation to the Bishopric of Durham, who then obtained a license from the Crown "to crenellate his dwelling house at Somerton." Rot. Pat. 9, E. 1. Subsequently he presented it to Edward I, who committed its custody to Henry Lord Beaumont. It consisted of an irregular parallelogram 330 yards long from north to south, and 180 yards from east to west, having a circular tower, rising from a plain battering set-off or footing, at each of its angles, with walls of the same height between them. It was to the height and thickness of these walls that its builder trusted for its defence in combination with water ; because, owing to the flatness of its site, he had none other at his disposition, except the bravery and endurance of its garrison. Taking advantage of this he surrounded it by the existing inner moat, enclosing a considerable space, or baily, beyond what was strictly necessary on the north, and in part at least by a much wider outer moat, still remaining on the east, south, and west of the castle site. The approach to it was, no doubt, by means of one or more drawbridges, defended by a barbican or gate-house. Of the angle towers most fortunately the south-eastern one still remains quite perfect, including even the roof. This consists of a ground-floor plainly vaulted, and lit by four small slits ; a first floor similarly lit, having a fire-place ; and another above this, lit by larger lancet-headed lights, and also having a fire-place, the chimneys of these two rooms still remaining quite perfect. Adjoining the ground-floor room is a little one, lit by a slit, the entrance to which is without that of the principal room. On the north and west of this tower there are remains of the walls which originally stood between the towers, whence we gather that these were as high as the towers and similarly finished above. In the northern piece of wall is a curve containing doorways, now stopped up, but formerly giving access to other portions of the castle. This curved feature is arched above and covered with lead. The lower portion of the south-west tower alone remains. The room within was lit like the one in the south-eastern tower,

¹ Read at Somerton Castle, August 1, 1880.

and also had a little room adjoining it on its eastern side. The north-eastern tower was destroyed in 1851 ; and of the north-western one, the interior walling of the ground story alone remains ; but this is one of the most interesting of the remaining fragments of the castle, from the careful way in which it is vaulted. This vaulting consists of twelve arched ribs, springing from a central pillar and twelve brackets. It is lighted by five little slits, and had a small room adjoining it, which has a single slit on the right hand side of its entrance.

A farm house, built in the reign of Elizabeth, now occupies a portion of the site of the once Royal Castle of Somerton. We have seen that Anthony de Bek, Bishop of Durham, built Somerton Castle. He was the brother of John, first Baron de Bek, and Thomas, Bishop of St. David's ; but we must pursue his family history a little further until we arrive at another personage connected with the castle. Alice, the daughter of John de Bek by his wife Alice, the daughter of Lord Furnival, married Sir William de Willoughby ; and, on the death of her brother Walter, second Baron de Bek, succeeded to all the Bek estates. Their son, Robert de Willoughby, married Margaret, the daughter of Lord D'Eyncourt, and as the heir of his great-uncle, the Bishop of Durham, became possessed of the united estates of the Bek and Willoughby families. Probably from this connexion, as well as from other causes, William ninth Baron D'Eyncourt of Blankney, was appointed the custodian of Somerton Castle in the reign of Edward III ; and as such charged with the safe keeping of John, King of France, in the year 1359. Previously that unfortunate sovereign had been confined in Hertford Castle, but on the 29th of July in that year, he, accompanied by his son Philip, was removed thence by Lord D'Eyncourt, through the Royal command, assisted by four knights, viz. :—Sir John de Kirketon, Sir John D'Eyncourt, Sir William Colevill, and Sir Saier de Rochford. He arrived at Somerton on Saturday evening August 4th, where he was received by the Constable of the Castle, Sir Henry de Greystock. He had been obliged to part with forty-two of his attendants in Hertfordshire ; but he brought with him nearly the same number, including two chaplains, a clerk of the chapel, a secretary, a physician, a minstrel, a maître d'hôtel, three pages, four valets, three wardrobe men, three furriers, six grooms, two cooks, a fruiterer, a spiceman, a barber, a washer, and a jester or fool, called "Maistre Jean." Some ladies also resided in Somerton Castle during the king's captivity there, viz. :—Lord D'Eyncourt's wife ; Joan, Countess of Warren, granddaughter of Edward I ; and Marie de St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke, who came there with her attendants in two carriages requiring eleven horses to draw them. The king provided extra tables, chairs, forms, trestles, stable fittings, and stores of firewood and turf. He also fitted up his own chamber, Prince Philip's and his jester's with hangings, curtains, cushions, coffer, sconces, &c., and provided furniture for the chapel. An order for the supply of beef, mutton, fish, wheat, barley, rye, oats, hay, and straw, was made by King Edward, and the captive was plentifully supplied with French wines brought to Boston by sea and thence to Somerton ; also with sugar and spices, bought in London, Lincoln, and Boston, together with eggs to clarify sugar, and roses and cochineal, wherewith to manufacture comfits and bon-bons for the king's large silver-gilt bonbonniere. His table was supplied with silver-gilt and silver dishes and cups ; one of these last

being set with emeralds, and another belonging to the jester "Maistre Jean le fol." He procured his drugs and "materia medica" from Boston, which included the following, viz.:—Rhubarb, senna, scammony, aloes, saffron, polipodium, sandal, spikenard, balsam, electuary, mastic, sugar of roses, electuary of roses, essence of violets, diaculon for plasters, and also another plaster called, "gracia dei," such appliances being no doubt often required when blows abounded far more frequently than at present; and we find that whilst "Master John" was treated to a dose of "golden cordial electuary" his valet, Michel Girart by name, required a plaster, lotion, and ointment on one occasion, perhaps as a consequence of some irritating jeu d'esprit on the part of the jester with him, or vicariously, suffered in person.

The king was well supplied with clothes when at Somerton by means of a master tailor, Tassin de Breuil, established in a shop at Lincoln, whose men had eight pence a-day for their wages. He made eight whole suits for the king whilst in Lincolnshire, besides many separate pieces of dress, and a suit presented to him by the Countess of Boulogne. We may presume that this M. Tassin was a favourite of the king's from his skill and taste, and perhaps on account of the news he brought from Lincoln, through an entry in his argentier's account shewing how he lost a "cote hardie" of frieze, or an out-doors coat worth 3s. 4d. at *backgammon* to Tassin the tailor. Even at Somerton the captive king indulged his taste for jewels, Johan de Mart, one of the jewellers he employed having sent in a bill for £323 6s. 8d. for jewels supplied to him at Somerton.

As John was the actual founder of the Bibliotheque Royal at Paris, having deposited therein twelve richly bound volumes, constituting the nucleus of that famous library, we naturally find references to books procured for him when at Somerton in his accounts, viz.:—A charge for a missal, its silver bosses and the embroidery of its cover; also for a psalter bought in Lincoln. He seems to have been fond of romances; having borrowed those of St. Graal and Sir Launcelot of Isabella, the Queen Dowager of England, when at Hertford; and, when at Somerton he bought those of Du Renart at a cost of 4s 4d., Guilon, Loherenc Garin, and Du Tournoiement d'Antecrist.

For writing materials he paid from 6d. to 9d. for a quire of paper; 1s. each for envelopes; 3s 6d. for a dozen of parchments; and 1s for a pound of red wax.

He had a taste for music, as he brought an organ with him from Hertford, and sent for "Maistre Jehan l'organier" from London, to repair it. He lodged at Navenby, and eventually took this instrument to London for the king on his return there. When the priest and clerks of Navenby came and sang "Ergo Laudes" before him, he gave them 3s. 4d.; and he had in his employ a minstrel called "le roy de menestereulx," who bought two harps for the king when at Somerton, and was a maker of musical instruments and of clocks, as well as a musician. He also duly appreciated the sister art of painting, especially as applicable to ornaments and furniture. He brought with him to Somerton Maistre Girart d'Orleans, who had decorated his castle at Vandreuil in Normandy, and pursued his vocation in Lincolnshire; so that possibly we are indebted to him for the curious portrait of King John painted on a panel, still preserved in the Louvre, of which a fac-simile copy was taken for the late Right

Hon. C. T. D'Eyncourt, of Bayons Manor, as an illustration of my own memoir of the captivity of the French king at Somerton.

That captivity lasted for six months and seventeen days, or until March 21st, 1360 ; when, by order of the King of England, a guard consisting of twenty men-at-arms and twenty-four mounted archers was sent under the command of William Armyne, John de Bussy, and Thomas de Meaux to conduct the French king, as secretly as possible, *viâ* Grantham and Stamford, to London, which he reached on the 28th of that month. Before leaving he took care to pay the amount due for his daily alms to the Priest of Boothby, and did not forget to do so at Grantham on his way to London. After his departure there was a sale of the effects he left behind, of which the following are items, viz.:—Two chairs sold for 20d. to “la Demoiselle de Nainby ;” three tables and two forms sold to Thomas Spolin, Lieutenant of the Household, for 6s. 8d. ; also two chairs sold to him for 12d. ; two trestles and two forms sold to William of Navenby for the same sum ; and a similar lot sold to William Spaign for 2s. 8d. ; to which was added the king’s own bench. From Thomas Spolin, an officer of the castle apparently, the king received 16s. 8d. for the fittings of the stable in consideration of an acquittance for the forms, trestles, and doors, added to the castle on his account, and for loss or injury to its furniture, for which the said Spolin had at first demanded a considerable sum. Finally, the king politely presented to “Madame D'Eyncourt” half a tun of wine, and other articles, as a souvenir of his stay at the castle.

With the departure of the Royal captive closes the interesting portion of the history of this old stronghold ; and, indeed, but little more is known of it ; but in the time of Elizabeth part of its materials were used in the construction of the farm-house still occupying a considerable portion of its site, and what remained has gradually passed away, except those features which I have described, serving as a memorial of a remarkable incident in our English history, which I trust may never be lost sight of.

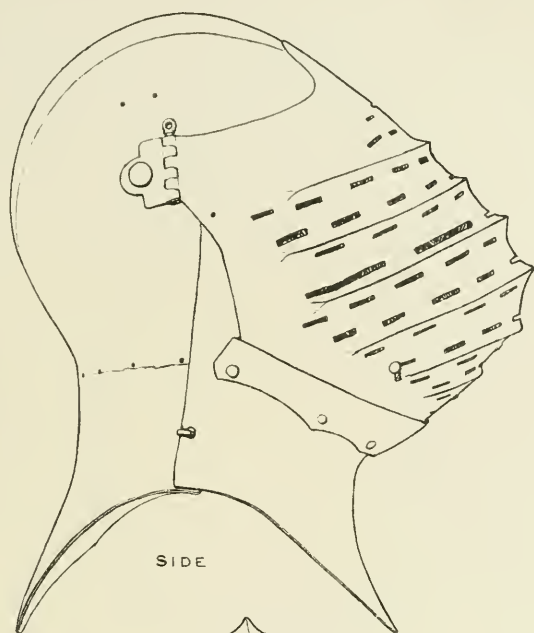
NOTES ON HELMS FROM PETWORTH CHURCH AND WIMBORNE MINSTER.¹

By W. HUYSHE.

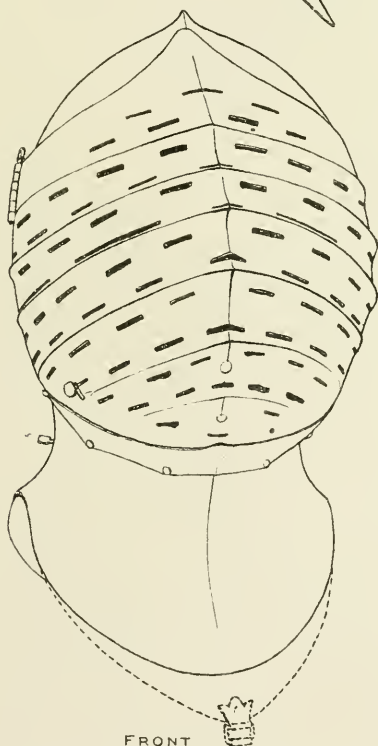
I have the pleasure of submitting to the meeting two helms, one from Petworth Church in Sussex, the other from Wimborne Minster in Dorset. The former, exhibited by permission of the Earl of Leconfield, hangs over the tomb of Sir John Dawtrey, on the north wall of the chapel of St. Thomas à Beckett, known as the Northumberland Chapel, but which is supposed to have originally belonged to the Dawtrey family. Leland says :—"Here lyith also certain of the Dautereis whos names in Latine be there wryten de Alta Ripa." The pedigree of the family of Dawtrey of Moorhouse and Petworth is given by Dallaway in his "History of Sussex," and portions of their mansion of Moore and of their house in Petworth still remain. Leland, who was the guest of Sir Henry Dawtrey when he visited Petworth, mentions both the residences of the family, "The chiefest house of these Dawtereis," he says, "is in Petworth paroehe caullid the more half a mile from Petworth toune;" and he mentions their town house as "the house longing to them in Petworth by the church." The tomb of Sir John and Lady Dawtrey in the north wall of the chapel is of Caen stone canopied; the effigies kneel before desks and there are considerable remains of the colouring of the armour of the knight and the costume of his lady. Sir John Dawtrey died in 1527. The helm which is now exhibited hangs on its original iron bracket high up on the wall over the tomb, and, as very little light strikes upon that side of the chapel, it might easily be overlooked; it was not noticed at the visit of the Sussex Archæological Society to the church.

This head-piece is a tilting helm of the early part of the sixteenth century, and is of a form familiar to us from the designs of the artists of the Maximilian period and from several existing specimens of the same type. The fastenings in front and back are wanting, and it is rather remarkable that nearly all the rivets are also missing, through the portion which rests on the shoulders are two long unclinchd rivets or rather nails. The helm as it now exists gives the impression of an incomplete piece of armourer's work, and it seems probable that it is, in fact, an *unfinished* helm, which might have been purchased in a hurry at the heaulmier's for the funeral pageant. It is, however, none the less a genuine tilting helm. It has been painted of a reddish colour and there is a rude attempt at decoration in front by means of lighter bands. This is probably of later dates than the helm itself. In the crown-piece is a hole, through which

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, 3 February, 1881.

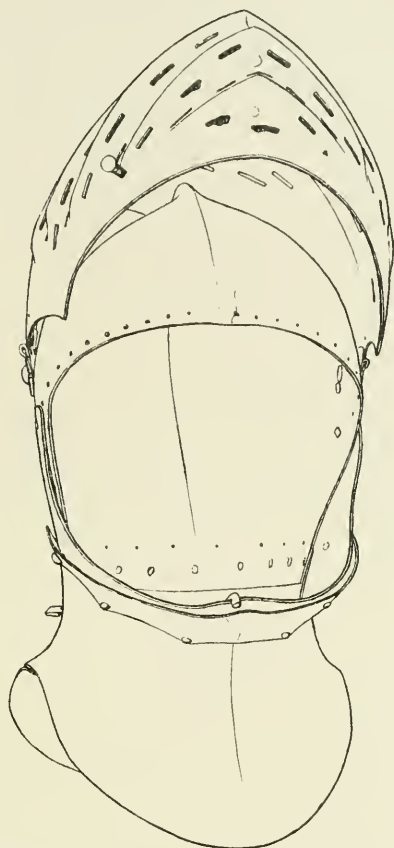


SIDE

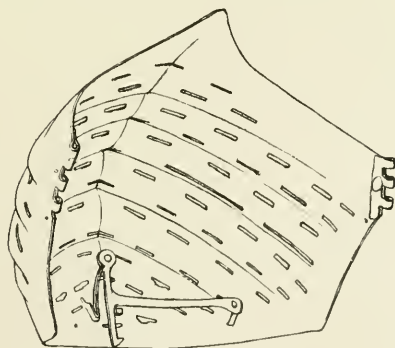


FRONT





FRONT WITH VISOR RAISED.



INSIDE OF VISOR.



was probably originally rivetted a spike for the support of the crest of the family, a unicorn passant argent. The weight of the helm is $21\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.

The other example is exhibited by permission of the Rev. E. Fiennes Trotman, vicar of Wimborne. It has hung for many years over the tomb of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who died in 1444, and is figured as a tail-piece to the description of the tomb in Blore's "Monumental Remains," 1826. Blore says of it: "An original helmet, so nearly of the date of the monument, is placed above it, that we can scarcely doubt its connexion with our subject." The date of the Duke's death is, however, I think, certainly too early for the helm, and its present position in the Minster is not its original one. The vicar writes to me that it has no connexion with the tomb over which it hangs, and that the old sexton tells him that in his boyhood the helm had become unattached, and was lying about the church, and was subsequently suspended over the tomb.

This helm is of the kind used for the tourney and for fighting on foot at the barriers. I should place its date between 1480 and 1520. The perforated and fluted vizor is moveable, and can be detached from the hinges, to which it is fixed by means of a pin on either side; the spring catch, in perfect preservation, by which the vizor, when lowered, is secured to the chin-piece should be noticed. The helm is of good form and workmanship, but is disfigured by the thick coat of black paint with which it is covered. Its weight is $14\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE HELMS FROM PETWORTH CHURCH AND WIMBORNE MINSTER.

By the BARON DE COSSON.

Mr. Huyshe has asked me to add some notes to his account of these two helms.

The jousting helm from Petworth church has not been engraved to illustrate Mr. Huyshe's notice, it being of a well-known type, a type of which a magnificent example has been twice engraved and described in this *Journal*. I refer to the jousting helm, which passed from the Brocas collection into the Museum of Artillery at Woolwich, where it is now preserved.

Described by General Lefroy and excellently figured at page 60 of the twenty-fifth volume of the *Archæological Journal*, it was again described by me, and delineated in front and profile in the Catalogue of the Helms, &c., exhibited at the Institute in 1880, in the thirty-seventh volume of the *Journal*, where an account of the construction of these jousting helms, written in 1446, is quoted at length.

Although the Woolwich and Petworth helms are probably forty or fifty years later in date than that account, it will be found to correspond perfectly with their details of construction, for it must be observed that the changes in the fashion of jousting armour were much less rapid than in that of war harness. The latter to a great extent followed the fashion of the civil costume of the period, whilst the former, being constructed specially for an exercise the laws of which were fixed, was much slower in changing its form and make.

The Petworth helm is so very similar to the Woolwich one in type that it will only be needful to say that it is less fine in its lines and construction, not so ample in its proportions, and that its general aspect lacks that grandeur which makes the Woolwich helm so remarkable, whilst it has lost those appliances for fixing it to the breast and back plates of the jousting harness, which are so interesting to the antiquary.

That it has had them at one period would seem to be proved by the presence of the holes for the rivets which secured them to the front and back of the piece. Indeed, the holes on the front part of the helm are so numerous that the mode of attachment would at some time appear to have been altered, and this inclines me to suggest that the helm was, not as Mr. Huyshe thinks an unfinished one, but rather one which had been discarded from use. Why the majority of the rivets should have been removed I cannot pretend to explain, unless they had been capped with silver and removed on account of the value of the metal, but this is a mere guess and only put forward as such.

Helms of this kind were *only* used for the joust, with the special harness designed for that purpose, and never appear in warfare. The jousting harness of the end of the fifteenth and first years of the sixteenth centuries may be studied in its various forms in Plates xlv to xlviii of the "Triumph of Maximilian," or better still in the matchless series of real suits now in the Musée d'Artillerie in Paris.

In the helmet from Wimborne Minster, we have a very remarkable specimen of the helm used for combats on foot, a form of headpiece of considerable rarity.

I must here note that the front view of the helm in the plates accompanying these pages by no means does justice to the original. It is an exact copy of a photograph taken when the helmet was in London, but owing to the very salient form of the visor (and perhaps also through the camera having been placed too close to the object) a considerable distortion exists in it, the visor appearing unduly large for the rest of the helmet. The result is an appearance of clumsiness, which does not exist in the original.

The side view is much more accurate. It will there be seen that the large ribbed visor could be removed by taking out a pin on either side, which, passing through an arrangement like a hinge, secured it to the small pieces which were fixed by the side pivots to the crown-piece of the helm. This arrangement is found in all visored bassinets which have side pivots for the visor,¹ and it continued in use in armets until the first years of the sixteenth century.

The heads of the pins it will be seen form small rings, and a small hole will be noticed near the edge of the visor on a line with its topmost rib. The well-known statuette of St. George at Dijon² explains the use of this hole and the ring at the head of the pin, for a small chain is there seen to connect the pin with the visor, so that when the latter was removed the pins remained attached to it and could not get lost.

One curious point in this helm is the join round the back of it just in the smallest part of the neck. The armourer may have been unable to forge the whole of the crown and back of the helm in one piece, but many helms exist presenting the same difficulties of construction, in which the whole crown and back are forged in one. A somewhat similar helm from the Capel tomb in Rayne Church which is now in my possession may be cited as an example,³ as also the tilting helm in Broadwater Church so admirably described and illustrated in this Journal⁴ by the late Mr. Burges.

Both these helms, however, date from the first years of the sixteenth century, whilst the Wimborne one *may* be as early in date as 1450, and at that time perhaps the successful forging of so large and complex a piece had not been attempted.

It will be seen in the side view, that the chin-piece of the helm is not hinged to the crown-piece by the same pivots on which the visor turns, as is mostly the case in the ordinary close helmet of the sixteenth century, but it has separate pivots rather lower down and more to the front than

¹ In some visored bassinets the visor is hinged to the middle of the forehead.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xxv.

³ Engraved and described in the "Cata-

logue of Helms, &c.," exhibited at the Institute in 1880, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii.

⁴ Vol. xxxvi, p. 78.

those of the visor. This same arrangement exists in the Capel helm and in others of similar form and period,

But the most remarkable feature in the construction of this helm is the perfectly preserved spring catch for keeping the visor down when closed.

The front view of the helmet with the visor up (Plate II) shows a small peg projecting over the upper edge of the chin piece, whilst the view of the inside of the visor shows a  shaped piece of iron against which a spring presses. A button, the shank of which passes through a nearly vertical slot in the visor so that its head is on the outside, is riveted to the end of the longest limb of this piece which works on a pivot at the extremity of its upper limb, whilst the end of the lower one is formed into a catch which, when the visor is lowered, holds on to the peg projecting from the chin-piece and thus secures the visor from being thrust up by a blow. If the button on the outside of the visor be pressed down the catch releases the peg and the visor may be raised. Few helmets of so early a date as this one are provided with this arrangement. As an additional protection against the possibility of the visor being forced up by a thrust from below, there is a small plate fixed to the chin-piece, behind which the edge of the visor falls when it is lowered.

The total absence of any traces of a means of fixing the helmet to the cuirass led to the supposition being entertained, when the helm was exhibited, that the lower part of it had been cut away. Mr. Lewis, who drew the Plates, has indicated by dotted lines in the front view his idea of the original form and means of attachment.

In many helms of this kind, however, two large holes are found near the lower edge through which passed staples fixed to the breastplate. The Astley MS. describes a similar helm as being "pynned upon two greet staplis before the breste, with a dowbille bokille behynde upon the bak."¹

The Capel and Broadwater helms already referred to were fixed in this way, but it is now impossible to determine, supposing that the Wimborne helm has lost some part of its lower edge, whether it was secured in front by staples or by a buckle, and if the present bottom edge is the original one, the means of fixing it on becomes a greater mystery still.

The resemblance of this helm in its general form and construction to the one represented in King René's work on the Tournay cannot fail to strike anyone acquainted with the illuminations in the manuscript of that book in the National Library at Paris; illuminations which have been reproduced in various works on the Middle Ages.² The most marked difference is in the visor, which in King René's helm is a barred one offering no security against a thrust from a pointed weapon, but it must be remembered that in the Tournay properly so called, wooden maces and blunted swords without any point were alone used, whilst the Wimborne helm, being designed for those combats on foot with very sharp and dangerous swords and axes which were so much in favour with the great champions of the second half of the fifteenth century, is provided with a visor of great strength, the only apertures in which are numerous very narrow slits.

A still closer resemblance to this helm will be found in the head-pieces worn by the combatants in the miniatures of another manuscript in

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv, p. 226.

² See Viollet-le-Duc "Mobilier," tome ii, p. 353. For the whole work, see

"Les Tournois du Roi René," par Champollion-Figeac, Paris, 1826-7, where all the miniatures are reproduced.

the Paris Library entitled "*Cérémonies des Gages de Bataille selon l'ordonnance du Roi Philippe-le-Bel*," which dating from the second half of the fifteenth century gives the armour and weapons used in combats on foot at that time.¹ The helms there worn by the champions appear to be almost identical in every particular with our Wimborne example. The weapons used are those two-handed "foining" (thrusting) swords with two roundels, of which we find the description in Oliver de la Marche,² but of which no example to my knowledge remains to us.

The large size of the visor and the great number of slits in it in all these helms for fighting on foot, were rendered necessary by the fact that the helm, being secured firmly to the cuirass, had no motion independent of the body of the knight; and to look to right or to left, up or down, he moved his head freely about *inside* the helm, which was always large enough to enable him to do so. I have already, in my portion of the catalogue of the helmets exhibited at the Institute in 1880,³ given the reasons which lead me to believe that this form of helm was during the second half of the fifteenth century described as a *bassinet*. The illumination in the Astley MS. entitled, "How a man schalle be armyd at his ese when he schal fighte on foote," represents just such a helmet which is there termed a "basnet." Bassets are continually referred to in both English and French accounts of fights on foot until the first years of the sixteenth century. For further details on this subject, I will refer the reader to the thirty-seventh volume of this Journal, as it would be waste of valuable space to repeat what has so recently appeared in these pages.

I will end these notes with an account of a remarkable combat on foot, written by an eye-witness, Olivier de la Marche, as it gives an admirable idea of the nature of those fights which formed such a favourite diversion with the great warriors of his day, and for which such helms as the one just described were designed.

It took place in 1447 between Jacques de Lalain and an English esquire whom de la Marche calls Thomas Qué.⁴ This Thomas Qué had accepted a challenge issued by Jacques de Lalain when the latter was staying at the court of King Henry VI of England after his combat with James Douglas in Scotland, but he having been away in Wales when the challenge was proclaimed, had only been able to accept it at Sandwich, just as Jacques de Lalain was re-embarking for Sluys, the port of Bruges; indeed he found Lalain already on board his ship, and went out in a little boat to touch his "emprise" and to tell him that he did not wish him to leave England without having had his challenge accepted, and that God aiding, he would cross the sea in six weeks' time to accomplish the contents of the chapters of that challenge.

True to his word the English esquire arrived in Bruges, to the great joy of Messire Jacques; the lists were soon erected in the old market place of the town, and the Duke of Burgundy presided as judge on

¹ The illuminations in this MS. were published by Crapelet, Paris, 1830.

² "Armé de toutes armes, la cotte d'armes au dos, et l'espée [que l'on dict estoc d'armes] empoignée, et tenoit la main senestre renversée, et couverte de la rondelle de l'estoc."

³ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, "Introduction to European helmets," "Bassinet."

⁴ Probably Thomas Kaye. Chastelain, in his "*Chronique de Jacques de Lalain*," only calls him Thomas.

the day appointed. At the request of the Englishman the Comtesse d'Etampes and all the ladies of the court, with the exception of the Duchess, were present. The banners, costumes, &c., used on the occasion are described, and then the arms, which had to be submitted to the judge, each combatant being free to chose his own form of weapon. The Seigneur de la Marche shall now speak for himself.

"The one presented by Messire Jacques was a long axe with a point at its head, and on one side a beak called *bec de faucon*, and on the other a round hammer head with three diamond shaped points, and at its butt was a good strong dagger blade. The axe of the Englishman was a strong axe pointed at its head, with a cutting edge on one side, a long hammer on the other, and lower down was a roundel to guard the hand, and at its butt a short dagger blade.

"The Englishman sallied from his tent completely armed, wearing his surcoat of arms, his bassinet on his head, the visor down and well closed, carrying his axe in his right hand, which was covered by the roundel, and one might easily judge that he meant to do his fighting with the head of his axe. On the other side came forth Messire Jacques de Lalain, armed, wearing his surcoat of arms, and on his head he wore a little round sallad, and his face and neck were uncovered. He carried his axe justly balanced by his side, to attack or defend himself with either end which might seem most to his advantage, and advancing coolly he knelt before the Duke, whilst the Englishman advanced with proud and courageous mien.

"On meeting him Messire Jacques delivered a thrust at the visor of his adversary with the butt of his axe, but did not pierce it,¹ whilst the Englishman hit at the said Messire Jacques with all his force, with hammer, with axe, and with point; but the knight knew how to shift his ground, to advance and to retire, and was so adroit and at the same time so ardent that the esquire gained nought by his assault, but when the knight saw his chance, he struck with full swing with the head of his axe on the bassinet of the Englishman, such heavy blows that one less strong would have sustained mischief from it, had he not been felled to the ground; but the Englishman was powerful, hardy, and courageous, and when he saw the knight assault him so hotly, he moderated his attack and guarded and parried coolly, more so than at first, and Messire Jacques pressed him more hotly still. And it so happened that the knight thrust with the butt of his axe, thinking to pierce the Englishman's visor, and the latter parrying the blow suddenly with the point of his axe, the blade by mischance entered the opening in the gauntlet of the said Messire Jacques, and being sharp and trenchant it pierced his sinister arm right through at the part where it joins the hand.

"Messire Jacques drew back his arm (which bled in great profusion) and thought to regain hold of his axe by a stride backwards but his hand could not aid him, for the sinews were cut or much hurt.²

"When the good knight found himself in so grievous a plight, he placed his axe under his left arm, the butt to the front, as a woman

¹ By thrusting the point into one of the holes in the visor he would have got a hold on his man. In a combat between Jean de Compays and Antoine de Vaudrey, the champions thrust their swords into one another's visors and raised

them so that both their faces were exposed and uncovered.

² The axes used in these fights were two-handed, and too heavy to be used with one hand alone.

holds her distaff, and with the right hand, with the aid of his axe, he parried all the blows which the Englishman showered on him, save those with the point and the hammer.

“The esquire recommenced his attack more hotly and bitterly than ever, and the knight raised his wounded arm and shook his gauntlet, as it seemed to some to cause the blood to run back into his body for he was losing it fast, and others thought he wished the Duke to see that all went well with him so that he might let the combat be finished.” The author then praises the Duke, who had a great personal love for Messire Jacques for not stopping the combat when he saw him in such danger. He continues—“And thus it came to pass that Messire Jacques de Lalain (who coolly and with great assurance maintained the assault of the Englishman) thrust the butt of his axe between the axe and the body of his adversary, and having got an opening closed with him, threw his wounded arm round the neck of his man and with the right hand seized him by the bassinet.

The “Englishman was heavily armed and Messire Jacques lightly, so drawing his adversary towards him with all his might, with a stride backwards he threw the esquire down flat on his face with the visor of his bassinet in the sand, and immediately axe in hand presented himself to the judge.”

It was decided by the Duke that the “arms” were duly accomplished ; the adversaries shook hands, and before the company left Messire Jacques had it announced by proclamation that for a whole year he would meet all comers at Chalons-sur-Soane, and an account of all the deeds done at the “Pas d’armes de la Fontaine des Pleurs” near that place in 1449 will be found duly chronicled by Olivier de la Marche and Georges Chastelain.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 2, 1882.

J. HILTON, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL described the great collection of shallow pits on the north coast of Norfolk, and added accounts of similar great groups, as the Pen-pits and others in various parts of this country and abroad. He pointed out that these large collections of pits, in contradistinction to minor collections, were all, as far as at present known, connected with the earliest traces of the use and manufacture of iron. Taken as a whole he did not doubt that these places were dwellings and true hut-circles, and that they could be distinguished from iron or stone mines. The simplicity of their construction and the comparatively slight traces of permanent occupation in some instances denoted their temporary use, and showed that they were the shelters and dwellings of tribes collected together for limited periods (probably in summer), and that the paucity of relics of utensils, &c., denoted poverty. It was possible that some of them might represent the huddling together of a population driven to extremity by an invading host, such as the Romans. In comparison with the largest groups of the true stone age, they suggest a great increase in the population in general.

Mr. W. K. FOSTER called the attention of the meeting to collections of pits in Italy of the same character as those mentioned by Mr. Spurrell, and Mr. WORTHINGTON SMITH mentioned others in connection with stone circles on Welsh mountains. Mr. Smith was also kind enough to offer some observations on the researches made by him of the same nature as those made by Mr. Spurrell, and explained his collection of flint implements.

Mr. J. H. MIDDLETON read some notes on Ashburnham House and the site it occupies. His paper described the various remains of the Abbey buildings which form part of Ashburnham House—remains of all dates from the eleventh to the eighteenth century—and alluded to the many changes of ownership which Ashburnham House and its site had undergone. The present house was built by Sir John Ashburnham about 1630, and Mr. Middleton brought forward distinct evidence to show that Inigo Jones was the architect.

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE made some remarks about the early remains in Ashburnham House and the extreme desirableness of such ancient evidences being scrupulously preserved, adding some observations on the alterations made to the building by Isaac Ware,

Mr. J. G. WALLER spoke at some length on the high value of every portion of the Abbey buildings, and the unsurpassed beauty of every detail. Westminster Abbey was the common heritage of every Englishman, and he esteemed it a privilege to propose the following resolution:—

“That this meeting having heard Mr. J. H. Middleton’s statement of the historical importance of those portions of Westminster Abbey which by the operation of the Public Schools’ Act are taken from the Dean and Chapter and transferred to Westminster School, and it being evident that great alterations, if not entire rebuilding, will be necessary to adapt them permanently to the uses of the School, is of opinion that it is highly desirable that they should remain in the hands of the Dean and Chapter, to whose purposes they are already suited, and in whose hands they would practically be safe.”

This was seconded by the Rev. J. M. GATRILL, and carried unanimously.

Mr. E. OLDFIELD, after some general remarks, moved that copies of the above resolution be sent to the Dean of Westminster and the First Commissioner of Her Majesty’s Board of Works. This was put to the meeting and similarly carried.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. SPURRELL.—A large collection of palæolithic flint implements from new situations, recently found in the gravels of the Thames, and Darent, and Medway in Kent. Mr. Spurrell also exhibited a pewter cauldle cup in an embossed and gilt leather case.

By Mr. J. H. MIDDLETON.—Plan showing site of Ashburnham House.

By Mr. WORTHINGTON SMITH.—A collection of flint implements.

By Mr. H. S. HARLAND.—A roughly chipped flint skinning knife, found in 1881, about two feet below the surface, in a bed of gravel on the new line of railway between Cayton and Seamer, Yorkshire. In the collection of Mr. John Evans is an implement of the same shape, though not so large, but highly ground to a fine cutting edge.

By Mr. A. GRIFFITHS.—Portions of British urns and bones lately found at Hampton Wick.

By the Rev. H. KEMPSON.—A parcel-gilt silver Pomander, or Cassolette, of great beauty opening out into eight segments, each forming an oblong box for a different scent, and closed with a narrow sliding lid; these lids are severally inscribed as follows:—*Jouquille; Ambre; Pastille; Binjonin; Tuberoze; Sinette; Jesene; Musque*. The outer sides of the segments, which are hinged to the lower end of a central hollow octagon containing the screw which retains them when folded up,—as well as a springing tube, of which the use is not evident,—are elaborately ornamented with delicate appliqué silver figures of bacchantes, &c., each alternate segment being pierced with holes for the better issue of the fragrance of the scents. It may be reasonably doubted whether a mixture of the eight above-mentioned odours, each perhaps, to some persons, agreeable enough alone, would have been altogether satisfactory, though we are certainly told in the *Book of Robin Conscience*—

“I will go frocked and in a French hood,

I will have my pomanders of most sweet smell.”

Mr. Cripps has been kind enough to make the following remarks upon this object :—

“ Cirencester, Feb. 9, 1882.

“ My dear Mr. Hartshorne,—The goldsmith's marks on the Pomander, or as I should prefer to call it Cassolette, which you were kind enough to show me yesterday are very certainly French, but they are also very anomalous. The large capital A crowned would be in ordinary cases the Paris mark of the “ *Fermier du droit de Marque* ” which is found on silver from 1672 down to the Revolution ; but here it is coupled with a coat of arms having under it a letter, which is a provincial ‘ use,’ and cannot apply to Paris at all ; besides all this the maker's mark (initial under a fleur-de-lys) is not of the proper Paris fashion for *any* date. I cannot identify the coat which is, no doubt, that of one of the some two hundred towns which in France stamped plate. My impression is that the A crowned is in reality a sort of double A which would indicate Metz, whilst the coat of arms¹ would indicate one of the smaller towns within the Metz jurisdiction, of which there were several. The style of mark generally would suit the period of from 1745—1755 or thereabouts. As regards the object itself, I cannot help thinking also that the engraved parts and the lettering of the sliding lids, as also the fashion of the Roman numerals (I, II, III, &c.) resembles the engraving of makers' names, &c., in the works of French watches of the last century. One slide seems older than the rest but the numbering of that one corresponds with the rest and it would hardly be likely that one slide alone of the original object is preserved. It is more likely, I should think, that a missing one has been replaced at some time by one from another object of the same kind. They do not seem very uncommon.

“ A cassolette mentioned (and etched) by Van der Kellen in his ‘ *Ondheden Nederlands*,’ published at the Hague in 1861, is so like one in your own Transactions that it might be the same object. Each of these has one of its slides engraved with the word ‘ *Schlag*,’ which Van der Kellen cannot interpret. I think some interpretation is given in the volume you showed me.² Van der Kellen, too, refers his readers for another example to *Bedford's Treasures of the United Kingdom*, London, 1858.

“ The other slides in Van der Kellen are *Rosep*, *Rosmarin*, and *Muscat* ; two being plain modern slides, the older ones having been lost.

“ He calls his example seventeenth century, but I should be almost afraid to put the example you have in your hands so early ; however, I say this with hesitation. I wish I had been able to give a definite date to the goldsmith's mark, but in the present state of learning, I fear this cannot be done.

“ Yours very truly,—

“ WILFRED CRIPPS.”

Antiquaries who have been privileged with a sight of the relics of the Protector, priceless heirlooms now in the possession of Mrs. Oliveria

¹ These arms are somewhat difficult to decypher but they appear to be quarterly: 1, a lion rampant ; 2, bendy ; 3, five bezants ; the shield is oval in form and

crowned, below is the letter M.

² See *Journal*, v. xxxi, p. 337, paper on Pomanders by Mr. R. H. Soden Smith

Prescott, will recall that most interesting receptacle for scents, &c., of a character widely different, though cognate to the pomander or cassolette. It may be convenient to record that it consists of an ebony cabinet of delicate workmanship, inlaid and ornamented with *pietra dura*, and containing three drawers.

In the lowest are twelve pots $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches high in Venetian glass, opaque with dark red and rich purple hues.

The second drawer contains twelve pots of similar shape in clear glass, ornamented with opaque white lines. These twenty-four pots contain scents, aromatic ointments, and substances of a saponaceous nature. Each has a lid or cover of parchment, generally inscribed in a faded Italian hand; over the parchment is a cover of silk, embroidered with silk and silver, and further ornamented with spangles of gold and silver, and small jewels of different colours, perhaps of glass. The covers are tied over the recurved lips of the pots with thin cords of silk and silver.

The third drawer contains thirty pots in clear glass $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, filled with aromatic oils and covered precisely like the others. The cabinet was a return present from Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany to Oliver Cromwell. Truly a strange gift to one of his austere and rigid temperament. The Protector had sent his portrait to the Grand Duke; this is now in the Pitti Palace at Florence.

By Mr. G. M. ATKINSON.—An early eighteenth century repeater watch with ornamented silver cases, pierced and engraved.

March 2, 1882.

Sir J. S. D. SCOTT, Bart., in the Chair.

At this the final meeting of the Institute at the rooms in New Burlington Street, the CHAIRMAN spoke of the profitable, no less than pleasurable, hours that the members had spent in them at the monthly meetings. They would not readily forget the high interest of the special exhibitions held in later years—notably the display of helmets and mail which lately had produced so valuable a handbook on those subjects—in happy continuation of those of bronzes, books, gems, ivories, enamels, and other works of art, brought together in the earlier days of the Institute. Nor would they be unmindful of other meetings of significance, such as the reception of Dr. Schliemann, and the brilliant assembly attended by the Duke of Argyll, Lord Houghton, Mr. Gladstone, and many other persons of distinction, when Mrs. Schliemann was welcomed as an honorary member of the Institute. Such events were landmarks in the progress of the Institute, and he had no doubt that many more equally bright days were in prospect. Continuing, the Chairman paid a high compliment to Mr. Hartshorne assuring him that his zeal in so many ways on behalf of the Institute was not unheeded or unappreciated by its members; he would ask him to accept their cordial thanks.

With regard to the removal of the Institute the Chairman said that in consequence of the large increase of rent required in New Burlington Street it had become necessary to take steps to find rooms elsewhere. This matter had received the serious consideration of the Council for some time past, and, through the medium of a sub-committee, a search for new apartments had been made. He was glad to say that these investigations had been successful and that the rooms on the first floor of Oxford Mansion, which had been decided upon by the Council, appeared to be in every way convenient and satisfactory. In consequence of the

expenses attendant upon the removal, and the necessary alterations and refitting up of the new rooms, the Council had thought it desirable, as on a former occasion, to issue a Special Appeal to the members of the Institute for funds for this purpose so that the regular income of the Society should not be hampered.

The CHAIRMAN then alluded to the lamented death of Sir W. H. Drake, K.C.B., a Vice-President of the Institute and for many years a valued member; he then called upon Mr. SOMERS CLARKE, Jun., to read his paper on "The Font in the Church of St. Nicholas, Brighton." This interesting work has been slightly illustrated and described more than once, but opinions differ concerning it. For instance, John Carter, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1808, says it is a "trick upon anti-quaries," and Erridge in his *History of Brighton* says that, "in 1743 its beauty was nearly effaced by the churchwardens who had it cleaned, partially recut, and their names carved on the base, a monument of their vitiated taste, confirmed vanity, and profound ignorance." Mr. Clarke showed that practically very little harm was done to the font at this time and proceeded to describe the remarkable sculpture represented on it. It is circular in plan, of hard Caen stone, with the figures generally in low relief, the heads being somewhat fuller. The sculptures may be considered as divided into three parts, of unequal width, namely, an upper lozengey band, a series of compartments with sculptured figures about fifteen inches high, and a lower band decorated with a pattern that changes with some skill from a semicircular to a flowing design of three kinds. The first compartment represents the baptism of Our Lord, who is shown with the right hand raised in benediction, standing in water to the waist. On his right hand is a winged figure, draped to the feet, and holding, by its outer folds, what is apparently a large napkin, and probably intended for the use of Our Lord on his issue from Jordan; on his left hand is a figure wearing a girdle round the loins, and habited in a long garment without folds, finished with a band round the neck. The left wrist of this figure sustains a long napkin, and on the hand is an object, which in all probability represents a shallow cup with a cover. This figure being intended for St. John the Baptist, the cup indicates the pouring of the water upon the head of Our Lord, representations of which action are of frequent occurrence in early Christian art. Each figure in this baptism group stands under a semicircular-headed arch. The next subject is the Last Supper. This comprises a central figure of Christ, with three figures of apostles on either side; those on his right have their right hands elevated; those on the left hold up their left hands. The next subject consists of a male figure kneeling on one knee at the right side of a seated female figure. He is apparently offering some draped object to the female, who has her right hand elevated and bears a round object upon the top of her head, which is clothed in a hood. It is not improbable that this subject may bear some reference to the worship of "the false image of the cursed Dyane." The last subject represents a passage in the life of St. Nicholas, showing him admonishing the pilgrims to cast into the sea the vessel of oil received from the devil, who is represented in the garb and guise of a woman.

From the history of St. Nicholas, as set forth in an English edition of the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, known as the "Golden

Legende," and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1512, the following extracts in the tongue of Tyndale and Coverdale, bearing upon the subjects shown on the fount, together with others curious from the quaintness of their style, have been taken :—

"Nycholas cytezeyn of y^e cyte of Paneraes was borne of ryche and holy kynne and his fader was named Epyphanus and his moder Johane.

"Than the fyrst day that he was wasshed & bayned he adressed hym ryght vy in the basyne. And he wolde not take the breste ne ye pappe but ones on the wenedaye & ones on the fryday, and in his yonge age he eschewed y^e playes & Japes of other yonge chyl dren. He vsed and haüted gladly holy chyrche ;—

"After this the bysshop of the cyte of Myrre dyed, and other bysshoppes assembled for to purueye to this chyrche a bysshop. And there was among y^e other a bysshop of grete auctoryte, and all the eleccyon was in hym. And whan he had warned all to be in fastynges & in prayers. The bysshoppe herde that nyght a voyce whiche sayd to him that at y^e houre of matynes he sholde take hede to the dores of the chyrche. And him that sholde fyrst come to the chyrche and haue the name of Nicholas, they sholde sacre him bysshoppe. "And he shewed this to the other bysshoppes and admonested theym for to be all in prayers and keped the dores & this was a meruayllous thyng. For at y^e houre of matynes lyke as he had be sente fro god Nycholas arose tofore all other. And the bysshop toke him whan he was come And demaunded of him his name. And he which was symple as a doue enclyned his hede, and sayd I haue to name Nycholas. Than the bysshop sayd to hym Nicholas seruauñt and frende of god, for your holynes, y^e shal be bysshoppe of this place, and syth they broughte hym to the chyrche, how be it that he refused it strongly, yet they set hym in the chayre.

"It is redde in a cronycle, that the blyssed Nycholas was at the counsaylle of Nycene. And on a daye as a shyppe with mareners were in perysshynge on y^e see. They prayed and requyred deuoutly nycholas seruauñt of god, sayenge yf those thynges y^t we haue herde of the sayd ben true, proue them now. And anone a man appered in lykenes and sayd, Lo see ye me not, ye called me. And then he began to helpe them in their exployte of the see. And anone y^e tempest ceased. And whan they were come to his chyrche they knewe hym. And yet they had never seen hym. And than they thanked god and hym of theyr delyueraunce. And he bad them to attrybue it to the merey of god, and to theyr belue, and no thyng to his merytes. It was soo on a tyme that all y^e prouynce of Saynt Nycholas suffred grete famyne in such wyse vytalle faylled, than this holy man herde saye that certayne shyppes laden with whete weren arryued in the hauen. And anone he went thyder and prayed the maryners that they wolde socoure the perysshed, at the leest an hondred mayes of whete of euery shyp. And they sayd fader we dare not. For it is moten and mesured. And we must gyue rekenynge ther of in the garners of the Emperour in Alexandrye. And y^e holy man said to them Do this that I haue sayd to you, and I promyse in the trouthe of god, that it shal not be lassed ne mynysshed whan y^e shall come to the garners. And when they had delyuered soo moche oute of euery shyppe they came into Alexndrye, and delyuered the mesure y^t they receyued. And than they recoüted the

myracle to y^e mynysters of y^e Emperoure, and worshypped and praysed strongly God and his seruante Nycholas. Than this holy man dystributed the whete euery man after that he had nede in such wyse that it suffysed for two yere not onely for to selle but also for to sowe. And in this cōtre the people serued ydolles and worshypped the false ymage of the cursed Dyane. And to the tyme of this holy man, many of them hadde some customes of the paynyms for to sacryfyce to dyane under a sacred tree. But y^t this good man made theym of all the cōtre to cease thenne there customes and commaunded to cut of the tree. Than the deuyll was angry and wrothe ayenst hym and made an oyle that brenned ayenst nature in water and brenned stones also and thenne he transformed hym in the guyse of a relygyous man, and put hym in a lytyll bote, and encountred pylgryms that sayled in the see towarde this holy man, and areasoned theym thus and sayd. I wolde fayne goo to this holy man, but I maye not, wherefore I praye you to bere this oyle into his chyrche. And for remembrance of me that ye anoynte y^e walles of ye halle. And anone he vanyshed awaye. Thā they sawe anone after a nother shyppe with honeste persones amonge whom there was one lyke to Sayt Nycholas which spake to them softly. What hathe this woman sayd to you, and what she hathe brought. And they tolde to hym all by order. And he sayd to them, this is y^e euyll and foule dyane. And to the ende that ye knowe that I saye trouthe caste that oyle in to the see. And whan they hadde caste it. A grete fyre caught it in the see. And they sawe it brenne longe agaynst nature. Than they came unto this holy man and sayd to him. Uerely thou arte he that appeared to us in the see, and delyuerdest us fro the see, and awaytes of y^e deuyll. And in this tyme certayne mē rebelled ayenst the Emperoure. And the Emperoure sente ayenst theym thre prynces, Nepocyen. Uersyn, & Apollyn. And they came to the porte Adrien, for the wynde whiche was contrarye to them. And y^e blyssed Nycholas cōmaunded theym to dyne with hym. For he wolde kepe his people fro y^e rauayne that they made. And whyles they were at dyner. The consull corrupte by money had commanded thre Innocent knyghtes to be beheded. And when the bysshop Nicholas knew this, he prayed these thre prynces that they wolde moche hastily go with hym. And whā they came there where they sholde be beheded, he founde them on theyr knees blyndfelde. And the ryghter brandysshed his swerde ouer theyr hedes. And than saynt Nycholas embraced with y^e loue of our lorde god sette hym hardely ayenst the ryghter. And toke y^e swerde oute of his honde, & threwe it fro hym, and vnbounde the Innocentes and ledde theym with him all sauē.

The saint "rendred vp his soule, and deyed the yere our lorde god thre hondred and xliiii with grete melodye songen of the celestyall company. . . . And unto this daye holy oyle yssueth oute of his body, whiche is moche vaylable to the helthe of seknesse of many men."

The miracles done at the altar of St. Nicholas, before his image, or through his intervention, are perhaps as curious as any among the extraordinary collection of marvels contained in the *Legenda Aurea*.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Clarke, said he knew the font at St. Nicholas very well, and expressed his satisfaction at

having heard so clear and careful an account of an object of such great interest.

Mr. E. T. NEWTON read the following note on the discovery of a Romano-British Cremation Urn in Cheapside :—

“ In the early part of the year 1879 some excavations were made near the west end of Cheapside for the foundations of some new buildings. As is usual in the city of London in such cases, a considerable thickness of made earth of a very dark colour was passed through, and from this were exhumed the bones of numerous mammals, such as horse, ox, pig, roebuck, &c., together with fragments of Samian ware, ancient British and mediæval pottery and glass. In several parts, where the excavations were carried to a greater depth, the underlying stratum, consisting of a light coloured clayey gravel, was exposed, and it was in this deposit, at a depth of about eighteen feet below the footpath at Cheapside, that one of the workmen dug out a mass of rough earthenware, within which, as he said, was a mass of broken bones. Whether the earthenware vessel was broken by the pressure of the overlying earth or by the workman in extricating it, could not be ascertained, but most probably it was the latter, for the broken edges when washed had every appearance of having been recently fractured. When cleaned and dried the fragments were cemented together, and it was then found that a large part of it had not been recovered; sufficient, however, remained to show that it was one of the funeral urns which have been often found in various localities. When perfect it must have had a diameter at its widest part of about eleven inches and a height of eight and a half inches. The form is similar to those generally regarded as Romano-British, of which examples may be seen in the British Museum. It is narrow at the base (about four inches), increases rapidly in width to a height of six inches, then contracting again it terminates in a reflected lip, the aperture being about seven inches in diameter. The clay of which this urn is made is coarse, and only partially baked. The fractured edges show the outside half burnt red, while the inner half is bluish gray. The outer surface is dark and apparently discoloured by smoke.

“ The bones contained in the urn, although fragmentary, are interesting. They include the head of a femur, upper part of a tibia, a piece of an astragalus, pieces of humerus, portions of vertebræ, pelvis and ribs, besides numerous fragments. These remains are sufficiently well preserved to show that they belonged to an adult person, for the epiphyses of femur, tibia and vertebræ are firmly anklosed; but the size of the bones indicates a small person, possibly a female. All the bones are much cracked, and show that they have been subjected to a great heat. Another evidence of the body having been cremated is found in the interesting fact that two of the bones, which seem to be portions of the humeri, are partly surrounded by green glass, and this must evidently have been in a state of partial fusion when it became pressed round them. Considering that the glass covers portions of the broken edges of the bones, they must have been cracked and broken, probably by the heat, before the glass was melted around them.

“ Although the urn itself is so imperfect the bones are sufficiently preserved to show their human origin, and they present such definite evidence of cremation, which, together with the fact of their having been so recently unearthed in the heart of London, seemed to render

them sufficiently important to justify a note of their discovery being laid before the members of the Institute. Should these remains be deemed suitable it is proposed to place them in the Guildhall Museum..”

After a few remarks from Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL respecting the undisturbed state of the ground in which the urn was found, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Newton.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. SOMERS CLARKE.—Drawings of the sculptures on the font at St. Nicholas, Brighton. From the character of its details this is evidently a work of the middle of the twelfth century.

By MR. E. T. NEWTON.—Romano-British urn with burnt bones.

By MR. R. S. FERGUSON.—Three funeral chalices and two patens from Cumberland. The meeting was indebted to Mr. Ferguson for the following notes on these articles :—

“I have the honour to lay before the Institute three funeral chalices and two patens found in the county of Cumberland, which I shall deal with in the order in which they became known to me, and which also seem to be their order in date.

“(1.) Lead chalice and paten found, in 1879, during the restoration of the church at Kirkoswald. This church was a collegiate church, and is very curiously situated in a hole, with its belfry on the top of a neighbouring hill. A spring of water issues from out of the foundations of the west end of the church, and Bishop Nicolson (*Visitation* in 1703, published by the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society, p. 116) concludes, partly from this circumstance and partly from the dedication, that a church existed in Saxon times. No Saxon remains were found during the recent restoration, except a fragment of a doubtful cross. The church was largely rebuilt during the restoration, but it was in that state that any unusually high wind might have brought down the north arcade and north aisle wall.

“I have no particulars about the finding of this chalice and paten, except that they occurred under the vestry, which occupied the site of the destroyed south chancel aisle.

“(2.) Lead chalice and paten from Melmerby. The sexton, while digging a grave about a year ago, found these under some stones in the grave. He put them into the parish chest and forgot to mention them until the enquiries into local church plate made by the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological and Antiquarian Society brought them into light. There are in Melmerby church several sepulchral slabs, one of which is remarkable for having a pair of pointed shears on the dexter side and a chalice and book on the sinister. Between these is a broad stemmed cross, trefoiled at the ends, and standing on two degrees.

“(3.) Lead chalice found about a century ago in a stone coffin. Some coins and some keys are said to have been found with it. The coffin was found at a place just outside Carlisle, where some cottages mark the site of what was called ‘*Hospitale S^{ti} Nicholai, extra Civitatem Carliol,*’ which at the dissolution supported a chaplain, three bedells and two or three lepers.”

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE spoke as to the authenticity and value of these ancient fragments and called the attention of the meeting to the good work that was now being done in Cumberland and Westmoreland by Miss Goodwin, the Rev. H. Whitehead, Mr. Fletcher Rigg, Canon

Weston, the Rev. R. Bower, the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, Mr. Ferguson and others in cataloguing all the church plate in the diocese of Carlisle. The excessive rarity of chalices previous to the Reformation, aptly called by the Rev. J. Fuller Russell "massing chalices," was beginning to be realised, and in thus looking after the whole of the church plate in a diocese, the existence of such valuable relics was likely to become known,—indeed, more than one pre-Reformation chalice had been discovered by this practical method of going to work. It may be added that marks upon pewter vessels are not now thought beneath notice. They also have a story to tell and we gladly take this opportunity of pleading for their preservation.

By Mr. A. E. GRIFFITHS.—A very fine and perfect Romano-British urn of great size, filled with burnt bones; this was lately discovered, together with the remains exhibited at the preceding meeting, at Hampton Wick.

By Mr. J. O. SCOTT.—Cast of the head and shoulders of an effigy of a civilian from North Curry church, Somerset, and of a portion of the inscription (indecipherable) belonging to the effigy. There appeared to be no exceptional details about this figure, the sculptured hands upon the shoulders clearly belonging to attendant angel figures formerly supporting the head but now broken away. Mr. Scott also exhibited some grievously broken figures of animals, cast hollow in a mould, in thin brown plaster, strengthened with string. The figures were originally from four to six inches long, and the forms of the cow and the ass could be ascertained. These objects were found in a stopped-up hole in the wall near the altar. It was suggested by Mr. Scott that their use was for making up little representations at festivals; for example, at the Feast of the Nativity—beasts feeding round the manger. Mr. Micklethwaite thought it probable that they were votive offerings on behalf of sick animals.

By Mr. J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.—A collection of thirty-six rubbings of brasses of ecclesiastics chiefly from Essex.

By Mr. V. W. MAUGHAN.—Rubbings of brasses from Higham Ferrers, Great Addington, East Horsley, Betchworth, Westminster Abbey, &c. Mr. Micklethwaite commented upon some of the points of interest exhibited in the above collections.



Notices of Archaeological Publications.

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SCOTLAND PRESERVED IN
HER MAJESTY'S PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON. Edited by
JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

With the prospect, during this summer, of making a visit to the Border City, many members of the Institute will be rubbing up their knowledge of the very puzzling history of that district, and we would warn against reliance on the generally received county historians of Cumberland and Westmoreland. The ponderous and costly tomes of Hutchinson, of Burn and Nicolson, and of Lysons, are all, more or less, based upon two manuscripts by two persons, both named Denton, who wrote in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and who have been exposed in the pages of this *Journal* by the late Mr. Hodgson Hinde (vol. xvi, p. 217). To these two Dentons it is due that William the Conqueror constantly crops up in local guide books, in the speeches of local members of Parliament, and in other places, as the founder of the Cumberland and Westmoreland feudal baronies. This is not the place to deal with these errors; our readers cannot do better than refer to Mr. Hodgson Hinde's paper, and to his preface to the Cumberland and Westmoreland Pipe Rolls published for the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

In the absence of any such survey, as is contained for most English counties in Domesday Book, any addition to the published records of the district of Carlisle is most welcome, and we are delighted to find that Mr. Bain has interpreted his instruction in such a manner as to include in the Calendar all documents which have reference to the Strathelyde and Bernician districts. He may be quite sure that the English archaeologist will thoroughly approve of the principles that Mr. Bain has laid down in his preface and the manner in which he has carried them out. We may, too, congratulate ourselves as Englishmen on the successful whitewashing which Mr. Bain, in his preface, applies to Edward I. The "Hammer of the Scots" has been accused by patriotic writers on Scottish history of having burnt the national muniments of Scotland, which he had caused to be placed in the English Exchequer. Mr. Bain goes into the matter, and the conclusion he comes at is, that nothing but an inventory of the Scottish muniments ever reached the English Exchequer, and he expresses a "regret that Edward I did not carry off the whole of the ancient Records [of Scotland] as popularly supposed." The more modern Records of Scotland were carried to England by order of Oliver Cromwell, but were, after the Restoration, sent back by sea, packed in hogsheads. No less than eighty-five of these were lost on the voyage, and the rest were let rot or waste, until

about 1800. Whether patriot Scots will quite appreciate this shifting of blame from the shoulders of Edward I and Oliver Cromwell to their own is doubtful. Mr. Bain will probably hear more of this, nor can they quite appreciate his remark that the forged charter of homage by Malcolm Canmore is "not so very far wide of the truth."

Mr. Bain's preface gives a very comprehensive summary of what is to be gathered from the documents he has so ably calendared, but they are a rich mine, which it will take long for archaeologists to exhaust. The student of place names, of personal names, the genealogist, those curious in costume, or in ancient cookery, will all find *pubulum* as well as the historian, local and general, and the black letter lawyer.

On one point we take issue with the editor; he identifies, but very hesitatingly, Alicia de Romeli as the "Countess of Coupland." She was the youngest of the three daughters and coheiresses of William Fitz Duncan, Earl of Moray, son of Duncan II, King of Scotland. William Fitz Duncan had one only son, "the boy of Egremund," who was drowned in the Wharfe, so that his three sisters, Cicely, Annabel, and Alicia, became their father's coheirs. Cicely married first Alexander Fitz Gerald, and second William Le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, and the barony of Skipton was her share; Annabel married Reginald de Lucy, and should have got Allerdale above Derwent (or Copeland); Alicia married Gilbert Pipard and got Allerdale below Derwent (or Cockermouth). Mr. Hodgson Hinde takes Annabel to be the Countess of Copeland, but Mr. W. Jackson, F.S.A.,¹ has shown that the Earl of Albemarle usurped Copeland, and cites charters in which Cicely is styled Countess of Albemarle and Lady (Domina) of Copeland. On the death of the Earl of Albemarle his only daughter Hawise became Countess of Albemarle in her own right. There were thus two Countesses of Albemarle, and the elder one probably got known as Countess of Copeland by way of distinction. Thus the title would not appear in Dugdale.

COINS OF THE JEWS. By FREDERIC W. MADDEN, M.R.A.S. With 279 Woodcuts and a Plate of Alphabets. (Trübner & Co., 4to., 1881.)

Mr. Madden's present volume is, as he says in his preface, virtually a second enlarged and thoroughly revised edition of his work, "History of the Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testament," which appeared in 1864. The author, who has devoted his lifetime to this special study, considers that after a lapse of nearly twenty years, during which time so many new discoveries have been made in the field of Jewish inscriptions, and so many important contributions to Jewish numismatics have been published in books, monographs, and more especially various periodicals, it is only just to write a history of Jewish coins based upon the latest researches. Indeed, in 1864 Assyrian studies were only in their very infancy, two important palaeographical documents viz., the Moabite stone and the Siloam inscription had not then been discovered, and above all the volumes on the history of the Jews during the second Temple and the wars under Bar-Cochab, by Prof. Graetz and M. Derenbourg, were not yet at the disposal of Mr. Madden. And to judge from the numerous monographs and essays concerning Jewish coins, the bibliography of which is given by the author at the end of the

¹ *Journal*, Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society, vol. vi, p. 154-156.

volume as far down as 1879, we think that he was perfectly justified in issuing his second edition in the series of "The International Numismata Orientalia." This volume of 329 pages in quarto does not merely contain an enumeration of Jewish coins, as the title page says, but also of the coins, Roman as well as Arabic, relating to the History of the Holy Land down to 700 A.D., and in the introductions to the various chapters Mr. Madden gives an epitome of the political history of the Jews as far as it bears on the dates of the coins which he is going to describe. That the author has taken advantage of every publication concerning his subject can be seen from the numerous and exhaustive foot notes to his text. Of course it must be expected that in a work of such magnitude, embracing a period of 1000 years, some minor points have been overlooked, and more especially by a writer, who unfortunately has to live in a place where no great library is at his disposal. And if we draw attention to such omissions, which are not numerous, it is simply for the benefit of a subsequent edition of the book. Let us now come to the work itself.

Mr. Madden begins with the chapter, headed "Early use of silver and gold as medium of exchange and commerce amongst the Hebrews before the exile." Of course, the chief documents for this subject are in the Bible, which the author compares with the coins or Jewel-currency of Assyrian, Egyptian and Phœnician nations. More information on Rabbinical tradition regarding ornaments and coins the author could have found in Dr. Herzfeld's History of Jewish trade (in German.) The *Kesitah* (Gen. xxxiii, 19; Job xlii, 2, A. V., piece of money) seems to be an ornament (so used in Aramaic) in the shape of a lamb; and it is therefore rendered in the ancient versions by "sheep." The difficulty about the word *Nehushtekh* in Ezekiel, xvi, 36 (A. V., because thy filthiness was poured out), which is rendered in the Vulgate by *quia effusum est aes tuum*, where Mr. Madden observes rightly: "This is a very impossible interpretation, as brass or copper was the latest metal introduced into Greece for money," disappears by reading with the old Hebrew MS. at St. Petersburg (published by Dr. Strack), *hosphekh* instead of the masoretical *hishshaphekh*; and translating "because thou hast uncovered thy shame" (*Nehosheth* as lower part is to be found in the Mishnah, *Kelim*, ch. 8). Next comes a chapter on the invention of coined money and the materials employed for money. The chapter on Writing which follows is most interesting, and as complete as possible. Mr. Madden here explains the three opinions as to the origin of the so-called Phœnician alphabet: Firstly, that it is derived from Egypt; secondly, that it originated in Babylon; thirdly, that it was produced from an early pictorial alphabet at home. He gives no definite opinion of his own, although it is now almost universally accepted that the Phœnician alphabet was derived from the Egyptian Hieroglyphics. The comparative table, in twenty-nine columns, gives a very good idea of the various alphabets, viz., Egyptian, Phœnician, Ancient Greek (we miss here the alphabet of the Cypriote inscriptions), Palmyrene, Old Hebrew, Samaritan, and square Hebrew. In the last group the Crimean alphabet of the first century B.C. must be omitted. It has been clearly proved by Dr. Harkavy that the tomb inscriptions in the Crimea have been tampered with and that they cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century, A.D. The alphabet of the Siloam inscription

was discovered when Mr. Madden's book was ready for publication, and he could only just mention it in a note at the beginning of his book. The following chapters, which treat of the money employed by the Jews after their return from Babylon to the Second Revolt under Simon Bar-Cochab, are masterly. Here no one is so well-informed as our author, be it from publications or from private communications. He has spared no trouble to get the best information on every point. After disposing of the money employed by the Jews before the Maccabean period, which have no Hebrew inscriptions, Mr. Madden proceeds to give methodically and chronologically descriptions of the coins struck by the Maccabean princes Simon, John Hyrcanus I, Judas Aristobulus, Alexander Jannaeus, Alexandra, John Hyrcanus II and Antigonus. In these coins we find after the name of the Maccabean prince the words *kakkohen haygadol v'hr hayehudim*—"the high priest and the *hbr* of the Jews." The letters *hbr* could be read *heber*, "society" (it is not quite certain that it has that meaning in the Old Testament) or *haber*, "companion," "friend." In the Mishnah (*Pirke Aboth*, i, 7) it is employed as a title of a learned man (in connection with *Rab*, "master") and is still used so amongst the Hebrew-speaking Jews. The interpretation of the word *hbr* might therefore be "the high-priest and the *haber* (a political or a learned title) of the Jews," or "the high-priest and the society (Senate) of the Jews." Mr. Madden inclines to the latter interpretation. One would expect, however, for "Senate," the feminine word *hebrah*, analogous to *Kenissah* "synagogue." Moreover, on the later coins, we find *hbr* without the conjunctive *v* "and," which would be better suited for a title of the high-priest than of the Jews. "Senate," has, however, in its favour, the inscription on coins of John Hyrcanus I, where we read *Rosh b'hr hayehudim*, "head of the Senate of the Jews," although one could translate it without violating grammar, "head, *hbr*, of the Jews." The chapters on the coins with Hebrew inscriptions are interrupted for the sake of chronology, by the explanation of the coins of the Idumean princes, and those struck by the Procurators of Judaea. This is followed by the description of the money during the first and the second Revolt of the Jews, with the interruption of a chapter on Roman coins struck in Palestine and Rome, commemorating the capture of Jerusalem. In the coins of the two revolts many points remain still doubtful. Most of them have the names of Eleazar the priest (which Messrs. Conder, in their Handbook of the Bible, misread for Eliashib the Priest) on the obverse, and first to the third year of the Redemption of Israel on the reverse. Others have Eleazar the priest and Simon; others have Jerusalem and the year of the Redemption of Israel; many have Simeon the Prince of Israel and the year of the Redemption of Israel; finally, the year and "Deliverance of Zion." Those Mr. Madden takes as having been struck in the first revolt under Vespasian. Who Eleazar and Simon were can only be conjectured; however, we believe that "Simeon the Prince of Israel" can neither be the son of Gamaliel I nor the son of Gamaliel II, this family scarcely having allowed themselves to be dragged into the revolutionary party. The coins bearing the inscriptions of Simon and year of the deliverance of Jerusalem and sometimes of Israel, belong, according to Mr. Madden, to the second revolt under Bar-Cochab. It is difficult with the documents at our disposal to give a decisive opinion as to which of these coins

are of the first or the second revolt. Neither the names nor palaeography are of any assistance; it is even doubtful whether Bar-Cochab ever entered Jerusalem. Perhaps something might be said about the two words, *geullath* "Redemption" and *Heruth* "Freedom" (more literal than "deliverance"), the former being a biblical word and the latter only used in Rabbinical language. Anyhow Mr. Madden has laid before his readers all the documents with the various views of writers on the matter, by which the reader can form an independent opinion. The last chapter of Mr. Madden's book treats of the Imperial coins struck at Jerusalem and Arab coins. The appendices contain the following paragraphs:—Weights, money in the New Testament, the Talmudic writings on the coinage of the first and second revolts (we agree here with his happy emendation in the Jerusalem Talmud in reading *Neroniyoth* instead of the unintelligible *Seboroniyoth*, and translating "money of Nero;" the next word must consequently be a corruption of *Hadriniyoth* "money by Hadrian"), counterfeit-Jewish coins, and finally the list of works and papers in connexion with Jewish numismatics published since 1849, to which allusion has been made above. The index with which the volume concludes is complete as to the ancient sources; modern authors are left out as they are so often quoted. The engraving of the coins is very clearly made, and generally the whole work is well got up. Unless some important discoveries are made in a group of Jewish coins which are still missing, or of better copies of the time of the two revolts, we believe that Mr. Madden's work will remain an authority for a long time. We recommend Mr. Madden's book without hesitation to all biblical scholars, and we hope that some of the Societies, let us say, for instance, that for Promoting Christian Knowledge will sooner or later produce, with Mr. Madden's assistance, this important work in a compressed and popular form. It would be of great use to students, inasmuch as most of the Handbooks to the Bible are very inaccurate in the subject of Jewish coinage.

THE ANCIENT BRONZE IMPLEMENTS OF BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., LL.D. Longman, 1881.

Though to all, the phrase "age of Brass," as a familiar form of speech, has descended from the writings of the early poets, yet as now understood the "Bronze age" is a recent invention. Very many writers have been collecting facts and setting forth opinions as to the source and origin of bronze; the amount in use, and skill in working, to which it reached in this country; and the duration of the time its "age" lasted. But it is in Mr. Evans' work that the student will find such an account as will enable him to understand what others have done, as well as abundant materials for the exercise of his own judgment; it is the first account and no sketch.

The book is an arrangement and description of those "bronze antiquities which belong to the period when stone was gradually falling into disuse for cutting purposes,¹ and iron was either practically unknown in this country or had been but partially adopted for tools and weapons."

¹ The cutting power of bronze is very limited; it is difficult to believe that it could be of use as a razor, though that is

the name given to some instruments in this work.

Necessarily the contact or overlap of the Stone age at one end, and that of the Iron at the other is included in the account. It is to be noted that there is no evidence that copper was employed in a pure state in this country for useful purposes.

The plan of this book is to trace the development of the simplest wedge-shaped implement through various stages into that of the most advanced and latest form; other objects, ornaments, &c., are similarly compared, and great ingenuity is shewn in demonstrating the almost child-like steps in the process of improvement; it is an interesting revelation of the intelligence of the bronze-using men.

Mr. Evans divides the "age" into three main stages.

The first is characterised by flat or slightly flanged celts; these, although found along with weapons formed of stone, and in shape resembling the stone *hâche*, shew no signs of being such direct imitations of stone as would have probably been the case had they originated here;¹ indeed, the earliest and rudest celts, in form and ornament shew a treatment purely metallic. With these flat celts are coupled the knife-daggers, whose associations and extreme thinness (denoting a scarcity of metal) point in the same direction. The tang (or smaller end, as in the neolithic *hâche* of like shape) is undoubtedly the earliest form of attachment to a handle, and although for some forms another method was employed; for this purpose the tang was always in use.

The second stage is characterized by more heavy dagger blades and the flanged celts and tanged spear heads and daggers.

The third by palstaves and socketed celts and many forms of tools and weapons; this is the stage to which the bronze sword and socketed spear-head belong. The latest developments in bronze implements of all kinds shew a great and rapid advance in civilisation, which advance reached its climax in the age which had received the name of "late celtic;" this, however, is also the commencing of the *early* iron age, and therefore is, to a certain extent, beyond the aim of the author.

It is pointed out "how complete a series of links in the chain of development of the bronze industry is here to be found, though many of them bear undoubted marks of foreign influence." Besides leaving us in no doubt that bronze was not invented here, Mr. Evans shews himself clearly of opinion that all the more important types originated abroad, and that each was derived thence separately and independently; this is dwelt on specially with regard to the flat celt, palstave, socketed celt, knife dagger, halberd blade, and sword. He shows that throughout the whole period the metal was scarce and precious, and could not be wasted on javelin or arrow-heads (which left the owner's hand) and which therefore continued to be of stone. He is of opinion that there were fixed foundries for the metal, but gives no evidence for any such, which is very significant.

Of a list of 110 "hoards" presumably of itinerant merchants or founders, mostly belonging to the *close* of the bronze period, but four of them are placed in Cornwall, and none of these present any special difference from those in other parts of Britain and Ireland. Again, only one mould used for casting is mentioned as obtained from Cornwall, though many have been found in our Islands, and that *one* was for a buckle of late celtic age.

¹ It is doubtful if actual casts from stone implements have been found anywhere.

This does not look as if Cornwall was the centre of the British manufacture in bronze, although it was certainly the home of its constituent metals.

From the introduction of the use of bronze into this country to the cessation of its use for cutting instruments in the second or third century B.C. (iron is supposed by the author to have been in use in the southern part of Britain at least, in the fourth or fifth century B.C.) "eight or ten centuries" are allotted. This calculation is based on the length of time required for development and on general grounds, and it is found to be "in accordance with what we know of its use in the south of Europe," the earliest date is therefore about 1500 B.C. Mr. Evans has, however, doubts whether this is early enough, for if the date adopted for the commencement of the Phœnician trade or intercourse be also 1500 B.C., the knowledge of tin and probably of copper must date back to an earlier epoch, as he finds it hard to imagine the Phœnicians¹ or those who traded with them landing in Britain and spontaneously discovering tin. Why not? It seems to us very probable that some foreigner did it for the Britons (perhaps voyaging in search of gold, &c.) as the evidence, at present, is against the Britons having done it for themselves. It is likely that the tin was not made into bronze, but exported *pure* in accordance with history and the evidence of the ingots. Copper could be got elsewhere in plenty and the tin alone would be lighter to carry, of course an important point when the distance was great. Besides it is likely that the secret would be kept from the Britons for obvious reasons.

The earliest ornamentation proper to bronze seems to have come of the beating out of flat celts to re-form and sharpen the cutting edge, whereby the superfluous hammered metal extended at the outer points of the edge into curves or even spiral turns. The beating of the sides to form flanges was also conducted with taste. Ultimately punching, grinding, and engraving contributed to the ornamentation, examples of which are plentifully given.

Mr. Evans is enabled to give examples by which it is seen that the marks of the overlapping of the wings in the winged celt as preserved in the cast of the socketed celt, together with the marks of rivets and binding cords, after being conventionalised into ornament, are of very great value in the chronology and local derivation of bronze working. Personal ornaments, such as pins, brooches, earrings, torques, &c., he says, are neither abundant, nor as a rule highly artistic, and in their *origin not our own*.

The work is a most delightful one, and in arrangement is the same as the author's "Stone Implements" to which it is the natural sequence. We wish in conclusion, that he would give us the history of British gold, of which little is known, but of which Mr. Evans is so well able to tell the tale, and the more so as he hints in this book the probability that the use of gold long preceded that of bronze with the Britons and was their earliest metallurgic effort.

¹ Mr. Evans finds no Phœnician element in the forms or ornament of our bronze and seems altogether to doubt the Phœnician connexion. He, however,

detects in various ways Etruscan influence, while he points out close resemblances between our early celts and those of Italy and the Mediterranean.

Archaeological Intelligence.

THE ANNALS OF CHEPSTOW CASTLE.—The late Mr. John Fitchett Marsh was a zealous and accurate antiquary, well known in Lancashire and Cheshire, indeed, he contributed much to the elucidation of the history of these counties. It was not to be expected that a man of Mr. Marsh's industrious and painstaking habits,—doubly fortunate in having his dwelling place on the banks of the Wye and under the shadow of a great and historic fortress,—would have missed the opportunity of tracing out the history of the picturesque castle which was constantly before his eyes. We are, therefore, in no way surprised to hear that Mr. Marsh has left behind him the MS. of "Six Centuries of the Lords of Striguil from the Conquest to the Revolution," and there can be no kind of doubt as to the value of these MS. The bringing out of the work has devolved upon Mr. Marsh's executors, who, true to the charge thus laid upon them, have placed the MS. in the able hands of Sir John Maclean who will undertake the editing of the author's laborious researches. The work contains a complete history of the Castle from the time of its erection; tracing its custody through the families of Fitz Osborne; Marshall; Bigod; Plantagenet (de Brotherton); Manny and Hastings; Mowbray; Herbert and Tudor; to that of Somerset, by whom it is now held. It gives, in considerable detail, the personal and political history of the several Lords, their marriages and issue: which is accompanied by tabular pedigrees shewing the descent of the Lordship and Castle through the several families.

The following item relating to Richard Marshall Earl of Pembroke, extracted from the Table of Contents, will shew the important and interesting character of the work:—

"Richard Marshall succeeds,—Angry reception by the king, who refuses his homage,—He obtains possession of his Irish Estates and Pembroke Castle,—Prepares to assert his rights,—Is admitted to homage,—Peter des Roches supplants Hubert de Burgh in power,—Richard Marshall and others in alliance with Hubert de Burgh,—Become sureties for his custody in Devizes Castle,—Robert of Gloucester's metrical account of Hubert's transfer to Striguil,—Narrative of events leading to the above position of affairs,—Opposition of Richard Marshall and the Nobles to the Poictevin favourites,—The Marshall deserted by his Allies,—On non-appearance to the King's summons his estates forfeited,—One of his Castles (possibly Striguil) besieged,—Surrendered to save the King's honour on terms of restoration and redress,—The King violates his engagements and the Marshall retakes his Castle,—Affairs of Hubert de Burgh,—Escapes to Sanctuary from Devizes Castle,—Taken thence by a force sent by Richard Marshall and brought to Striguil,—Description of its situation a further argument identifying it with Chepstow,—Progress of the war between the King and the Marshall,—Extensive tract of country laid waste,—His encounter with Baldwin de Gysnes,—The King

retires from Gloucester,—Treacherous scheme of Peter des Roches,—Richard Marshall enticed to Ireland,—Treachery of Geoffrey de Marisco, Desperate fight and death of the Marshall, and his burial,—Marriages but no issue,—His character."

The work will not be *published*, but privately printed for subscribers only, and the impression will be strictly limited to 200 copies demy 4to.

It will be printed in the best manner and will be uniform in size with the "*Lives of the Lords of Berkeley*," now in the press,¹ the arms of the several families will be engraved, the work will be suitably bound, and no expense will be spared in its production. The prices to subscribers are:—For ordinary copies, £1; large paper copies, £2. Applications should be made to Sir John Maclean, Bicknor Court, Coleford.

STUDIES IN LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY.—Mr. S. Wayland Kershaw announces the forthcoming publication of this work, with an introduction by the Rev. Canon R. S. Jenkins. It is hardly necessary to recall the memories that surround this famous, and happily now public, library. In it historians and great divines have studied, and here are contained works of exceeding rarity and historical value, the result of the wise accumulation of a long succession of Primates. These literary treasures will be carefully described in Mr. Kershaw's work; the formation of the various collections, with brief notices of the archbishops who have successively enriched and increased them, will form a part, and no inconsiderable one, of his labours; special prominence will very properly be given to the series of MSS., of such priceless value from their historical, antiquarian and genealogical import, and the promised classified list of these MSS., based upon Archdeacon Todd's scarce catalogue, published in 1812, cannot fail to be very welcome to students. The Registers, Archives and Documents of the See of Canterbury will also be described; it is needless to dilate upon the high antiquarian value of such records as these.

This treatise on the contents of Lambeth Palace Library will appear at a very opportune moment, for, at the present day, when historic libraries—to say nothing of art collections which their founders believed would continue as long as the world should endure—are being ruthlessly broken up and dispersed, it is soothing to look forward to and welcome the publication of a work that deals with a library that will surely never come to the hammer. Mr. Kershaw's book, which will have many illustrations, and, we sincerely trust, a thoroughly good index, will be printed in demy 4to.; price to subscribers before publication, 7s. 6d. Applications should be made to Mr. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.

CHRONOGRAMS.—This "EXCELLENT NEW BOOK OF CHRONOGRAMS GATHERED TOGETHER & NOW SET FORTH BY I HILTON, F.S.A.," is believed by its author to be the first collection of the kind that has ever been brought out on any extensive and systematic plan, and we have much satisfaction in calling early attention to the publication of a most interesting collection of 5137 examples of Chronograms in several languages, ranging, as the author tells us in his prospectus, from the year 1208 to the present time, and gleaned from the countries of Europe and from some in Asia, grouped under their different nationalities, with references to nearly double this number, and to the works in which they

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxxviii, p. 463.

may be found. Mr. Hilton will show in his work that the art of producing Chronograms both in the eastern and western languages is of a very early date, that scholars have devoted much time and ingenuity to their composition, and that examples are found scattered about far and wide in the field of literature, and may be observed on the buildings and by the highways of foreign towns; the whole indicating the very various and exceedingly curious forms which the Chronogram has taken, and the different uses to which it has been put. The author has certainly justified his capabilities to deal with this subject by his own very apposite though modest Chronograms:—"THE QVAINT BVT NOT ALTOGETHER VNSCHOLARLY CONCEITS WHICH THIS LITTLE BOOK CONTAINETH DESPISE NOT O COVRTEOVS READER," and "NVGAS NON OMNINO INERVDITAS QVAS IN HOĆ LIBRO INVENERIS NE SPERNAS LECTOR BENEVOLE," which appear on his title page, and the chronographic interpretation of which we may safely leave to the intelligence of our readers.

This curious and picturesque method of chronicling dates is well worthy of the attention of students, for it must be confessed that in this rapid age history in solemn and stately periods is not always and altogether attractive. Mr. Hilton enhances the value of his work by illustrating it with fac-similes of Chronograms from books, and specially from medals on which objects the dates of so many seventeenth and eighteenth century continental victories are recorded. It is hardly within the compass of the human nature of military commanders to chronicle their own defeats, though, until the appearance of Mr. Hilton's book, this kind of self-abnegation might perhaps have been practised with some degree of impunity—in Chronograms—for comparatively few persons will have been aware, until he took up the subject, of the deep meaning and mystery of the tall and short Roman capitals. The work will comprise an Appendix on the bibliography of Chronograms, and, what is better still, a very copious Index of the varied information contained in the volume, which will doubtless show better than anything how intelligently and thoroughly the author has trodden a very curious bye-path of history.

The size of the book is crown 4to, price £2 2s. Applications should be made to Mr. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.

THE BUILDINGS OF SIR THOMAS TRESHAM.—Mr. J. A. Gotch announces the approaching publication of "A Complete Account, illustrated by Measured Drawings of the Buildings erected in Northamptonshire, by Sir Thomas Tresham, between the years 1575 and 1605, together with many particulars concerning the Tresham family and their home at Rushton." The author very rightly says in his Prospectus that the buildings erected by Sir Thomas Tresham are of more than merely archæological interest. That they exhibit in a remarkable degree the quaint ingenuity and learned conceits which mark much of the work of the Elizabethan age, and that, as in monsters we often find a clue to nature's undiscovered laws, so in the Triangular Lodge and Lyveden New Building we may realize the spirit which pervaded the early English Renaissance more readily than in examples of greater dignity and wider fame.

The curious inscriptions on all these Buildings; the numerical puzzles and symbolical carving on the Triangular Lodge; its ingenious repetition of the idea *three*; the coats of arms there and on the highly beautiful

Market House at Rothwell; the remarkable cruceiform plan of the house at Lyveden, where may still be seen complete arrangements for a dwelling of the period; the seven emblems repeatedly carved along the frieze, all render these buildings interesting to any who admire quaintness and ingenuity, even if they are without technical knowledge on the subject.

We agree with Mr. Goteh in believing that to those interested in researches bearing specially on Northamptonshire, any information concerning the fascinating family of the Treshams will be acceptable; and we know that the forthcoming full investigation of Sir Thomas Tresham's work has involved the collection of valuable material relating not only to himself, but also to his ancestors; and that no pains have been spared to ensure the trustworthiness of these particulars.

The Triangular Lodge and the Market House will be fresh in the memories of those members who attended the Northampton Meeting in 1878. We look forward to what Mr. Goteh has to say about Tresham's work at Rushton Hall, for we have reasons for thinking that John Thorpe was employed there as well as in the other works erected by Tresham. The very characteristic screen at Rushton Hall can hardly be the work of any other architect, though, doubtless, Tresham had a great deal to do with the fantastic ornamentations and the learned conceits which have puzzled so many people.

We have had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Goteh's admirable drawings; we doubt not that his pen will be as good as his pencil, and that this work illustrating somewhat important buildings of the English Renaissance will receive the encouragement it deserves. The subscription price is 15s., at Messrs. Taylor and Sons, 22, Gold street, Northampton.

THE ABBEY OF ST. ANDREW, HEXHAM.—Mr. C. C. Hodges announces the publication of a Monograph on this fine monastic church, which will be visited by the Institute in the course of the approaching Meeting at Carlisle. It is a very worthy subject, and Mr. Hodges has spared neither time nor pains in thoroughly illustrating its architectural beauties, for he has spent nearly three years of constant labour in the preparation of sixty drawings, all made to scale on the spot. It should be noted that the whole of the mouldings have been taken full size with the *Cymagraph*, the invention of Professor Willis. It is not easy to account for the small favour which this valuable instrument has found in the eyes of architects.

Mr. Hodges tells us that he will be careful to show, in his drawings, the joints of the stonework and all the breaks in the masonry *as they are*. This is very good news because the joints and breaks in the masonry are just as valuable evidences,—in many early structures they are often the only evidences,—of the age and gradual growth of a building, as the mouldings themselves. Professor Willis constantly pointed out this, in fact his wonderful power and mastery over the history of a building was mainly owing to the use he made of the evidence of the joints; he certainly unfolded with the greatest lucidity the history of many a building for the first time, by the evidence of the mouldings alone,—so accurately delineated by his own *cymagraph*, not seldom in the hands of his friend the Rev. D. J. Stewart—but occasionally to a doubting audience, as for instance at Gloucester in 1860; but when he made the joints speak as well as the stones, as he did at Canterbury and Worcester, there were no sceptics.

Few architects have the time, fewer still the inclination, to measure

joints and cymagraph mouldings; *five-per-cent* is not the natural sequence thereto, but Mr. Hodges is evidently a proper pupil of Professor Willis, and treads firmly in his steps, so the appearance of his complete illustrations of Hexham Abbey, its furniture and tombs, is something to look forward to. He will include in his drawings details of the nave, swept away during the destructive raid of the Scots in 1296, and elevations and sections of the fourteenth century eastern chapel, which "fell a victim to the ill-advised restoration of 1860, along with the Ogle Shrine and much of the ancient woodwork."

The members of the Institute will have an opportunity of seeing the extent of the mischief which was effected in 1860, when,

"Botchers fell to turn and patch the church,"

and they will see the sad remains of the Ogle Shrine, as well as the beautiful lattice of Prior Lescumere's Shrine, the rich Flamboyant work of Prior Smithson, the rare thirteenth century Lavatory in the Conventual buildings, and many other evidences of the taste and genius of a rich and powerful community.

The price of Mr. Hodges's work will be, to subscribers, £3 10s., to non-subscribers, £5 5s.; 400 copies only will be printed. Applications may be made to the Author, 5, St. Cuthbert's Terrace, Hexham.

ANCIENT CUSTOMS OF HEREFORD.—We take the first opportunity of calling attention to the proposed publication of a new edition of this interesting work of the late Mr. Richard Johnson. It is a good sign that a new edition is required, for it shows that the first issue of the book was appreciated. It is hardly likely that every city is as fortunate as Hereford, with its Ancient Custom Book compiled by order of Henry II, its Charters, Proclamations, Account of Courts, Court Rolls and Bailiff's Compotus Rolls, in the time of the Plantagenet Kings, its Corpus Christi Processions, its Ancient Wills and numerous Royal Letters, &c., but every town has its archives of some kind, and probably their value is only not realized because they have not been properly investigated. It is the duty, no less than the privilege, of the custodians of such records to make them available for public use. There is nothing to be gained by their close keeping in rotten boxes, the prey of damp, decay and worm, and an accurate knowledge of their contents may often prove of signal legal value in this ultra-litigious country to the towns to which they belong. The example of Hereford is a cheering one, and we hope that the time is not far distant when civic Title Deeds throughout the country may be appreciated at their high value, printed as they ought to be, and the originals properly calendared and cared for. The price of the new edition in question is the modest sum of 10s. 6d. Names will be received by Mrs. Johnson, the Steppes, Eigne, Hereford.

FLEMING'S DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND, 1671.—In addition to the extra volumes issued from time to time under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, it is proposed to publish, under the direction of the Council, an occasional series of Scarce Tracts and MSS. of local interest. Under the valued editorship of Sir G. F. Duckett the publication of Fleming's original MS. in the Bodleian, with Notes and a full Index, forms the first of the series. An excellent example is here set which may well be followed by other local archaeological bodies. But some societies have already let the opportunity slip by, notably in that great and

historic Midland county where the fortunes of the Civil war were decided, and where the intelligent energy of a local bookseller has accomplished, unaided, the publication of many tracts of the highest interest and rarity. The reprint of Fleming's Westmoreland may be obtained from Mr. T. Wilson, 28, Highgate, Kendal, price 1s.

THE PRINCIPLES OF GOTHIC ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE, WITH AN EXPLANATION OF TECHNICAL TERMS AND A CENTENARY OF ANCIENT TERMS, BY MATTHEW HOLBECH BLOXAM. At the moment of going to press we have received a notice of the completion of this valuable work, for which we have so long looked. Few authors indeed have the privilege of bringing out the eleventh edition of a work of this nature, fewer still can count upwards of fifty years since the book made its first appearance. We believe the venerable Dr. Routh had this satisfaction late in his long life. Mr. Bloxam's work has of course constantly increased in value; it could not be otherwise in the case of an author whose eyes were open to antiquities of every kind, and whose busy brain and pen have never been at rest during a long life. We shall have occasion later on to revert at length to this welcome edition of "The Principles," so it may only now be mentioned that the new work also contains "Notices of the Internal Arrangement of Churches prior to, and the changes therein in and from, the reign of Edward VI, with a Brief Account of the Vestments in use in the Church, prior to, and the changes therein in and from, that reign," with numerous illustrations on wood.

MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE IN CUMBERLAND.—The general arrangements for the meeting of the Institute at Carlisle, on August 1st, under the presidency of the Bishop of Carlisle are now completed. The following are the names of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections: *Antiquities*—President, Mr. J. Evans; Vice-Presidents, Sir C. H. J. Anderson, Bart., the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., Mr. A. Mitchell, Mr. E. Peacock, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, and the Rev. Canon Simpson. *History*—President, Mr. E. A. Freeman; Vice-Presidents, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Rev. Mandell Creighton, the Dean of Ely, Mr. R. Ferguson, M.P., Mr. J. Heywood, Mr. W. F. Skene, and Mr. S. I. Tucker (Somerset Herald.) *Architecture*—President, Mr. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M.P.; Vice-Presidents, the Dean of Carlisle, Mr. G. T. Clark, Mr. C. J. Ferguson, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. J. H. Parker, and the Rev. Precentor Venables. The following places will be visited, amongst others, during the week:—Kirkoswald Church and Castle, "Long Meg and her Daughters," Brougham Castle, "Arthur's Round Table," Mayborough, Yanwath Hall, Lowther Castle, Penrith Castle, Dalston Hall, Rose Castle, Birdoswald Camp (Amboglanna), the Roman Wall, Lanercost Priory, "Towner Tye," Naworth Castle, Hexham Priory, Maryport, Housesteads Camp (Borcovicus), Northumberland Lakes, Melrose, Abbotsford, Dryburgh Abbey, &c.

* * * All persons who have it in contemplation to read papers during the Meeting are desired to communicate at once with the Secretary.

Members are particularly reminded that the Institute has removed to new rooms in Oxford Mansion, Oxford Street, London, W.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1882.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP
OF CARLISLE TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
INSTITUTE, HELD AT CARLISLE.¹

In discharging the important duty which has been imposed upon me to-day there is one department which commends itself to me as being easy and simple, another which I feel to be full of difficulty.

The easy and simple part of my duty is that which consists in bidding the Royal Archæological Institute a hearty welcome to the old Border City. Many changes have taken place since the Institute visited Carlisle in the year 1859. The lapse of twenty-three years, though it may seem trifling to an archæologist, necessarily leaves its mark upon both persons and things. It is pleasant, however, to think that all is not changed; we have the same veteran President; several of our distinguished visitors to-day were distinguished visitors then; and now, as then, we have a Ferguson of antiquarian proclivities occupying the chair of chief magistrate and prepared to maintain the hospitable character of "Merry Carlisle." It would not be possible to single out for distinct and individual welcome each guest whom we number amongst our distinguished gathering to-day; and therefore I will wish them one and all a joint and hearty welcome. I am sure, however, that I shall carry the feelings of everyone with me when I express my deep regret at the absence of one expected guest in particular, the distinguished Minister of the United States of America. Nothing but overmastering necessity could have prevented Mr. Lowell

¹ Delivered August 1st, 1882.

from keeping an engagement which I know that he was exceedingly sorry to forego. I wish that America could have been represented, and so worthily, at this meeting. America has not and cannot have the archæological atmosphere which belongs to England : but it is gratifying to feel that our American brethren and neighbours are ever willing to claim their share in the history of the old country, our common mother ; and I have often thought that we Englishmen may learn a lesson from the zeal and industry with which these same American brethren make themselves acquainted with the archæology of the country, for which they have still an unmistakeable and undisguised feeling of filial affection.

The difficult part of my duty consists in being compelled to pose for a time as an archæologist. I must frankly say that to this noble title I have no sufficient claim. If this confession should seem to cut my presidential chair from under me, I must throw the responsibility upon those who placed me in it. Or if it be impossible for one who accepts an office to divest himself of responsibility, I must fall back upon a plea, which I shall endeavour by the general drift of my remarks to substantiate, namely, that it is possible for a man, who has no claim to be regarded as an expert, to have sufficient general knowledge of the meaning and value of archæology, and sufficient sympathy with, and respect for, those who devote their best energies to its study, to enable him without conspicuous disgrace to fill the honourable post which your courtesy has assigned to me to-day.

In truth, as it is impossible for an educated man to live in Italy without gaining a love of art, or to live in Switzerland or our own lake country without becoming somewhat enthusiastic about natural scenery, so it would seem to be next to impossible to live in an old country like England, especially in this part of it, without becoming more or less infected by a love of archæology.

To go no further, take the City of Carlisle, "the local history" of which, as we have lately been told on high authority, "stands out beyond that of almost any other English city on the surface of English history."¹ Such

¹ Freeman's "Reign of William Rufus," Vol. i, p. 317.

a city is in itself a temple of archæology ; and though our complicated system of railways, and our grand new station, and our factory chimneys, have done much to vindicate our claim to respect in the minds of those who see things from a modern standpoint, still nothing can obliterate the interesting history of Carlisle ; and as her castle, her cathedral, her conventual remains, and some portions of her walls still stand as grand archæological monuments, so also recent examination has added to our knowledge and brought to light new treasures. I may mention in passing the discovery of the remains of a wooden stockade of Roman date in various parts of the city, corroborating the notion that the old Roman town was fortified, not with a stone wall, but with wooden defences ; of some beautiful bronze relics, notably, a bronze torque ; and of a large monumental stone, now in the Carlisle museum. Besides which discoveries belonging to the Roman period, it is only right to add that the careful restorations which have been effected by the Dean and Chapter, under the skilful and careful direction of the late much lamented George Edmund Street, have thrown light upon several points connected with the Cathedral and the Abbey.

Passing outside our ancient walls we find monuments of the past of the highest interest, English, Roman, British, in profusion. I will venture to specify those which have produced the deepest impression upon my own mind.

In the first place, it is impossible to pass from village to village in Cumberland without having the condition of things during the days of border warfare brought home very clearly to the imagination. It is not so much the existence of houses of defence like Rose Castle and Naworth, and the fact that almost every house of any magnitude contains its ancient tower, or peel, though now frequently disguised by modern improvements—not this so much as the fortress churches, which bring back vividly the pugnacious and unsettled condition of the country a few centuries ago. Such churches as that of Great Salkeld, of Dearham, of Newton Arlosh, of Burgh-by-Sands, tell a strange archæological tale. Perhaps in some respects the church of Burgh-by-Sands is the most interesting of those which I have mentioned. I may add

that the tale which this curious church tells is rendered more, rather than less, clear by a recent careful restoration. There you have the tower with its impregnable walls, the iron gate between it and the nave, the north aisle with its windows high above the ground, and with a western entrance commanded by an aperture in the impregnable tower, through which a small gun within the tower would pour forth its contents if necessary upon an attacking party with great comfort and sense of security to those who manned it. Altogether these fortified churches tell a strange and interesting tale. One of the grounds upon which Henry VIII was petitioned to spare the Abbey church of Holme Cultram was, that it was the only place of defence of the inhabitants against the marauding Scots.

But the interest which is connected with monuments of border warfare and records of early English and mediæval history, appears to me almost to vanish by comparison with that which attaches to the relics of the Roman occupation. A man has no need to be a skilled archæologist in order to be carried away by thoughts suggested by the Roman wall. May I say, in a parenthesis, how welcome amongst us is the Roman wall's historian,—much more welcome than the greatest of his name would have been in Carlisle in those days to which I have just now referred? I will venture to assume that most of us are acquainted more or less with Dr. Bruce's magnificent volume; and assuming this, I will say boldly that to my own mind no monument of the past in our island seems to be comparable in grandeur and intensity of interest with the Roman wall. The identification of the various stations by means of the *Notitia*, the light thrown upon the wisdom and craft of the great nation by the employment of foreign troops, so arranged as to guard against conspiracy, the military skill evinced in the formation of a continuous road guarded by the wall from bitter foes on one side and by the vallum from questionable friends on the other, the beauty of much of the masonry now as good as when first built, the evidence of a large population living in luxury and refinement in a country now waste and wild,—these, and a hundred other points, which present themselves to persons of ordinary in-

telligence, seem to bring home to the mind Roman days, Roman power, Roman cleverness, Roman luxury, in a way in which books without such illustration frequently fail to do. A visit which I was permitted to make a few years ago to Chesters, and a day spent under the auspices of Mr. Clayton and Dr. Bruce at Borcovicus and the neighbourhood, seemed to me almost sufficient to convert the most utilitarian admirer of the nineteenth century into a devout archæologist. It is a curious comment upon the transient character of some of man's greatest works, that the commonest record of the Roman wall down south should be found in the London advertisement of "Best Wallsend Coals !"

It would be wrong, however, to limit the testimony of the Roman occupation of this part of Britain to the great wall. Even without taking account of its principal treasure, this neighbourhood would be rich in Roman antiquities. Especially I may refer to the remarkable discovery of Roman altars made at Maryport in the year 1870. No less than seventeen were found within a circular area of about twenty yards in diameter. And it is a striking fact that they were almost beyond doubt carefully deposited where they were found ; they seem to have been hidden on some critical occasion, in order to save them from desecration. If this be so, we may congratulate the Romans upon their success, for so I think that security for some sixteen centuries may properly be called. An altar of Vulcan, which Dr. Bruce pronounces to be almost, if not quite, unique in Britain, would seem to have been an unconscious prophecy of the West Cumberland iron trade.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the existence of the spirit of which the Royal Archæological Institute is a chief embodiment, will be effective in saving from injury or destruction some of the Roman relics which it is not easy to preserve by any direct agency. Complaints have been made in recent years of injury done to the inscriptions on the Gelt Rock ; and the county history contains a record of an inscription in the quarries near Rose Castle, which has so completely disappeared that I can find upon the spot not even a tradition of its existence. It seems to me strange, though possibly some good reason may be

assigned for the fact, that in the Bill, "for the better protection of ancient Monuments," introduced by the Lord Chancellor, and now before Parliament, the schedules contain nothing Roman.

It would be impossible, as it is unnecessary, to specify all the interesting marks of the Roman occupation and the relics of Roman civilization which abound throughout the district; but I will just refer to the remains at Ravenglass, because recent excavations, which have discovered the hypocaust, have placed the ruins there existing upon a firm Roman basis, which I suppose they previously occupied only in the minds of experts.

Passing from Roman antiquities, I may congratulate archæologists upon the remarkable discovery of the sculptured stone with Runic inscription at Brough under Stainmore, and upon the additional light lately thrown upon the well known cross in the churchyard of Gosforth. Doubtless we shall hear something upon both these subjects before the Carlisle meeting comes to an end.

It is matter for perhaps more than local satisfaction, that all the recent discoveries to which I have referred, and many others, are duly chronicled in the "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society."

The archæological wealth of this district in reality constitutes a subject with which even an archæologist would find it difficult to deal in a short address; I, who am not an archæologist, shall feel content in bringing my survey to an end with a notice of something which has lately been done in this diocese, and of which I believe that the Institute will approve.

I refer to an examination which has been systematically made of the ancient church plate existing in the diocese. The results of the labour expended upon this work have been far more interesting and remunerative than was at all expected when the design was formed. I need not specify these results, because they have been recorded in a volume, which I believe is published almost at the same moment as that which is signalized by the visit to Carlisle of the Archæological Institute, and of which I trust that many members will purchase a copy. Besides this, I may mention that some of the most interesting specimens of

plate will be exhibited in our temporary museum. Amongst these may be specified a beautiful mediæval chalice, which I am able to commend to your notice as being one of about a dozen specimens known at the present time to be in existence.¹

Might not the example of the Diocese of Carlisle be followed with advantage elsewhere? I ask the question with all modesty; but I will not pause for a reply.

Instead of doing this, I will occupy your attention for a few minutes with some remarks of a more general kind than those which I have offered hitherto. The time has gone by in which archæology can be confounded with antiquarianism of the Monkbarns type. We recognise that archæology, being in reality the science of past time, is the basis of history, of politics, even in a certain sense of religion itself. The discovery of a coin or an inscription leads not merely to the enrichment of a museum of curiosities, but perhaps to the settlement of some historical doubt, or even to the re-writing of some chapter of history. And even apart from historical and kindred studies, some knowledge of what may be called archæology would seem to be in our own days a necessary possession of every man—and may I add every woman—who lays claim to what may rightly be called a liberal education. Indeed, so far from archæology being a special possession for which certain eccentric persons of Dry-as-dust proclivities may be regarded as holding a patent, it is not too much to say that every well-educated person is in some degree an archæologist, though, like M. Jourdain in the matter of speaking prose, he may not have been always aware of it.

Such a person goes into a picture gallery. He may not be an expert, but he will almost certainly have made himself acquainted with the leading facts connected with the early development of pictorial art in the Low Countries, in Germany, in Italy; he will know something of the names and histories and characters of the early masters, and of the schools which they founded: he will take an intelligent view of art, because he knows something of its history. Is not this archæology?

¹ In his handbook of "College and Corporation Plate" (1881), Mr. Cripps says, "Some eight or ten are all that are

known to remain of these beautiful chalices with their patens." A few more have, I am told, been since found.

And I suppose that the same thing is true of music. Of course we may in a certain sense enjoy music without knowing anything about it, especially if the music in question has the simplicity of "Cherry Ripe," or the patriotic associations of "God save the Queen;" but if we wish to go beyond the mere tickling of the ear and the ignorant expression of satisfaction at a pretty tune, we must know something of the early masters of sound, must have traced the growth of musical science, and so have become in a mild form musical archæologists.

This fact is perhaps realised more distinctly in the case of architecture than in that of any other art. Architecture without archæology is manifestly mere confusion. There is plenty of knowledge of course which still remains the property of the architectural expert; but the larger number of educated persons, on going into a building like our Cathedral, feel themselves at home with the different styles of arches and windows that it contains; they will not grossly confound one date with another, they will see at a glance the rough history of the building, and so far forth they will prove the existence in their minds of archæological knowledge.

May I give an amusing instance to show that in this respect improvement has been made in recent years?

In the course of your visit to Carlisle you will doubtless see the Fraternity. The recent restoration has brought into prominence the pulpit, in which in olden days the reader stood for the edification of the brethren at their meals. It would be difficult now to mistake the purpose of the pulpit; but till lately it was popularly known as "the Confessional," and in order to carry out this view the artist who has drawn the pulpit for Billing's "Illustrations of Carlisle Cathedral" has represented a woman kneeling on the floor below!

I have remarked already that archæology extends even to politics and religion; and this is indeed true. I do not know upon what principle men settle the colour of their politics, or whether they all adopt the same principle, or even whether it can be asserted that principle of any kind universally enters into politics; but I am sure that anyone who would take an intelligent view of public affairs must not be content to regard the present condition of this

country, and its constitution, and its mode of government as something which can be examined in the abstract, without reference to the complicated history upon which it rests and out of which it has grown. A politician must have a grasp of history, and history is archæological or nothing.

Nor is there anything unreal in extending these remarks, as I have done by anticipation, to religion itself. The complicated relations of churches and sects, the justification or the condemnation of the position taken up by this or that religious body, the hopes or the fears connected with any apparently new but perhaps essentially old development of doctrine or practice—all these, and many like things, can be intelligently judged only by the man who has gone deeply into the stores of Christian antiquity, and qualified himself for forming an opinion upon the present by a careful and candid study of the past. A sound divine must have other qualifications; but he may not omit to make himself a sacred archæologist.

And what shall we say of science—at least of some of its branches? Surely we may say this, that geology and the sciences allied to it have opened up a hyper-archæological chapter in the history of the world. The works of man carry us back into a very ancient past: here in this country we have magnificent remains of Roman civilization, and those remains testify to a previous civilization, if civilization it is to be called, of which we have relics in our British mounds and monuments; and the ruins of Troy, and the wonderful monuments of Assyria and Egypt, not to mention other countries, carry us back to a period when Roman power was yet in the womb of time; and the recent evidences of prehistoric man carry us further still into the dim darkness of ancient days; but the geologist can smile at archæology such as this, and can tell of days when as yet neither man or his works existed, when the fauna and flora had nothing in common with what we now see, when the mountains which now are were not, when the arrangements of land and water were totally different from those which exist now. Archæology such as this, however, is not for us to-day; and indeed there is plenty to occupy an archæologist without trespassing upon ground which belongs to others. In an old country like this

archæology is almost in the air: the names of places, Carlisle, Aspatria, Dovenby, Torpenhow,—of mountains, High-street, Illbell, Silverhow,—of churches, S. Mungo, S. Bees, Ninekirks—of families, Howard, Muncaster, Le Fleming, Curwen, Senhouse,—these names of places, and persons, and things, together with all the *bys* and the *casters* and the *thwaites* and the *kirks*, seem to suggest, even to the most quiet, unimaginative mind, the almost necessity of asking questions as to the way in which names and things have come to be such as they actually are.

But there is archæology nearer at hand than this. Shall I be pardoned if I say, that we have before us a remarkable study in archæology every time we read a page of a printed book?

The type is *Roman* letter; it is as genuine a relic of of Roman civilization as the Roman wall itself, and a witness of the days when we borrowed from our conquerors characters in which to express our language, which was not theirs. But what is the language printed upon the page? a composite result, as we all know: what geologists would call a conglomerate: a Teutonic basis, with bits of French, Latin, Greek, it may be Arabic or Hebrew, imbedded in it: so that to account for every word in an ordinary page of an ordinary English book would be a tolerably stiff exercise in what is virtually archæology, even to a well educated man. But there is a still more curious piece of archæology existing on the page. In the corner you find a number: it is not in Roman figures, but in what we commonly call Arabic: and the complete explanation of these Arabic numerals carries us into the antiquities of India, the ingenuity of ancient Indian mathematicians in inventing what is called the *device of place*, and the manner in which Indian science travelled to the west through Arabia, this transmission being connected with the conquests of the great Arabian prophet, and so forth. The complete explanation of all the phenomena presented by an ordinary page of an ordinary English book would form materials for a stout volume of an Archæological Journal.

But I must hasten to draw this address to a close, lest perchance the earliest part of it should become so ancient,

as compared with the latter, as to try the patience even of professed archæologists. Shakespeare makes his sententious philosopher in "As You Like It," speak of *sermons in stones*: and I will conclude my archæological remarks with one or two reflections extracted from a stone.

The stone shall be one in the walls of the Church of Burgh-by-Sands, to which I have already incidentally referred. It is a stone which has apparently been in its present place for many centuries, and must have looked much as it does now when King Edward I. was here, and when he died hard by. Plenty of rough work in the way of border warfare that stone has seen. But there are certain marks upon it, which open up another chapter in its history: experts will tell you that it is a Roman stone, and a very little experience will enable any ordinary eye to detect this fact. The stone then has been taken, like many others, which you may single out here and there, from the old Roman station, the existence of which the name of Burgh attests; and so we see that when our stone looked upon Edward I, or when Edward I. looked upon it, it was already an antiquity of respectable standing; it had then been quarried, say, a thousand years, and had witnessed many and strange vicissitudes of men and things. But if we trace the stone further still, and consider how it came to be in the quarry, from which it was taken by the hands of the Roman soldier or quarryman, we shall find perhaps that it was formed from pre-existent materials belonging to a condition of the world not one thousand but a thousand thousand years previous: and so we have archæology beyond archæology, and archæology beyond that: our stone tells us not merely of mediæval history, nor even of Roman residence in Britain, but it bears in its structure evidence of formations and transformations going on under the influence of the powers of nature in the dim distance of the mysterious past. All things are comparative, and the portion of history with which archæologists are concerned is an almost inappreciable moment in the life of this stone.

Under the influence of such a contemplation archæologists may well feel, that after all they belong to the present more than to the past. I will take advantage of

this feeling for the purpose of saying, that the most recent event in the history of Carlisle has been the preparation which has been cordially and laboriously made for the due reception of the Royal Archæological Institute. I trust that the event though recent, with its present and future results, will prove interesting even to the most orthodox archæologist who honours Carlisle with his presence.

ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF ALGERIA.¹

By the Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, P.R.I.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

I do not presume to describe in detail the antiquities of North Africa. They are too numerous and multifarious. I shall confine myself to a selection of some of the most interesting monuments, and point out how the inscriptions illustrate the history and administration of this important province.

Two countrymen of our own have led the way, and in spite of natural prejudices and antipathies the French antiquaries do full justice to the discoveries of Shaw and Bruce.

Since the conquest of Algiers, the French, although they have in many instances rivalled their predecessors the Vandals, in the destruction of ancient monuments, have produced some very learned and zealous inquirers. They have formed several provincial Antiquarian Societies who have done good work in preserving many ancient relics, and have published valuable journals. The Society of Algiers has published the *Revue Africaine*, which contains an immense mass of information, and the Society of Constantine publish a still more interesting *recueil*.

Among the many contributors to these journals, Messrs. Berbrugger, Cherbonneau, Dr. Leclerc, Dr. Reboud, the late Baron Aucapitaine have been the most remarkable; and for Arabian history and antiquities the late Baron de Slane, M. Brosselard, and M. Feraud the present Consul at Tripoli, with many others, have contributed greatly to our knowledge of the troublous times which succeeded the Moslem conquest. I should be unjust if I omitted to mention the name of our learned and zealous Consul General, Colonel Playfair, to whose excellent

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Carlisle Meeting 'August,' 1st, 1882.

hand-book of Algeria I am much indebted for some of the details in the present address.

I presume that all my auditors are well acquainted with the geography of North Africa. I shall merely remind them that, previous to the Roman conquest, the sea board from Cyrene to the Straits of Gibraltar, was occupied by the Carthaginians and their colonies. They never seem to have conquered Cyrene, which always remained Greek, and the inhabitants of the interior of the country enjoyed a kind of semi-independence, under the name of *Massyli Massosyli, Gætulæ*, and generally the name of *Mauri*.

After the destruction of Carthage, the district comprised in the kingdom of Morocco and Algeria was divided between the descendants of Masinissa and Bocchus, but ultimately was reduced to the state of two Roman provinces, under the name of Mauritania Tingitana and Cæsareansis. There were subsequent sub-divisions which it is needless to advert to.

The Romans, however, never gave up the province of Carthage, now the Regency of Tunis, but it became a proconsular province and was generally styled *Africa*.

Many stirring events occurred during the Roman dominion, until the invasion of the Vandals, and the ultimate conquest by the Arabs utterly subverted the government of this dependency, and in great part destroyed the advanced civilisation of one of the richest and most prosperous provinces of the Roman Empire.

I shall not enter into the history of Arab times or the civil wars between the different Berber Emperors; ultimately Barbarossa extinguished them, and subjected Algiers, Bougie, Constantine, and Oran to the rule of a horde of Turkish mercenaries, who, like Arabi Bey, plunged the country into anarchy and oppressed with a cruel yoke all classes of its inhabitants.

In considering the antiquities more in detail, I shall first mention what traces we find of the different occupiers of this country.

1. The *Libyans* were the aborigines, according to the most trustworthy accounts of themselves. The present Kabyles and Berbers are with great probability supposed to represent this race. Although many tribes may be

mixed with Roman, Vandal, and Jewish blood, they have many traditions which confirm this supposition. They speak also a Berber language, perfectly distinct from the Punic and Arabic, and many Berber inscriptions are found in a peculiar character which Messrs. Faidherbe and Hanoteau have proved to be closely allied with one still existing in one of the most numerous African races, the Touareks. I shall not attempt to treat the physiological branch of the subject. When I come to treat of the Dolmens, I shall consider their relation to them.

2. The Carthaginians have left considerable memorials of themselves. I am not aware of any building in Algeria that can be said to belong to them, but numerous inscriptions in Punic and Neo-Punic have been found at Viel-Arzu, Jol Cæsarea (now Cherchell), but the greatest number at Guelma (the ancient Calama), and Constantine; El Hofra, near Constantine, contained 130.

3. The Romans. I shall speak at greater length of their remains in a subsequent part of this address.

4. The Vandals. I am not aware of any remains which can with any certainty be ascribed to them, unless some of the Christian inscriptions belong to this period.

5. The Saracens. Most interesting remains of them still exist, principally at Tlemecen, but I shall not treat of them on the present occasion.

In describing the pre-Roman tombs, the Royal tombs claim the precedence, and I shall therefore give you a short account of the remarkable monuments called the *Tombeau de la Chrétienne* and the *Medrasen*.

The *Tombeau de la Chrétienne* is a circular building of stone, about 131 feet in height originally, now about 100 feet 8 inches. The base is 198 in diameter and forms an encircling *podium* of a decorative character, presenting a vertical wall with 60 engaged Ionic columns; surmounted by a frieze and cornice of a simple form. The colonnade has at the cardinal points 4 false doors, the four panels of which producing what may have been taken for a cross, probably contributed to fix the appellation of Christian to it. Above the cornice rose a series of 33 steps which gradually decrease in circular area, giving the building the appearance of a truncated cone. The whole monument is placed on a low platform.

There have been various attempts to penetrate into the interior. The tombs have been rifled, but were never thoroughly explored till Messrs. Berbrugger and Macarthy were charged by the late Emperor Napoleon to give it a thorough investigation, and they have published an interesting report.

In the interior a large gallery was discovered, which wound round in a spiral direction, gradually approaching the centre, where are two sepulchral vaulted chambers separated by a short passage, and shut off from the winding passage by stone doors, consisting of a single slab capable of being moved up and down by levers like a portcullis.

Pomponius Mela mentions it as *monumentum commune Regiæ gentis*, and it is supposed to have contained the remains of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene his wife. He obtained from Augustus the half of his father's kingdom, and his capital, instead of Cirta, became Jol-Cæsarea (the modern Cherrhell.) The tomb is very near that city.

In one of the small chambers, there were found some Egyptian beads and the fragments of an Egyptian necklace, which confirms the idea of Cleopatra having been buried there. She evidently kept up her Egyptian traditions as an Egyptian statue of Isis has been found at Chirchell.

The *Medrasen* or *Madrasen* near Batna is perhaps still more interesting. It is certainly more ancient than the *Tombeau de la Chrétienne*, and the latter was evidently an imitation of it.

Like the tombeau, its form is that of a truncated cone placed on a cylindrical base 193 feet in diameter, the total height is 60 feet. The lower portion, which forms a vertical encircling zone or ring, is ornamented by 60 engaged columns, of which one half are now perfect. The upper part gradually diminishes by a series of steps. The columns are stunted; they rest on three steps which serve as base both to the monument and the columns.

The capitals are Doric, and above them is an entablature, with a large bold *cavetto*, as if of Egyptian origin.

At the east end also, a rectangular enclosure has been discovered, similar to the one attached to the *Tombeau de la*

Chrétienne. It probably served for depositing the corpse before burial or for burning it.

The exterior masonry is very fine, the stones of great size, well cut, and close fitted, and each stone joined to its neighbour by a massive clamp probably of lead, the search for which has greatly contributed to the destruction of the building. A central chamber has been discovered, but nothing of interest was found in it, as it had been previously rifled.

It has been popularly called, and is so still by the natives, the tomb of Syphax, and it figured at the great Paris Exhibition of 1861, where there was a large model of it, under his name. But in all probability it was a tomb of the Numidian kings, probably of Masinissa. The date B.C. 150 has been assigned to it. Some believe it to have been erected by Masinissa himself, others by Micipsa.

This tomb has been compared to the *mausoleum* of Augustus and also to that of Hadrian to which it bears some resemblance, but it resembles more the tomb of Alyattes near Sardes and some of the Etruscan tombs.

I shall not dwell much on the Libyan inscriptions, but merely state that they are found in very many localities. At the cemetery of Chorfa between Constantine and Guelma 18 have been found, and near Souk-Arras (ancient Tagaste) 49. Drs. Judas and Reboud have been very active in collecting them, but I hardly believe that they have made much progress in decyphering them.

The Dolmens, certainly in great part, belong to a very early period. They are very numerous at Roknia (near Hamman-Meskitin). There are said to be as many as 1200, but they are mostly small, and none of them have inscriptions. They have also been found at Sigus, Ben-Merzoug, Nemencha, Omm-el-Ashara, Djelfa, Ras-el-Akba, Oued-Berbes, Formel Mabuk, and Mc Guib near Bona and other places.

M. Masqueray, in his report to the Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1878, speaking of the ruins of Ain-Ghnab in the Sahara, says that there are found megalithic monuments with a cover, and supporting stones worked and apparently derived from Roman ruins.

In one place there is found a kind of sarcophagus and surrounded by a circle of stones which show that it is

Berber and megalithic. The megalithic monuments found in the neighbourhood of Madid, Guelma, &c., are very numerous, and it would seem that they have been built at different periods down to the introduction of Islamism. Articles of bronze and even iron are said to have been found in them, and in one instance a medal of the Empress Faustina.

Near Negrim, at the ruins of the ancient Besseriani, a manufactory of flint instruments or weapons has been discovered.

I should not do justice to this part of the subject if before concluding I did not give some account of Dr. Reboud's ingenious theory for determining the age of the Dolmens of Rocknia.

He excavated 28 of these, and found in them bones, and mixed with these thousands of dead snails, those contained in the *humus* which lined the bottom of the tombs were of extinct forms. But he found of the *Helix aspusa* 7 species extinct and 20 very rare. Their form strongly resembles those common in the north of France. The conclusions he draws are as follows:—"Ces espèces n'indiquent, que peu à peu, le climat de Rocknia est devenu plus sec et plus brulant, que petit à petit, les forêts, ne recevant assez d'humidité, ont disparu, enfin que ce pays a fini par devenir, ce qu'il est aujourd'hui, sec et chaud."

The average height of the thermometer at Rocknia is, according to him, $17^{\circ} 50'$, and comparing it with that of Paris, $10^{\circ} 1'$, he says:—"Il y a donc entre le climat des régions Algeriennes où s'elevent les monuments dolméniques et celui du nord de la France une difference de $7^{\circ} 50'$ et 95 jours de pluie, ce qui implique pour l'Epoque du deblayement des *tumulus* au pays de Rocknia, une temperature près de deux fois plus froide et deux fois plus humide."

I cannot go into all his curious calculations, but the upshot is that in order to create the difference of climate which is proved by the snails, it is necessary to allow a period to have elapsed which would carry the date of these Dolmens to B.C. 2200.

He accounts for these climatic changes, by—

1. The variation of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit,

2. The variation of the obliquity of the ecliptic.

3. The precession of the equinoxes, combined with the movement of the apsidal line.

The antiquities of the Roman period are much the most numerous and important. The whole soil of Algeria and Tunis is thickly studded with the remains of Roman cities, municipia and villages, even in the Sahara. They mostly belong to a late period of Roman domination. But a considerable number of inscriptions appertain to the era of the Flavian family and the Antonines. They became almost innumerable at the period of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and are very frequent during the succeeding emperors and the Byzantine period. The remains consist of—

1. Amphitheatres ; almost every town appears to have had one. There is still in tolerable preservation one at Cherchell, the ancient Jol-Cæsarea, and I have counted as many as twelve in the Province of Tunis.

2. Temples. But few of these have been preserved in Algeria, until the French occupation there was a considerable one at Cherchell. And there are still remains of temples at Lambessa and Tebessa.

3. Triumphal arches. It appears to have been the fashion for *decuriones* and other municipal officers to erect them in honour of the reigning monarch. There are several remaining at Lambessa and Tebessa.

4. Waterworks. The Romans did not neglect this important matter, one of life and death to the agriculturists of Africa. There are considerable remains of an aqueduct at Cherchell, and also at Constantine. There are also some remains at Lambessa and Tebessa. Besides the aqueducts, there are numerous wells, and canals for irrigation which owe their existence to this intelligent people.

4. There are numerous remains of fortifications of this period ; all the principal towns were fortified. At the present time there are some traces of them on the walls of Constantine, and there are numerous forts which have been restored during the reign of the Byzantine Emperors.

But few of the Roman colonies or municipia appear to have struck coins, and those who did so were partially Car-

thaginian, as appears by their Punic inscriptions. However there are a few with Latin inscriptions such as Cæsarea, Cirta, Hoppo-Diarrhytus and Utica. Carthage, I need hardly mention, struck a great many, and some are of great beauty, evidently copied from the medals of Panormus, Agrigentum and Syracuse.

Many statues have been discovered, particularly at Cæsarea, Rusicada and Lambessa, but they seldom are of much artistic value, and the best have found their way to the gallery of the Louvre.

Numerous mosaics have been found and many of them both curious and effective. Those found in the tomb of Præcilius, which I believe do no longer exist, were among the most remarkable.

There are not as many remains of Christianity as might be expected, but the remains of several basilicæ, one, a very remarkable one, at Tebessa, and also one at Orleansville, bear witness to the conversion of Africa. In the cemeteries also Christian inscriptions are not rare.

I have not yet mentioned the cemeteries which are most important and have produced an immense number of inscriptions. Messrs. Reiner and Willman have formed large collections. The latter, under the auspices of the Academy of Berlin, has printed as many as 10,098, and every day fresh ones come to light. I may however observe that they are not confined to Algeria, a great many belong to Tunisia, and there are numerous milliary and votive inscriptions.

I shall now consider the inscriptions, which form the most instructive portion of Roman remains, and I shall endeavour to glance at the many subjects connected with Roman dominion and administration, and also the manners of the people on which they throw light.

First, the public inscriptions.

The *Duumviri* or *decuriones* of the African colonies, particularly during the reigns of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and also the later ones, Constantine, Constantius, Valentinian, and even Honorius were in the habit of erecting triumphal arches with honorary inscriptions to these emperors.

The adulation and falsity of some of these is inconceivable. One would pardon them for speaking of the

reign of Constantine as *beatissimo sæculo*. But it is incredible that men could have the impudence in the time of Valentinian and Valerius to speak of their *beatissimis temporibus*. Evidently Valerius had not then been defeated and burnt alive. They speak of Honorius and Theodosius II in the following terms—*beatissimis temporibus dominorum nostorum Honorii et Theodosii semper et ubique vincentium*. I suppose that Rome had not then been sacked. Perhaps it had.

But few Greek inscriptions have been found in Algeria. However, there were two very curious ones at Constantine. They are honorary and are dedicated to P. Julius Geminus Marcianus, legatus Augustorum, by the Βουλὴ καὶ ὁ Δῆμος Ἀδρανῶν Πέτρα της Αραβίας. He appears to have been prætor or proconsul at this city, the site of which does not seem to be very certain.

From these inscriptions a long list of local African deities can be compiled. The principal ones are—

1. *Aulisva* at Tlemeæn (Pomaria).
2. *Aulus* at Aumale (Auzia).
3. *Molmanius* at Lambessa.
4. Bacac at Djebel-Taia.
5. Baldir at Guelat-bon-seba near Guelma.
6. Malagbel at El-Kantara near Biscara.
7. Goddess Gelva at Guelma.
8. Eruc at Khubet-Guidra near Sesteia.

Besides very numerous protecting *genii* of different colonies.

A considerable portion of these inscriptions refer to soldiers, particularly those in the neighbourhood of Lambessa, which for some centuries was the head-quarters of the 3rd Legion Augusta. They illustrate in a remarkable manner the works of Vegetius, and mention the names of officers whose existence was hardly known.

Besides the Roman legion, there was a large force of provincial levies or auxiliaries, who appear to have been collected from all parts of the empire, and even beyond it.

I have found the names of the—

Breuci, Sicambri, Cimbriani and Marcomanni (evidently Teutonic).

The Celtæ and Britanni.

Astures and Hispani.

Bracæ (Portuguese).

Sardi.

Delmattæ.

Pannonii.

Commageni.

Thraces, and

Parthians who were *Equites sagittarii*, and who formed two bodies, *seniores* and *juniore*s.

Two Palmyrene bilingual inscriptions have been found which probably belonged either to the Parthians or the Commageni.

Municipal inscriptions. Many of these refer to their officers.

Q. Quadratus held offices in the Cirtean Confederation (Cirta, Rusicada, Chullu and Melev.) A votive offering on his part to Bacchus informs us that he presented a statue with a chapel to his God, and also the sum of 20,000*hs* when he was *decurio*.

Another gentleman of Cirta who had obtained the honour of *edilis*, *triumvir*, *quinquennalis*, besides paying the regulation sum of 20,000*hs*. for each office, presented to the town the statue of the goddess *Securitas* with its tetrastyle chapel, a statue of *Indulgentia Imperatoris*, and another of *Virtus principis*. He also erected a triumphal arch and gave seven days of theatrical representations and *missilia* to the four colonies.

He must have been enormously rich and his example is an instructive one for our immaculate boroughs. In such cases, it was usual for the cities in return to present their benefactor with a *public horse* and a statue with a complimentary inscription.

These inscriptions have shown a very curious statistical fact—the great longevity of the Romans in Africa. Dr. Leclerc has made a curious summary of his examination of these funeral records.

He reckons 90 deaths between the ages of 90 to 100, and 230 between 80 and 90. Confining himself to the Province of Constantine, he reckons 37 between 100 and 107; between 108 and 125, thirteen; and one of 126, one of 127, one of 131, and one of 132.

I will now give a selection of some of the most curious funeral inscriptions.

The most remarkable one that has been lately discovered is that of Præcilius, a centenarian, and a goldsmith of Cirta or Constantine. His tomb was a most interesting one, of considerable size and adorned with mosaics and statues. However, the French have allowed it to be gutted and destroyed. He was not a modest man, although supposed to be a Christian. He left a long epitaph in verse, not the most classical, in praise of himself. I shall not quote it at length but only a few lines—

Hic ego qui taceo versibus meam vitam demonstro.
 Lucem claram fruitus et tempora summa
 Præcilius, Cirtensi lare, argentariam exhibui artem,
 Fydes in me mira fuit, et veritas omnis
 Omnibus communis ego. Cui non misertus ubique?
 Risus, luxuriam semper fruitus cum cari amicis
 Talem post obitum dominæ Valeriæ non inveni pudicæ
 Vitam; cum potui gratam, habui cum conjuge sanctam,
Natalis honeste meos centum celebravi felices.

Here I am, silent, describing my life in verse.
 I enjoyed a bright reputation, and the height of prosperity.
 Præcilius by name, a native of Cirta, I exercised the art of a goldsmith.
 My honesty was proverbial, and I always adhered to truth.
 I was civil to all men, and what distressed man did I ever refuse to succour?
 I was always gay and hospitable to my dear friends.
 But a great change came over me by the death of the virtuous
 Lady Valeria. As long as I could, I enjoyed the sweets of holy matrimony.
 I have celebrated my hundredth happy birthday.

The domestic funerary inscriptions form the most numerous portion, and certainly appear to prove that the Romans were a domestic nation.

I will begin with one which appears to have been erected to an Irish woman and her husband who was probably a Briton—

D. M. S.
 CANTONI
 VS FELIX VE
 VIX ANN LXII
 MVI Et AuRE
 LÆ IBERNNE
 VIX ANN LVII
 BALLANTVS
 FLVS EORA
 H. S. E.

Sacred to the gods manes. Caius Antonius Felix
 a veteran, he lived 62 years six months, and Aurelia,
 native of Ireland, who lived 67 years. Erected by
 their son Ballantus.

Ballantus resembles an Irish name.

This was found at Ain-Csar near Lambessa,

Maria seems to be a name used by heathens as well as Christians.

D. M.
MARIA Q
VNTILLA
VIXIT ANN
OS LXXXV

Here is another—

HIC SITA EST AMYMONE
MARCI OPTIMA ET PVLCHERRI
MA LANIFICA PIA PVDICA
FRVGI CASTA DOMISEDA

I think it hardly possible to exceed that.

Here is one which shows that ladies were not cyphers in their households—

JVLLE CONIVGI CARISSIMÆ
ET BONO CONSILIO DE QVA
NIL QVEROR

D. M.¹

GEMINIA INGE
NVA VNIVIRA CONSE
RVATRIXDVLCISSIMA
MATER OMNIVM
HOMINVM PARENS ORN
BVS SVBVENIES INNOCE
NS CASTISSIMA PRÆSTA
NS RARISSIMA VALXXXI
TRISTEM ME NEMINE
O. V. B. Q.

I could quote these affectionate inscriptions by hundreds. I will, however, give you those epithets which I generally found applied to wives—

Rarissima,
Obsequentissima,
Benegnissima,
Carissima,
Sanctissima,
Dilectissima.

Wives seem to have been equally flattering to their husbands, and styled them—

Rarissimo,
Carissimo.
Incomparabili,

and in one instance

Obsequentissimo.

Here is an example for the present generation.

¹ This lady's merit was having had one husband.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE KEEP OF COLCHESTER CASTLE.

By G. T. CLARK.

When Hubert of Rie, standing at early dawn between the church and his castle,

“Entre li moister e sa mote,”

welcomed, harboured, and under the escort of his three sons, sent forward his hard bested lord by the road still known as “Le Voye le Duc,” he probably little thought that the incident would become matter of history, and still less could he have anticipated the splendid reward, for this and other faithful services, his sons were to receive, twenty years later, from that same sovereign in a foreign and then unconquered land. Whether Hubert himself took part in the conquest is unknown: he certainly did not desert his mote and mostier in the Cotentin for any English possessions, but of his sons, Ralph and Adam received lands as under tenants in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Kent; and Eudo, called by Dugdale the fourth son, but the principal representative of the family in England, appears in the Survey as tenant in chief of 64 manors in the counties of Beds, Cambridge, Essex, Hants, Herts, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, and Suffolk.

Of these manors 25 were in Essex, in which county Eudo, entitled from his office “Dapifer,” resided, and his possessions there lay in twelve of its twenty hundreds. In Colchester the lordship and demesne of the town were held by the king. Eudo’s interest there was but moderate, consisting of five houses, 40 acres of land, and a claim to the fourth of certain lands held “in elemosina Regis.” How he maintained his military position we are not told, or why he settled in Colchester. The only Essex castle mentioned in Domesday is Rageneia or Ralegh. “In hoc manerio fecit Suen suum castellum,” nor do any of the old mottes, of which there are several, as Bures,

Great Birch, Ongar, Plessy, and Stansted, appear to have belonged to Eudo. His office of Dapifer or Sewer he held under the Conqueror and his two successors, and he so witnessed a charter by William at Honfleur in 1074, and others by Rufus in 1093, and by Henry the First. Though described as "Dapifer Domini Regis totius Angliæ," he seems to have belonged to the ducal not the royal court, for the Sewer of England, according to Spelman, was the brother of Robert Fitz Hamon of Morganwg, who appears in the Survey in Colchester and elsewhere as "Hamo Dapifer." It is related that in consequence of the high character borne by Eudo the burgesses of Colchester moved William Rufus to place him in charge of their town. That he was so placed appears from a document quoted by Dugdale, and his connexion with the place is shewn by the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, in which, among other entries relating to Colchester, are items for "the lordship of the king's ploughlands of the land of Eudo Dapifer, 8s. 10d," and from "the farm of his land, paid into the treasury, £91 3s. 0d." This was after Eudo's death, when Hamo de Clare was in charge. As the crown held the lion's share of the town, Eudo's position there must have been supreme. His first step was probably to build a castle, and upon his own land, for when in 1096 he founded St. John's Abbey, one of its endowments, specified in the foundation charter, was "omnes proventus capellae, in castello de Colcestria," which endowment is described in a confirmation by Richard the First (1 R. I) as "capellam castelli Colcestre, cum decimis et obventionibus," explained by Morant to have consisted in tythes of certain lands in and about the town.

Eudo's rank, as an Essex and Colchester land owner and the king's representative in the town, might very well induce him to erect a castle there. The position was a good one for a district destitute of any very striking inequalities of surface. It was within the Roman area, and covered on two sides by the Coln. The ancient wall, originally Roman, had been repaired by Edward the Elder, and included the town and the proposed site. A legendary document, quoted in the *Monasticon* [i, 724], states that Eudo built the castle

on King Cole's foundation ; " in fundo palatii Coelis quondam regis," which may be taken to shew that there was an older building on the spot. If so it must have been Roman. Most of the chief towns in England contained a castle constructed long before the arrival of the Conqueror, though not a building of stone, and of these strong places the king or some great Norman baron usually availed himself, substituting, as occasion served, Norman masonry for the earlier and less perfect defences. Sometimes the castle was within the circuit of the town, as at Chichester, Chester, Leicester, and Lincoln, Roman cities with English additions ; sometimes it was outside the town wall, but abutting upon it, as at Carlisle, Warwick, and Winchester. In each case the castle had its own proper defences, so that while, on the one hand, it could be held with the town against a common foe, on the other it could be held against the town, and used to overawe the citizens. Here the castle was placed within the Roman area, in its north-eastern quarter, and stood, not improbably, on the site of some considerable Roman building, to which the existing sewers are thought to have belonged.

Eudo died in 1120 at his castle of Preaux in Normandy, and was buried here at St. John's. He lived, therefore, twenty-four years after his religious foundation, and somewhat more than that time after the construction of his castle. He was also the founder, sometime in the reign of Henry the 1st, of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, in the suburbs of Colchester. He married Rohaise, whom Dugdale in his *Baronage*, citing Will. of Jumiéges, calls the daughter of Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, and widow of Fitz Gilbert, an error which, admitted into the earlier, is corrected in the later edition of the *Monasticon*, whence it appears that Rohaise was the daughter of Fitz Gilbert and a preceding Rohaise, and was married to Eudo in her nonage, " ante habiles annos nupta est." She laid the second stone of St. John's, Eudo himself laying the first. The issue of this marriage was Margaret, Eudo's sole heiress, who married William de Magnaville, and was mother of Geoffrey Earl of Essex, and in her right seneschal or sewer of Normandy. Geoffrey, who played his cards to great advantage

between Stephen and the Empress Maud, received from the latter the lands of Eudo Dapifer in Normandy, with the office of Dapifer, and an option, under certain circumstances, of the lands of which Eudo died seized in England. These, however, he does not seem to have obtained; in the contemporary Pipe Rolls they are accounted for as in the Crown, and they do not appear in the Inquisitions on Geoffrey's descendants.

The castle, which from the endowment of its chapel must certainly have belonged to Eudo, came into the possession of the Crown. Morant cites a grant of it by Maud to Alberic de Vere, from an early edition of the *Foedera* (xiii, 251), but there is no such deed in the later or the latest edition. He also cites a deed in his own possession, of the reign of Richard or John, shewing that with other demesne manors the castle of Colchester and the Hundred were in the king's hands, and in the custody of the sheriff of Essex. In Stowe's *Annals* mention is made of a certain Hubert de St. Clare who warded off an arrow from Henry the First at the siege of Bridgenorth in 1165 at the cost of his own life, and whom Stowe calls Constable of Colchester, and adds that the king gave his daughter to William de Lanvalai. William, who was an Essex baron, certainly obtained the Constablership from King John (2 John), by a payment of 200 marcs. He died 12 John, leaving William his son, who was made Constable 17 John, but soon after joined the rebels. His daughter Hawise was afterwards given in wardship to Hubert de Burgh, who married her to his son John. King John visited the castle six times, in 1203, 1205, 1209, 1212, 1214, and 1216, staying three days during his two penultimate visits, and eleven days during his last visit. In 1214 Stephen Harengot was in charge in succession to Matthew Mantell; also Hugh de Albemunt, carpenter, had an order for 23 marcs for work done, to which, in 1215, 20 marcs were added for repairs, and the burgesses were informed that Harengot was responsible for the king's rents. In April of that year Harengot was to have timber from a wood near the town, for its defence, "ad illam claudendam," and Hugh de Neville was to permit the same. In July, John's suspicious character led him to substitute for Harengot William de

Lanvalai, who had married, as already stated, the daughter of a previous Constable. In this year the castle was besieged and taken by Saher de Quincy, who also burned the town. Both were afterwards recovered by King John.

In March, 1216, is recorded a list of one hundred and thirteen persons, knights, squires, and attendants, cross-bowmen and foot-soldiers, from their names probably French mercenaries, to whom the king gave a safe conduct for a passage from the castle of Colchester to London. In April Harengot was again in charge, and in August he had a credit for 100 marcs out of a fine due of a thousand. This was for the payment of the garrison of the castle. In November, 1217, Richard de Mont Fitchet was ordered to give William, Bishop of London, seizin of Kingsworth wood belonging to the castle of Colchester, and to remove thence his own servants. In July, 1218, the king's bailiffs of Colchester were to respond for the farm of the town to the bishop, as they had used to do when Harengot held the castle. The bishop was at that time negotiating for the king with the French invaders, who for a time actually held the castle. After John's death the bishop (Oct.: 2 H. III) had a credit on the farm of Colchester for £20 expended "in waristura" (munition) for the castle. In 1222 the sheriff of Essex, then in charge, was to transport certain timber, cut by the Constable of Dover Castle, to the port of Colchester. In January, 1223, the bailiffs of the town had credit from the exchequer for 100s. advanced by them to the constable of the castle. The Exchequer seems to have guarded the revenue closely, for in 1224 the Bishop of London is called upon to refund £20 paid to William, late Bishop of London, for the repairs of the king's castle of Colchester. In April, 1225, the Prud-hommes, "probi homines," of Colchester are to hand over the farm of the town to the constable for the repairs of the castle. The Bishop of London seems occasionally to have had charge, for in 1227 he is ordered to send to the king some person who may be trusted to deliver over the castle from the bishop to the king.

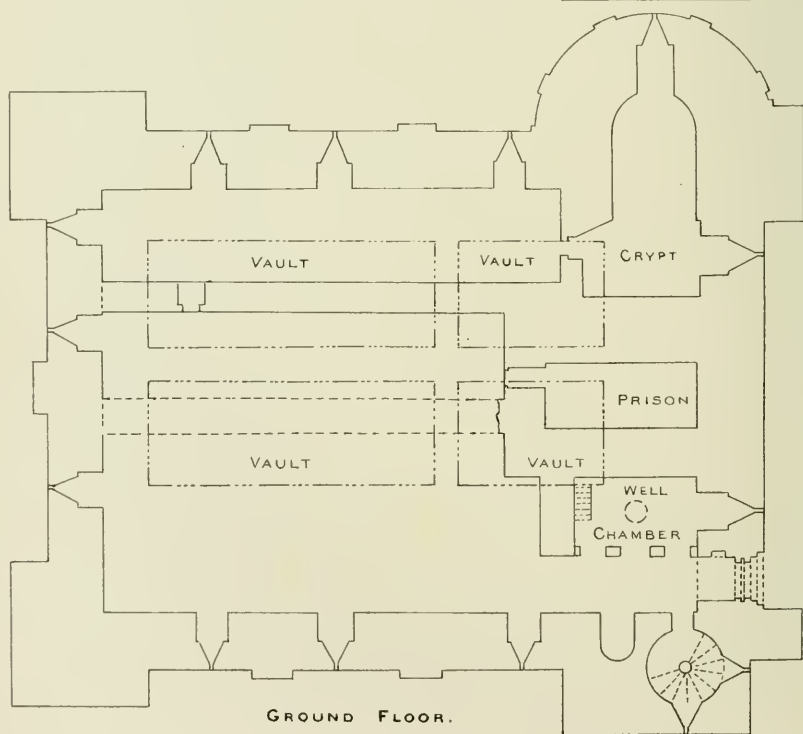
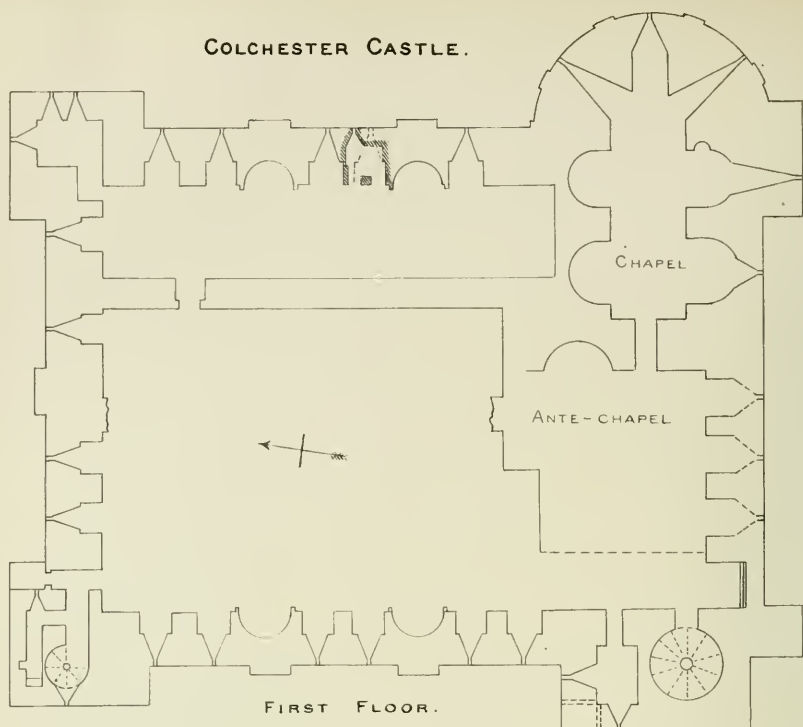
Hubert de Burgh seems at one time, with the wardship of Hawise de Lanvalai, to have held the Constable-

ship of the castle ; so that though not actually hereditary, some regard seems to have been had to descent. De Burgh was dispossessed in 1232, and was succeeded by Stephen de Segrave, and he by Thomas de Clare, who was constable in 1265-6, when 12 June, 1256, Henry the Third granted the castle and the fee-farm of the town to Guy de Montfort for life, he maintaining the castle in repair. He was one of Henry's unpopular foreign favourites, and was deprived in 1258. William de Wayland followed, who, 18 December, 1273, resigned it to John de Burgh, the last who held the office with any shadow of hereditary claim. In 1275 it was held by Richard de Holebrook, and immediately afterwards the castle became the county prison, in charge of the sheriff, and ceased to possess any military value. In 1347 some of the prisoners taken in France were lodged at Colchester ; no doubt in the castle.

The constable of the castle was also steward of the hundred of Tendring, and bailiff of the same, holding courts for the several manors composing it. The castle was perfectly independent of the town, and like most castles so situated was extra-parochial, and had a separate jurisdiction. Seventeen manors were appendant to it, and paid suit and service at its court. In matters spiritual it was connected with St. John's. It appears from an Exchequer judgment in 1290, that the abbots of St. John, who received the tythes forming the endowment of the castle chapel, were wont to provide a chaplain, who celebrated the offices three days in each week, either in St. Helen's Chapel or in the King's Chapel in the castle, as the constable might direct. Long afterwards the abbot was fined 12 marcs for having neglected this duty. St. Helen's Chapel stood, and indeed, though desecrated, still stands about 100 yards N.E. of the keep, and just outside the line of the castle wall.

As the castle ceased to possess any military value it was from time to time granted away to various persons. Henry Duke of Lancaster, son of Henry IV, had it in 1404. Henry VI gave it to his queen, and Sir John Howard had it for life from Edward IV. In those days about 160 acres of land passed with the castle. In 1496-1509 it was held by John Earl of Oxford. Its final alienation was by James I,

COLCHESTER CASTLE.



who gave it in fee, in 1629, to Hay, Earl of Carlisle. The immense thickness of its wall and its central position led to its being held for Charles in the war with the Parliament, when its commander was Sir Charles Lucas, a member of a local royalist family, and the descendant of the grantee of St. John's Abbey lands. The siege and capture by Fairfax and the subsequent military executions are well known matters of history. The enceinte wall was probably then pulled down, and the castle rendered untenable. Soon afterwards what remained was sold to a person named Wheeley, who attempted to pull down the keep, with only partial success. Since then it has been in the Gray and Round families, and has been properly cared for, as indeed it still is.

DESCRIPTION.

The keep, the only remaining portion of the castle, is a peculiar and, in many respects, a very remarkable structure; remarkable for the unusually large area which it covers; for its want, even in its original state, of a proportionate height; for the arrangement and design of its parts and details; for the materials of which it is composed; and for the workmanship by which they are put together. Not only is its origin disputed, but the purpose for which it was constructed is still the subject of a controversy, the settlement of which can only be effected by the internal evidence afforded by the building itself, the minute details of which possess on that account peculiar interest.

It is in plan rectangular, and, at its interior ground level, which is also, very nearly, that of the top of its spreading plinth, it measures, exclusive of its six projections, 152 feet north and south, by 111 feet east and west, and with its projections 171 feet by 146 feet. The two northern angles are capped by two rectangular turrets, of which the north-west is on the west face 29 feet broad with 8 feet projection, and on the north face 30 feet with 8 feet projection. The north-east turret is 29 feet on the east and 27 feet on the north face, with projections of 8 feet. The south-west turret projects from the south end of the west wall 14 feet, and has a breadth of 40 feet. The south-east turret occupies a similar position on the

east front, but is in plan a half circle with a diameter or breadth of 50 feet, and a projection of 25 feet. The south wall has a buttress on its face at each end. That at the east end is 20 feet broad by 8 feet projection, and that at the west end 12 feet broad by 8 feet projection. This latter protects the entrance.

On the longer or east and west faces are two intermediate pilasters 8 feet broad by a foot projection, and on the north face one pilaster 8 feet broad by 18 inches projection. Against the semi-circular turret are placed four pilasters 4 feet 10 inches broad by a foot projection, and at the springing two half pilasters 2 feet 5 inches broad. Turrets, buttresses, and pilasters, with one exception, rise to the present summit unbroken by set off or string course. The exception is the north-west turret which, at the first floor level, is reduced on its north face from 30 to 24 feet, the six feet forming a shelf or landing for an entrance door. The plinth is carried round the building and capped by a plain chamfer. Below this the walls spread laterally inside and outside, until at a depth of some 30 feet they have a base of about 30 feet. The part above ground was cased with ashlar which has been stripped off. This excessive depth and breadth of foundation is very unusual. The two northern turrets are solid to the first floor level, as are the two southern buttresses, one indeed being solid throughout. The south-west turret contains a well-staircase which ascends from the basement to the summit. The south-east turret contains a crypt at its ground level.

The space within the walls, measuring 126 feet by 87 feet, was unequally subdivided. A portion, in width from 36 to 40 feet broad, was walled off at the south-end and occupied as an entrance passage, a well chamber, a prison vault, and the crypt beneath the chapel. The space northwards was again sub-divided into an east, west, and middle compartment by two walls running north and south. The eastern compartment, 91 feet by 22 feet, was aired rather than lighted by three loops in the east and one in the north wall. One of these loops was in the last century converted into a door, but has since been walled up. The central loop is now a door. In the south end a small doorway leads into the crypt.

This compartment was entered by a doorway in the cross wall, 3 feet 9 inches broad, but having a rebate for a door. The wall is 7 feet thick. The middle compartment was 80 feet long by 15 feet broad, but its western wall, which was 7 feet thick, was removed, it is said, in 1683. A trace of it remains at the south end, and at the north end a projection in the wall shews that the door of communication was at that end. This compartment has a single loop in its north end, and in its south end a doorway leading into the prison vault.

The western or larger compartment from which the others were entered was 90 feet long by 36 feet broad. It had a loop in its north end, and three in its west side. In its south wall was probably the inner doorway corresponding to the main entrance. It is said that there exists a pit or drain beneath the floor of this chamber, a sewer from which, of Roman construction, passes westward through the wall towards the river. The loops throughout this ground floor are of one pattern. They are round-headed, six inches wide, in the end of a splayed recess which opens by a set-off into a flat-sided recess seven feet wide and three feet six inches deep. These recesses are round-headed, and rise from the floor-level about twelve feet. The recess and the arched head are constructed mainly of tiles. The set-off or reveal is of ashlar. All the arches throughout, of both doors and recesses, are round-headed. The three compartments were covered in with whole timber joists supporting the floor of the upper chamber. The ground floor was about fifteen feet high, and, save the vault and crypt, seems to have been intended for stores.

The main entrance is on this floor, at the west-end of the south side. A doorway of seven feet seven inches opening was flanked on each side by two niched columns with plain bases and capitals, with stiff foliage of Norman character. Above the capitals is a plain chamfered abacus. The head is composed of three members, each a bold roll or bead. The two inner members spring from above the capitals, the outer member, with a dripstone worked in two bands of half circles, springs from the abacus alone. The abacus is stopped within the portal by a square groove for a portcullis, probably of iron, behind which is a rebate

for a door with a hole for a stout wooden bar. Five or six steps, now concealed or gone, led up to this doorway, nor are there any traces of a drawbridge. Within the portal, in the wall, here fourteen feet thick, on the left, is a small round-headed niche, the flat sides and back of which are carved with low bas-reliefs of certain bishops and saints, including St. Christopher. They are fairly executed, and probably the work of some ingenious porter.

The door opens into a lobby or entrance passage 12 feet broad by 36 feet long. The right hand wall is an open arcade, modern, but probably representing an older wall, shutting off the well chamber. The south end is now open but was crossed by a wall 10 feet thick, which no doubt contained the inner door leading into the great ground floor chamber. On the left is first the door of the great staircase, then a niche 8 feet broad and 9 feet high and 7 feet deep, and semi-domed. A short passage, vaulted and groined, leads into the great staircase, a cylinder 16 feet diameter, with a newel of 2 feet. It has loops to the south and west, and forty-seven steps lead to the present summit. At the twenty-third step a passage with three steps branches off to the first floor.

The well chamber, 15 feet by 26 feet contains the well, now closed by a pump. It is 5 feet diameter and 65 feet deep, and was lined with ashlar, of which the upper part has been stripped off. The well was discovered in the last century. It is said that in it was observed a lateral culvert, intended as a waste pipe to carry off any overflow that might otherwise injure the foundations. In the south wall was a recess 8 feet broad and 7 feet deep, round-headed and semi-domed, now a window. Probably the buckets stood in it. Here also a modern stair descends to the vaults. The well chamber is not vaulted. Next east, separated by a wall 9 feet thick, is the prison; this is a barrel-vaulted chamber 15 feet by 30 feet, entered from the middle compartment by a doorway of 3 feet opening; it supports the ante-chapel. East again of this vault a wall, 13 feet thick, divides it from the crypt. The western part of the crypt, the cross limb of the T, is rectangular, 14 feet by 28 feet, vaulted and groined, and entered from the eastern compartment; it has a loop in its south wall. The stem of the T is the

crypt proper, 31 feet long by 14 feet broad and 14 feet high to the crown of its barrel vault. Its east end is semi-circular and semi-domed. A loop in the centre of the apse has been converted into a window. In this crypt is said to be a drain falling southwards towards the river. This completes the account of the ground floor.

From the staircase a door opens into the lobby above the entrance passage, and which was probably of the same size. At present the east and north walls are modern. The south end of this lobby is occupied by a flat-sided and flat-backed recess, 10 feet broad, 10 feet deep, and about 12 feet high, which has a chink or chase in its floor for the passage of the portcullis. As the recess is wider than the grate there are no lateral grooves. Above is a cavity where was inserted the ring or hook whence the grate was suspended. On the left of the staircase door is a smaller door which opens into a garderobe which shares the turret with the staircase. It is 15 feet 6 inches long by 10 feet 4 inches broad, barrel-vaulted, with loops to the west and north, and beneath each a seat and a shoot in the wall. The loops have been enlarged into windows, and the chamber is used as a record room. Outside, in the north wall of the turret, close to its junction with the curtain is a bold deep bracket, composed of seven stones and a tile, at the top projecting about a foot, which may have supported the shaft of a garderobe from the battlements. or may have been connected with some sort of bretasche or timber erection. Its use is not clear. The east wall of the lobby divides it from the modern library which stands over the ancient antechapel, and was probably the principal private apartment in the keep. It had three recesses, no doubt with loops, in its south walls. Two are now windows, and one a fire-place. Outside this chamber, to the north, is a modern corridor, the space of which was apparently a part of the antechapel. In its east wall is a round-backed niche 10 feet broad, through which a passage has been broken, most injudiciously, into the chapel. From the antechapel a lofty round-headed doorway opened into the west end of the chapel.

The chapel is composed of a nave and apse, and of four

lateral recesses or side chapels. It is in length 45 feet and in breadth 15 feet, and 17 feet 6 inches high to the crown of its barrel vault. The apse is semi-circular and semi-domed, of the same height with the nave. The westernmost pair of recesses are 14 feet wide and 12 feet deep, with semi-domed ends. The eastern pair are 11 feet wide and 11 feet and 14 feet deep, and both semi-domed. In the east wall of the south recess is a niche as for a side altar. The lateral vaults are accommodated to the main vault. The groins or lines of intersection are plain. The apse has a central recess, now a window, and two lateral smaller recesses with loops, unaltered. As the walls are everywhere very thick and the five original apertures could not have exceeded eight inches, the chapel must have been more than usually dark. It contains no ornamentation of any kind, not even an abacus or plinth. The masonry appears to be rubble of a very ordinary character. It is thickly plastered. This is a very curious and rare example of a castle chapel.

The first floor, north of the chapel and the entrance lobby, is divided into a larger west and a smaller east chamber. The eastern chamber is 21 feet by 88 feet, the western 61 feet by 100 feet, the increase of size over the lower area being due to a slight reduction in the thickness of the walls.

The eastern chamber is entered from the western by a doorway in the dividing wall. In its north end is a loop, in its east wall two fire-places; north of the one are two loops and one south of the other; between them is a fourth loop and a mural garderobe. This chamber, 3 feet 6 inches by 9 feet 3 inches, has an eastern recess 3 feet wide, and in it a small loop beneath which is the seat, and a shoot opening in the wall. There are two doors opening from the main chamber 3 feet 3 inches apart. It is probable that the chamber was divided by a partition of wood, so that there was a fire-place in each room, and the garderobe was common to the two with a door opening from each. The north-east turret here contains a vaulted chamber, 13 feet by 10 feet and 16 feet high. It has one loop to the north and two to the east, now broken into one. In the west wall is an indication either of a fire-

place never completed, or of one walled up. This was probably a bedchamber.

The western chamber may possibly have been subdivided like the lower floor by a wall raised upon that now removed; and an unequal space between the loops in its north wall favour this view. More probably, however, the wall was not so raised, and the irregular space may be caused by a wish to keep the loops clear of the external pilaster. The chamber, supposing it to have been of the full breadth, had four loops in the north wall, and in the west wall two fire-places, having two loops between and two beyond each, six in all. The fire-places are spacious, round-headed, with rounded backs set with tiles on edge in herring-bone pattern. They stand in a broad pilaster of a foot projection, and are quite plain. They are of tile, of one pattern throughout, and at a height of about 14 feet the flue is stopped, and divides into two branches which open in the face of the wall, one on each side of the pilaster, in the hollow angle, as at Rochester. These fire-places do not seem to have had any hood. Over one of them is a sort of weather moulding of tile, which looks as though part of a hood, such as is still seen over the west door of St. Botolph's Church. There is, however, a second fragment on the jamb of the fire-place, which could not be part of a hood. These are probably the remains of the weather mouldings of the roofs of cottages built within the area of the keep after the whole was gutted and laid open. The loops of this floor, like these below, are of one pattern. A recess, 7 feet wide, flat-sided and round-headed, commences at the floor level and rises about 14 feet. At a depth of 3 feet 6 inches is a rebate or reveal, from which commences a splayed recess, ending in a loop eight inches wide.

In the north wall, at its west end, is a plain doorway and a recess corresponding to a doorway in the outside of the wall which opened upon the shelf already mentioned as in the east face of the north-west turret. This shoulder formed a landing, 6 feet by 8 feet, whence a staircase descended by a face of the wall to the ground. The walls shew where the staircase was let into it by the discontinuance of the regular coursing, but this also shews the staircase to have been an afterthought. The original

staircase was probably of wood. The door has evidently been walled up from an early period. In the west side of this doorway is a smaller lateral doorway opening into a groined lobby, which leads into a staircase and a garde-robe, which occupy the north-west turret. The garde-robe is 7 feet by 2 feet, with a loop to the east and the seat and drain to the west, and in the north wall a recess as for a lamp. A few feet south of the seat and its shoot a second shoot is seen in the outer wall. This probably belonged to a garderobe in the battlements, now gone. The staircase is a well, 6 feet diameter, of which twenty-four steps remain. It evidently led from the first floor level to the summit. The fragment of the turret seems to shew that the original height of the wall was about 32 to 36 feet. This and the main staircase are cut short by the removal of the upper 5 feet or 6 feet of the wall. They open upon the present top of the wall, which has been levelled, and a slight battlement and rear wall built to make the walk safe. There does not seem to have been a second floor.

Some years ago, about 1683, the then proprietor of the Colchester, ignominiously known as having removed the upper part of the walls and gutted the interior of the building, discovered that a part of the ground floor rested upon vaults. These he opened and examined, and they are still accessible. The vaults are two in number, built side by side, each 22 feet wide and 96 feet long. They are crossed by a wall 6 feet thick, and thus formed into two vaults of 60 feet and two of 30 feet. The wall between them is 8 feet thick. When discovered they were full of earth, so full that it was evident the contents of the foundations had been heaped and used as a centring, the arch being turned upon the earth. Of one vault the roof is flat, held up by the mere cohesion of the masonry. These vaults had no original entrance and were evidently works of construction only, not intended to be used. Several breaches were made so that one vault can be entered from another, and a breach was also made in the north wall of the keep below the exterior ground level, through which a good deal of this soil was removed, and thus the cavities admit of a partial examination. The masonry is wholly rude rubble, composed of large pebbles

and boulders and fragments of stone, uncoursed, and with a very free use of mortar. The vaults are described as pointed, but the excessive rudeness of the work, and the nature of the centring would account for any irregularity in the figure of the arches. To the eye they appear rudely semi-circular. That these vaults are of the date of the keep is evident from their relations to the other walls, part of which rest upon them. The present entrance is in the floor of the well chamber.

For some reason, possibly from an apprehension of defective foundation in a wet sandy soil, it seems to have been thought necessary to take extraordinary precautions against an unequal settlement of the parts of the keep. Hence probably the extensive area, the low altitude of the walls, and the excessive breadth of their foundations. Hence, also, probably, the decision to elevate the floor of the interior above the exterior ground, by the use of vaulting. If such was the cause of these unusual precautions, the result has been perfectly successful, for there is no mark of subsidence anywhere to be seen.

Although a main entrance at the ground floor level is by no means unknown in Norman keeps, and is found at Carlisle, Ludlow, and Bamborough, it was not usual, and an examination of the present entrance at Colchester leads to the conclusion that it was not originally so here. It is evident not only that the present ornate doorway is an insertion, but that the outer part of the wall above has also been taken down for a considerable height, and clumsily rebuilt. This was done to allow of the insertion of a portcullis. Without this it would have been sufficient to remove the lower masonry only, but the grate required head room when raised, and to gain this a more extensive alteration was necessary. Immediately above the drip stone are a few courses of ashlar, derived no, doubt, from the old work, but above this the wall is of very inferior uncoursed rubble, very different from the regular courses of stone and tile seen in the wall on either side. When the outer door case was inserted the wall within was also lined with ashlar, and the ring stones of the inner arch and of the entrances to the great staircase were also so cased. Above, the recess into which the portcullis was lifted is of tile and evidently original, but the floor with the aperture or chase, and the flat back of the recess are

later. In all probability there was originally a recess with perhaps a loop where the great doorway now is, and there was certainly a recess above, with probably a loop also. When this door was opened, in the latest Norman period, the original entrance on the first floor, in the north front, was probably walled up, as it still remains. It has been suggested that the great doorway replaced a postern, but posterns in Norman keeps were very unusual indeed, especially at the ground level, and there seems no reason for supposing one here. Probably when the keep was constructed there was no enceinte wall, but when this was built, the keep became far more secure, and as it was convenient to have an entrance from the town side, the change was made.

There is something to be said for the pertinacity with which this keep has been asserted to be a Roman building. Not only is its design peculiar, but this is also the case with the material employed, and in some degree with the workmanship. The walls, though cased with ashlar on the plinth, and though ashlar is largely employed in the quoins up to the first floor, contain great quantities of the large square thick tile so characteristic of Roman work. Moreover, these tiles are mostly whole, as though they had not been employed in an older building, and they are laid in bonding or chain courses, single, double, triple, and even in four courses, with intervening bands of cement stone in small rudely squared blocks. Sometimes the tiles are laid on edge, sometimes slightly inclined, with here and there a tendency to herring-bone, and the greater part of the interior dividing wall is regular herring-bone, and a very fine example of it. Most of the recesses within the walls were not originally looped, and are round-backed and semi-domed, which is unusual in Norman keeps. Outside the building, high up in the walls, are traces of a number of apertures or perhaps only sunken spaces, about 2 feet 6 inches square. One of these is shewn in an early drawing as containing a sun-dial, no doubt an insertion. It has been supposed that these represent tablets with an inscription, but there is no evidence for this. What they were for it is difficult even to guess.

All these features, and some others not actually present, have been adduced to justify the opinions of General Roy, King, and others, in favour of the Roman origin of the

building, which is asserted to have been constructed to contain and guard the shrine of a Pagan deity, and afterwards to have been converted by the Normans into a fortress. Such conversions of Roman buildings into mediæval fortresses were, no doubt, common enough in Italy and France, and not unknown in England, as at Pevensey and Porchester, but nevertheless there scarcely seems ground for supposing this building to be Roman, or other than a Norman keep.

The combination of the rectangular plan with angle turrets and intermediate pilasters of slight projection is distinctly and peculiarly Norman. As to the unusual dimensions of the building, in size and height Norman keeps varied considerably, from Clitheroe and Goderich up to Norwich or London. The projection of the turrets also varies from mere pilasters as at Bowes and Scarborough to regular turrets as at Dover and Kenilworth. The half-round projection and the chapel within are indeed rare, being confined to Colchester and London, but no one conversant with the smaller Norman churches could hesitate to class these among them. The spreading plinth is also a Norman feature, and is seen at Norham and Kenilworth. Thick and solid walls at the ground floor are also common. One of the most usual Norman arrangements was to place at one angle a well-staircase communicating with each floor and with the roof, while at another angle was a similar staircase commencing at the first floor.

The Norman entrance, though sometimes on the ground floor was more usually, as originally here, on the first floor. Neither was it always protected by a fore-building. Neither Goderich, Clitheroe, nor Chester were so protected. The well in Norman keeps, though often in the wall, was also found in other situations. At Norwich and Castle Rising it was within the area, and at Bamborough. Mural chambers, especially for garderobes, are common in Norman keeps, especially at the first floor level. Here are three, and a larger chamber, besides the chapel and antechapel. The shoots of Norman garderobes usually open on the face of the wall, the lower stone projecting a little to keep the filth clear of it, as at Ludlow and Carlisle. The opening of the flues of the fire-places upon the face of the wall, close to a pilaster, is a purely Norman device. The use of loops on the first floor, though with large splayed

recesses, is also Norman, and a part of the jealous system that pervaded their keeps. Usually it was only at the second floor that the loops became windows. In Norman keeps the floors were almost always of timber, the joists being supported, when necessary, by post or props, as seen at this day in the Tower of London.

As to material the use of new and clear and unbroken tiles by no means shews a work to be Roman. Those of St. Botolph's Priory Church were evidently never used before. The only conclusion is that they were manufactured in imitation of those introduced by the Romans. Neither is the mortar that usually described as of Roman composition. It is decidedly white or light in colour, with a great preponderance of sand, so much so as in some parts to have prevented its setting. Where the mortar is in masses it may contain fragments of tile or stone, but there is no trace of pounded brick in its composition. It is generally ill-mixed, and contains large fragments of sea shells. The putlog holes in size and position are such as are usually observed in buildings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though probably not confined to them. The soffits of the vaulting of the staircase and mural chambers everywhere are impressed deeply with the figure of the boards used as centring, or what is called technically lagging. The carpenters' work in Norman keeps seems to have been very rudely performed, and the rough boards were spread over thickly with mortar to bring them to a surface. This is well seen at Colchester.

Taking all these features into consideration there ought to be little doubt that Colchester keep is a Norman structure, built probably about the close of the eleventh century, by one of the sons of Hubert de Rie

The keep is the only part of Colchester Castle now standing. The wall enceinte has long been removed, probably about 1650, but its general line to the east, north, and west is indicated by three earth banks. To the south the ground has been levelled. The entrance from the town was on this side. This was the main gate, but there was also a second. The area thus enclosed appears to have been rather above three acres. Various Roman remains have been discovered within and about this area.

ROMAN BEDFORDSHIRE.¹

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

As might be expected from the smallness of the county the vestiges of Roman remains in Bedfordshire are not very numerous, although some of them are of much interest, in an artistic point of view.

At the time of the Roman invasion by Claudius, A.D. 43, the county was comprised within the territories of the *Catiuchlani*.² Of its history at this period we know nothing, though it must have shared the vicissitudes of the times, along with its neighbours, no doubt suffering severely with them, on the suppression of the Boadicean insurrection.

As in other portions of the kingdom, the first work effected by the conquerors was the making of roads. These, then, let us first consider.

The principal one is the Watling Street which runs through the south-western portion of the county in a direction from south-east to north-west. Entering it from Hertfordshire, at a place called "Market Street," it proceeds north-westwards through the town of Dunstable, at which it is crossed by the "Icknield Way" running from north-east to south-west. It runs under the large British camp at Maiden Bower, with the adjoining Roman one, past "Kates Hill," and passing to the left of Battlesden and Portgreave, leaves the county about a mile to the south-east of Little Brickhill. On all this part of its course the modern turnpike road runs upon it, a distance of about ten miles.

The second road of importance is the "Icknield Street," which, after passing through portions of Cambridgeshire

¹Contributed to the Antiquarians Section at the Annual Meeting at Bedford, 1881.

² or *Catvallauni*.

and Hertfordshire on the borders of this county (and passing through a camp called Willbury Hill), enters it for a short distance near Ickleford; then again leaving it and passing through a part of Hertfordshire, re-enters it a little to the south of the camp at Ravensburgh Castle (Herts), and crossing the turnpike road from Luton to Bedford continues on the side of the hills between Great Bramingham and Limberley over Seagrave Marsh, through Dunstable, where it crosses the Watling Street and continues its course south-westerly into Buckinghamshire. The Bishop of Cloyne, speaking of this road in vol. i, p. 25 (Bedfordshire portion) of Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, says "It is by no means so direct in its line as Roman roads generally are; it shews no tendency (where it remains in its primitive state) to pass through Roman towns, nor are such towns found on it, at distances suited to travelling; it does not appear to have been ever raised or paved (the peculiar and infallible mark of the roads constructed by the Romans) and in many parts of its progress it divides itself into several branches, but nearly all parallel to its original course. These reasons added to its name, which is British, give great countenance to the opinion that it was a trackway of the ancient inhabitants," before the Roman conquest, "in its course from the Icenî," the inhabitants of the eastern counties "from whom it took its name."

This, I need hardly say, is the conclusion come to by modern archæologists as to this road. That the Romans improved it and used it for their own purposes is equally certain. The Bishop also says of the point at which it crosses the road from Luton to Bedford, "Here a branch seems to bear to the right, through Great Bramingham and Houghton to the British town of "Maiden Bower." Whether any traces of this branch still survive I am not aware. It is just about one hundred years ago, since the Bishop traced it.

The third road enters the county at its south-eastern corner, near Radwell. The modern road from Baldock to Biggleswade is upon its site, until nearly six hundred yards beyond the forty-fourth milestone, where it turns to the left to pass through Biggleswade, the Roman road keeping straight on. This is close to "Spread Eagle

Farm." The road during this distance has passed close to Astwick, over Topler's Hill and by Stratton.

From the point of divergence, at "Spread Eagle Farm," the Roman road passes on by Sportmead and Stratford to the station at Chesterfield (Sandy.) In this part of its route it is much interfered with by the Great Northern Railway, which in some places trenches upon it. After passing through the station it leaves it at the north-east portion, and leaving "Cæsar's Camp" to the left, passes between "Hawksbury Wood" and "Lord's Wood," along the "Hasell Hedge," past "Waterloo" and "Gibraltar" to the "Low Farm" which it passes through. Beyond this and a little on its left is a "Cold Arbour," and a mile further it crosses the modern road from Gamlingay to St. Neot's at almost right angles, and enters Huntingdonshire, proceeding to Godmanchester. It is still traceable through the whole of the route, but when the Bishop of Cloyne examined it must have been much more so, for he says (*Magna Britannia*, vol. i, p. 27), "From the north-east part of the station (Sandy) near the banks of the Ivel, this road is continued through a small valley, leaving the British camp (*i.e.*, Cæsar's Camp) before mentioned on the left hand, and another hill which has been dug up for a stone quarry, on the right, straight to a hedge row, which runs down through a piece of land to a small copse in the bottom, from whence it continues equally straight, first a boundary between Mr. Pym's land and Sandyfield, and then entering some inclosures crosses the road from Everton to Tempsford, then passes through a farmyard (leaving the house on the left) belonging to Governor Pownall, and through some more inclosures, to a farm-house belonging to General Parker, which stands upon it; then through another inclosure to Tempsford Marsh (or as it is called the Cow Common), after passing which it ascends the hill close by a barrow or tumulus (almost the invariable attendant on Roman roads), which is planted with trees and known by the name of the Hen and Chickens, then straight by the side of the hedgerow, leaving Hardwick on the right and crossing the road from Gamlingay, and that from Cambridge to St. Neot's, proceeds not far from Toseland, leaving the Offords on one side and Papworth and Yelling on the

other, to the village of Godmanchester, allowed to be a Roman town, and supposed by many antiquaries to be the scite of the ancient *Durolipons*."

We have here to consider another road, which unfortunately, owing probably to the progress of agriculture, &c., cannot now be traced, or if any traces are still visible they would require persons living in their neighbourhood to point them out. The Bishop of Cloyne says of it (p. 28)—"A very considerable military way has been also observed coming from the Isle of Ely to Cambridge, and visibly tending to the borders of Bedfordshire in a direct line for Sandy. This road, though in some parts obscure, is supposed with great probability to have passed through Hatley and Potton to our post at Chesterfield, and Dr. Mason (our most intelligent tracer of Roman roads) has continued it on the western side of the station, in a line bearing towards Fenny Stratford; the country is so deep that no person, except he is well acquainted with the neighbourhood, and has an eye accustomed to these pursuits, would have any chance of following it with success; but I am clearly of opinion, from the general bearing of this road where it is still visible, that it formed a part of a great Roman way, leading from the eastern coast of England towards Wales, between the two British ways, the Ikening and Rykning; but of this I mean to speak more at large when I come to treat of the course of the Akeman Street in the counties of Bucks, Oxford, and Gloucester."

Owing to the death of the Messrs. Lysons the *Magna Britannia* commencing alphabetically (as to counties) stopped short at Devonshire, and the Bishop's remarks as to Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire were never published. I have for many years endeavoured to trace his MSS., but so far in vain. In his account of the Buckinghamshire roads, he however again slightly returns to the subject (*Mag. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 484), where he says, "With respect to the real course of the Akeman Street in this county, while some adopt the conjecture of Stukeley, that in its way from Alcester it passed not far from Winslow and then by Fenny Stratford, there are others whose opinion I prefer, who suppose it went to the north

of this route by Hide Lane near Buckingham, Stony Stratford, Stanton, Newport and Bedford to Sandy."

It is singular that Stukeley agrees with the Bishop as to the route of this road to the *east* of Sandy. Though writing some eighty years before the Bishop, he says (*Itin. Curiosum*, p. 74, edit. 1724), "I imagine a road passed by this place (Sandy) westwards from Grantchester by Cambridge."

I am however more than dubious as to the correctness of these ideas. There is indeed a very fine Roman road coming from Ely by Cambridge, passing about a mile west of Grantchester, and which, after crossing the Avenue at Wimpole Park, falls at almost right angles upon the Ermine Street close to Arrington Bridge. There are at present no traces of it on the eastern side of the Ermine Street, but if it were continued in a straight line it would certainly not go near Hatley, Potton, or Sandy, but much more to the south.

At the same time I have no doubt that Sandy had communication to the eastward, by a Roman road.

I am inclined to agree with the Bishop that the Ake-man Street passed through Bedford to Sandy,¹ for there is no doubt but that Roman roads passed through the former town.

In a paper, published in vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 283, of the *Transactions of the Associated Architectural Societies*, on a Roman shaft found at Biddenham (hereafter to be noticed), the Rev. W. Monkhouse says—"The vicinal way called the Akeman Street, has been clearly traced all the way from Bath to Newport Pagnell, and again from Bedford to the eastern counties" (? W. T. W.), "But the chain is broken, and the link which connects Bedford with Newport seems to have been lost. This would not be the place to try to restore that link, as it could only be done by a long process of argument. But I think there are sufficient materials to prove that this road proceeded by the present line which runs by Astwood, Stagsden, Bromham Bridge and Biddenham. In the last mentioned parish it is called 'the Causeway'—a term, as

¹ Gough, in his 1806 edition of Camden, vol. ii, p. 52, speaks under the head of "Sandy" of "the Roman road

from the ford of the Ivel towards Bedford."

Mr. Hartshorne remarks—into which many a Roman road has degenerated. It combines at least two elements in Roman road making, namely, straightness of course and a raised surface, which latter feature may be seen in many places along the line, especially between Astwood and Stagsden. I assume therefore that this *via strata* passed considerably within a hundred yards of the pit, &c.”

We will take next the evidence as to other roads passing through Bedford. Mr. Monkhouse in the paper just alluded to, speaks incidentally of “five or six Roman roads which radiate from the town of Bedford,” without however saying anything more of them. I take it that the Akeman Street on the western side of the town, he would reckon as one, and its continuation on the eastern side as another, so that *two* are at once accounted for. A third is named in vol. i, p. 382, of the *Associated Architectural Societies Transactions*, as visible on the opposite side of the river, at Bedford Castle, at right angles with the stream. It is described as a vicinal way leading by Medbury to Hawnes, from thence by Clophill Church towards Barton, and it forms the division boundary, between the parishes of St. Mary and St. John (Bedford), though running through the middle of a field. Roman remains, as will hereafter be seen, have been found at various places along this line.

This road is evidently aiming for Ravensburgh Castle, just outside the county boundary, and would pass near the site of the remains at Higham Gobion. Whether Stukeley noticed it or not is uncertain, but he makes a curious remark when treating of the neighbourhood of Ravensburgh Castle. Speaking of *Liliho* (or Lilley Hoo as it is now called) he says (*Itin. Curiosum*, p. 74) “*from under it goes the Icening Street by Stretley to Dunstable.*” This is manifestly wrong as the *Icening* (or Icknield) Street, takes a totally different course. He may have, however, noticed a road from Ravensburgh to Dunstable. Gough in a note on this passage says (Camden’s *Britannia*, vol. ii, p. 56, edit. 1806): “Icknield Street, about a quarter of a mile east from Dunstable, is crossed by a great road, perhaps from Mergate Street to Bedford. Qu. on which of these roads is the village of Streetley and if not too much north from the Icknield.” This road is still

traceable in many places as a long, raised, grass grown line.

In vol. xxvii of the *Archæologia*, p. 103, Mr. Brandreth, F.S.A., in a paper written in 1836, speaking of the *branch* Roman roads near Dunstable, says: "The first is that which led to Bedford without passing by the Dunstable station. This road quits the Watling Street, about a mile and a-half before it arrives at Dunstable from St. Alban's, at a place called "Houghton Gap," being the "opening" to the village of that name. The level ground at the foot of the Downs, through which it passes, is known by the name of "Street Field," a circumstance which, added to the discovery of Roman coins near it, indicates its having been used by the Romans. . . . From Street Field it passes hard by the east end of Dunstable Priory Church and so on by Wood Way to Houghton Church. A short distance before it reaches Wood Way, it runs along a faint slope, called "Gravel Pit Hill," where also Roman coins have been found.

"From Houghton Church, I suspect to the eastward of it, it proceeded in nearly a straight line to Lord's Hill and the town of Toddington. Roman and Romano-British remains have been dug up along the greater part of the line of road. At Toddington it is apparently called 'Frenchman's Highway.'"

There is another road alluded to by Dr. Salmon, of which Gough (vol. ii, p. 52) speaks, giving almost Salmon's words, to the effect that Watling Street after coming from Luton (?) and intersecting on the downs (?) with Ikening Street goes straight to Ravensburgh in Hertfordshire. (?) This must of necessity be another road that Salmon is alluding to — the Watling Street not going near Luton. But he continues: "From Ravensburgh we descend the hill to Purton, thence by Shefford to Sandy. . . . At Kaynoe, *on this military way from Ravensborough to Sandy*, is an old fortress of earth which he" (*i.e.*, Dr. Salmon) "thought Roman, both from its situation on the military way, and from its form, a keep standing on the brink of a boggy ground, &c." No trace of such a road is now, so far as I am aware, visible, but from the richness of the remains found in the neighbourhood of Shefford, there can be no doubt

of a road having passed through the neighbourhood, if not more than one. Perhaps "Warden Street" near Old Warden may give a clue to one of them.

In concluding these remarks upon the roads of the county, the Bishop of Cloyne's words (*Mag. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 28) will give a better idea of the traces that have been lost than any words of mine. He says, "That there were connecting roads between the stations of Chesterfield (Sandy) and Dunstable, Chesterfield and Chesterford in Essex, and Chesterfield and Chester near Wellingborough, in the same manner as between Chesterfield and Godmanchester, there is little reason to doubt; although at present from the constant cultivation of the whole face of the country, much of which is also old enclosure and very deep land, the traces of them may be entirely defaced."

Having thus considered the roads, the stations upon them come next in turn. Let us first take the Watling Street. Along the line of this road, between London and Wroxeter, the Second, Sixth, and Eighth *Itinera* of Antonine give, at thirty-three miles from London *via* St. Alban's (*Verulamium*), and twelve miles from the last named place, a station named *Durocobrivæ*. Twelve miles from St. Alban's, along the Watling Street, brings us to Dunstable, and though there is little doubt of its having been the site of *Durocobrivæ*, it is strange that no foundations of buildings, tombstones, or sepulchral remains have been recorded as found in the town. Camden first pointed out that its streets crossed at right angles in the Roman manner,¹ and faced the cardinal points. He also tells us that the swineherds frequently found in the neighbouring fields Roman coins, which they termed *Madning* money. He thought this name derived from the neighbouring encampment of Maiden Bower.

Britton, in vol. i of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, p. 28, says that "a great quantity of copper coin of Antoninus and Constantine, with many small ornaments of bridles and armour were found by some labourers digging for gravel on a down in this neighbourhood, in the year 1770."

¹ The Watling Street forms the "High Street" being on the Icknield Street. Street, "Church Street" and "West

Mr. H. Brandreth, F.S.A., in vol. xxvii of the *Archæologia*, p. 104, in an article on *Magiovintum*, for so he erroneously styles the station at or near Dunstable (he makes it also the *Forum Dianæ* of Richard's forged Itinerary), says, "It was about the year 1770 that a labourer of the town of Dunstable digging for gravel near the Shepherd's Bush, discovered an earthen urn or pot, formed of red clay, and nearly full of small copper coins of several Roman emperors. The urn or jar was at once broken into small pieces by a blow of the pick axe, so that no part of it was preserved. Several more Roman coins have been found since that period on this part of the Downs in digging for flints and other road materials." At p. 107 he says—"At a spot so much frequented by travellers as the Roman station, whether as *Magiovintum* or *Forum Dianæ*, must have been, we might expect to find many remains of antiquity, in the shape of urns, coins, fibulæ, pavements, &c. Of pavements I believe none have been found, but vast quantities of coins have been, and are continually being found in its vicinity. Among others I have heard of two small pieces, concave on one side and convex on the other. One is of copper; I know not of what metal the other is, but they are both of them British, or rather perhaps Celtic, as they bear upon them, the grotesque figures usually found on British coins. They were found on the track of the Watling Street near the foot of the Downs. There have been found also of Roman coins a thick brass one of Tiberius, and another of the same description of Trajan; one of Vespasian of first brass, with the amphitheatre on the reverse; one of Augustus Cæsar, and one in third brass of Dalmatius.

"To these may be added three denarii of Vespasian Severus, and Sergius Galba; three in first brass, being of Trajan, Aurelius and Commodus; four in second brass of Vespasian, Maximianus, Trajan and Dioclesian, together with very many of the Lower Empire, as well as of Claudius, Tetricus, Carausius, Allectus, &c., in third brass. They were all found in different parts of the parish of Houghton, chiefly in the "upper" or "south" fields, being those through which the Ickening Street runs."

Lysons (*Mag. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 18) writing in 1806, also says that Roman coins have been found here; and in an article in the *Builder* (Aug. 22, 1868) on "Dunstable Priory Church," it is said (p. 625)—"A large number of interesting coins in gold and silver, and other antiquities have been found near the church and in the neighbourhood at different times. Amongst an immense number of Roman and other coins we may mention one of Augustus Cæsar, . . . of Tiberius, Trajan and Vespasian, a quantity of coins of Antoninus and Constantine, of Claudius Cæsar, Otho, Adrian, Commodus, one of Probus . . . and many others unknown."

The Vicar of Houghton Regis (the adjoining parish) has recently become possessed of a *denarius* of Tiberius, and a third brass coin of Carus, found at Dunstable.

This evidence seems conclusive as to Roman occupation, how then is the absence of Roman masonry, tiles, &c., to be accounted for? ¹ Let us consider the question:

It is noticeable that in the Itinerary the plural number is used "*Duro-cobrivis*," i.e., the dative plural—consequently "*Duro cobrivæ*" must have embraced more than one settlement—and accordingly we find in the neighbourhood of the town traces of three camps.

As Gough (*Camden's Britannia*, edit. 1806, p. 55, vol. ii) has collected the statements of Stukeley, Salmon, and others, it will be best in the first place to quote his account of these camps. He says: "About a mile and a-half west-north-west of Dunstable, and about half a mile from Watling Street, at the edge of the high land, is Maiden Bower. It consists of a vallum nearly circular, to the south and east it has no ditch, to the south-west and west only a very small one, to the north-west a descent to the meadows. The banks are from eight to fourteen feet high, and contain about eight or ten acres of level ploughed land. Arbury Banks by Ashwell is a like work, and there is another between Cheping Norton and Stow in the Woulds. Dr. Stukeley supposes it a British work like that at Ashwell, at like distance from the Chiltern,

¹ The *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. xlv, p. 272 (Feb., 1836), gives a short account of two leaden coffins containing skeletons, found in erecting a wall round the premises of Mr. Fossell of the Square,

Dunstable, together with some foundations supposed to be of a monastery. Can they have been Roman? What militates against it is the fact of the interment being apparently *within* the station.

and of like form. He describes it as standing on a plain, but not far from the edge of a lesser eminence of these hills about a little mile from Dunstable. The rampier pretty high but very little sign of a ditch, nor does he think there ever was much more. It encloses about nine acres which yield good wheat, the ground round it ploughed. Between this and the town is a long barrow, standing east and west, called the Mill Hill,¹ no doubt from a mill afterwards set upon it, the end of it ploughed up. A high prominence of the Chiltern overlooks all, called the Five Knolls from that number of barrows, . . . which are round, pretty large, and detached about. Upon the very apex of the hill, close by, are two round cavities as often observed in Wiltshire. Mr. Ward (Horsley, 422) agrees with Mr. Camden in placing *Magiovinium* here, supposing *Durocobivæ* and it to have changed places in the Itinerary. Mr. Salmon "places *Magiovinium* at Sandy (*Survey*, p. 374.) He imagines Dunstable meant rather a stable or station on a hill against robbers (p. 378.)

"About half a mile west of Maiden Bower, and about a mile north-west from Dunstable, on the downs above Totternhoe and in its parish, is a strong fortification high raised on the downs on a promontory projecting into the low lands west-north-west. It is called Totternhoe Castle, and overhangs Stanbridge village; a keep and circular area with a square to the west side, and a precipice on the west side of the whole, the other sides single ditched. The mount is high and, beside a circular ditch, is encompassed by another that is square and takes up the whole breadth of the ridge; the ground all about has been much broken by digging; in one place there seems to have been a well. At the bottom of it passes Icknield Street on the north side of the church coming through Streetley.² Contiguous to this is another camp of a parallelogramic figure, the shortest sides running

¹ Mr. Brandreth (*Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, p. 100,) says that from Maiden Bower Camp "There is an opening on the south-east side, which appears to be coeval with the camp itself, and from which there is a road still visible leading

to Brewer's Hill Farm House, on to a large oblong tumulus near Dunstable, called the Mill Bank from its having been the site of a windmill."

² I have commented on this *ante*, fo. 6, 7.

across the ridge, the other lengthway of it along the verge of the hill."

This last named rectilinear camp (situated to the south-east of Totternhoe Castle) which is about four acres in extent (500 feet by 250 feet) is, like the others, still strongly marked by its fosse and vallum. These surround it on three sides; the fourth side being defended by the natural escarpment of the hill. It at once gives us the clue as to Roman occupation. To my mind it has been originally thrown up, to protect the force besieging Totternhoe Castle which no doubt was a British stronghold, as was the neighbouring "Maiden Bower." It would then probably be occupied during the time the Watling Street was being made, and subsequently became the fortress guarding the neighbourhood, whilst the suburban and civil population (a mixed Roman-British one) erected their dwellings, probably poor ones, in the plain below, where the great and newly made road crossed the Icknield Street. Possibly in settled times the camp might be entirely evacuated. It would, no doubt, reward the promoters if excavations were made within its area.

As to the site being *Magiorintum*, which is placed at twelve miles from *Durocbrivæ* in the Itinerary (and twenty-four from St. Alban's), Camden and Ward are undoubtedly wrong. Horsley first corrected the error, and the Bishop of Cloyne pointed out the truth of Horsley's statements. *Magiovintum* is near Fenny Stratford, its site being still recognisable, and the distance from Dunstable agrees with the Itinerary.

None of the *Itinera* of Antoninus pass through the station at Sandy. From the fact of Ptolemy the Geographer giving *Verulamium* (St. Alban's) which he calls *Urolanium*, and another station, the name of which he gives as *Σαλῆναι*, as the towns of the *Catyeuchlani*, together with their positions as given by him, it has generally been supposed that Sandy represents the latter. Some antiquaries have supposed that the anonymous Chorographer, Ravennas, also names it, but both the towns to which he gives the name of *Salinae*, are situated in very different localities, as will be seen on comparing the names of the adjacent stations, one in fact being at Northwich and the other at Droitwich. The station at

Sandy, however, is a third example of the name. It has no doubt taken it from the existence in early times of a salt marsh, from the water of which salt has been extracted. The soil all round is a fine sand, closely resembling that of the sea-shore.¹ Governor Pownall in the *Archæologia* (vol. viii, p. 377) says of Sandy: "This village lying between this high ground, and the marshy vale, through which flow several branches of our river, must have been formerly a pass, and was a Roman station or camp, posted on an elevated piece of square ground, called to this day *Chesterfield*. This was known by the Roman name *Salinae*. This name, *Salinae*, was applied equally to the salt works and to the public warehouses, whence salt was delivered out by the officers of government, charged with a duty, *Vectigal*, of which there were many at Rome, in Italy, and in the provinces. I take this *Salinae* of *Salndy*, as Mr. Camden calls it, to have been one of those salt offices. It is placed at the head of a navigable stream, next the interior of the country. On the banks of the mouth of the river upon lands, part of my estate at *Old Lynn* are still remaining, the ruins of several old salt pans."

Of this statement, it may be said, that in a salt-producing country like Britain, such places as Governor Pownall describes would be almost useless, and further, that the remains of salt pans indicate that it was the manufacture of that article as at Northwich and Droitwich that gave the name to the place.

The first statement of any consequence that we have concerning the place is in R. Blome's *Britannia* (London, 1673), p. 45, where he says: "Also at *Sande* and *Chesterfield*, near adjoyning, which is now nothing but a warren, stood the famous city of *Salena* of the Romans, which by the ruins of its walls (in many places yet to be seen) doth declare it to have been a place of large extent."

It is much to be wished that the truth of this statement as to the station having been *walled* could be ascertained.

From the *Archæologia* (vol. 7, p. 412) and Gough's Camden (edit., 1806, vol. ii, p. 52), we gather that Aubrey states that *glass urns* had been found, and "one

¹ In Domesday it is called *Sandeia*.

red like coral with an inscription. They had ashes in them, and were, when Mr. Aubrey wrote, in the hands of a gentleman at Bedford." Coins were often found, and other urns "found with coins in the Roman camp at Chesterfield about 1670, were given to the University of Oxford by Mr. Crysty. Mr. Degge shewed the Antiquary Society, 1729, a Roman *As* of eight ounces and a British gold coin with *Tascio* found here. Mr. Bromsall shewed the same Society, 1738, a brass female head, about three inches high, which he supposed Boadicea, more probably a standard pole. Coins and a sword, silvered over, were also found in the field in this parish called Chesterfield, in which is a hill called by the inhabitants *Tower Hill*. They shew at a small distance *Gally Hill*, and across a small valley Cæsar's camp. This Gally Hill is the Roman fortress. About thirty acres here are enclosed by a rampart and ditch. The form is irregular, because it is to suit the top of the hill, which is itself defended by nature. The north and east make two sides of a square, the west juts out towards the river Ivel. In the middle is a tumulus, such as is seen in many camps, probably for the praetorium. About twenty acres lie in holes and hillocks, which they imagine to have been foundations of a city, more probably made for digging for stone, &c."

With regard to this statement the "brass female head" instead of being "Boadicea" or a "standard pole" was doubtless a steelyard weight, many similar examples having been discovered. "Cæsar's Camp" is also unquestionably the original British fortress. The Roman fort, to overawe or subdue it, has been subsequently formed on "Galley Hill," and a town under its protection has grown up in the valley beneath. "Tower Hill" is a mere "geographical expression" as it consisted simply of a slight elevation of the ground.

Dr. Stukeley, writing in 1724, gives much the same account, but adds a few other particulars. He says (*Itin. Curiosum*, p. 74) "great quantitys of Roman and British antiquitys have been found and immense numbers of coyns. Once a brass Otho,¹ vases, urns, lacrymatorys, lamps. Mr. Degg has a cornelian intaglio . . . dug

¹ As no *Roman* brass coins of this emperor are known this must have been either one struck at Antioch, or a second brass restored by Titus.

up here. . . . Thomas Bromsall, Esq., has a fine silver Cunobelin found here, of elegant work ; others of Titus, Agrippina, Trajan, Hadrian, Augustus, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Constantius Chlorus, Constantinus Magnus, Carausius, Allectus, Tetricus, and many more."

Governor Pownall, in the paper from which I have previously quoted and which was read 25th January, 1787, says (p. 381) that for many years previously great numbers of coins had been found at Chesterfield. Sir Philip Monoux to whom the land belonged had a large number from the Flavian family down to Constantine, including one of Carausius, one of Faustina, one of Lucilla, and one of Julia Mammea. Mr. Pym, residing in the parish, had also a coin of Faustina. Some years previously a cinerary urn of the "dark brown or black sort" had been dug up in Chesterfield. It contained bones and ashes, and several articles of a lady's toilet, including a hair-pin of the sort called *hasta recurva* (?) then lost, but a mirror or speculum found with it was preserved by Sir P. Monoux who allowed Mr. Pownall to exhibit it. It measured two inches five lines by two inches four lines, still retained its polish, and appeared to be composed of a mixture of copper, silver, and iron.¹ With it Mr. Pownall also exhibited several pieces of Samian ware, which he describes in his paper, but only one is engraved, which has a representation of a lion being pursued by a two-horsed chariot. Of the latter only the horses, the fore part of the chariot, and a portion of the figure of the driver are visible, the rest being broken off.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1787, p. 952, has an engraving of a coin of Antoninus Pius found at Sandy about this time.

A long interval elapses before discoveries are again recorded, though many must have been made. In vol. i of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (1st series), p. 57, we have an account that Mr. S. Birch exhibited on 1st December, 1844, a drawing of a *poculum* of Samian ware, found at Sandy in September, 1844, in digging a potato trench. It is now in the British Museum, and is described as being "ornamented with a broad architec-

¹ Is this still in existence—it is interesting from its shape and size?—W. T. W.

tural moulding, formed of antefixal ornaments and helices, having a bird in each pattern," above is an egg and tongue moulding, below a running corded pattern. It had been anciently fractured and repaired with leaden rivets. (See also *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi, p. 254.)

On 12th December, 1850, Mrs. Mayle exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries drawings of several urns found in excavations at Sandy for the Great Northern Railway. They were mostly black; some of them elaborately ornamented. Some of them were found at the foot of the hill on which "Cæsar's Camp" stands, others to the right and left of the camp. Coins were also discovered, but appear to have been appropriated by the workmen, and no note was kept of them, though it is believed that coins of Carausius and Allectus were among them. In one part of the excavations about thirty bushels of charred wheat were discovered. (Vide *Pro. Soc. of Antiquaries*, vol. ii, 1st series.)

A few further particulars of discoveries at this time are given in vol. ii, p. 426, of the Associated Architectural Societies Reports, among which is an account of an urn containing burnt bones, divided into layers by small squares of netting which fell to dust on exposure to the air. The urn also contained a silver ring, set with cornelian and bearing the device of an eagle, and a copper coin with the same emblem. Some small amphoræ were found at the same time besides Saxon and mediæval remains.

In 1866 further excavations were required for the railway, some particulars of which were communicated by the late Mr. James Wyatt of the Society of Antiquaries, and recorded in vol. iii, 2nd series, of their *Transactions*. He says "There was a piece of high ground between Cæsar's Camp and the village of Sandy on the western side of the camp, and divided from it by the Great Northern Railway. Lately the greater portion of this has been removed for ballasting purposes it being a deep stratum of sand. Everyday the labourers met with fragments of pottery which showed that a considerable area had been used for the deposit of urns. Many coins were found, some of which were disposed of by the men." From the description given by the latter the coins would

be much corroded. Mr. Wyatt subsequently heard that several bronze articles and urns had been found and purchased by amateur collectors who had removed them from the county, but he was on the spot immediately after he heard of discoveries having been made, and was successful in securing for the Beds Archæological Society eleven urns, two other vessels, and a red Samian *patera*. "The bodies of three of the urns are covered with slight lines drawn diagonally from the neck to the foot and forming a diamond pattern." The lines were apparently made with a stick while the clay was soft. "One urn is of elegant outline and has seven long indentations from the shoulder nearly to the foot." The Samian *patera* had had a piece broken out but was reunited "and fastened with three bands of lead passed through carefully drilled holes." The potter's name in the centre was DAGOMARVS.

"The site where these discoveries were made is locally known as "Tower Hill;" but it was no hill, being only a small rising above the ordinary level. It is now nearly all reduced to the level of the railway line. The urns were deposited at a depth of from two and a half to three feet below the surface, at the bottom of the alluvial soil and on the top of the sand bed. Some of them were surrounded with ashes, and one of them is now incrustated with the deposited ashes. They all contained bones more or less calcined, and larger fragments of animals' bones were lying in the surrounding soil."

Mr. Wyatt also found in the pit portions of other vessels of pottery, two fragments of a glass vessel with an iridescent coating, burnt bones, two teeth of a horse, &c., and he adds, "A little to the north-east of this site, and on the northern slope of Cæsar's Camp, many Roman remains have been found, and some British coins were discovered during the excavations for the Great Northern Railway, but on the site under notice (Tower Hill) no British relics of any kind have been found so far as I can learn."

This last statement is very important, as it confirms the view that "Cæsar's Camp" so called is the site of the British town, and Chesterfield a Roman site. It is strange, however, that here, as at Dunstable, no remains of build-

ings have been found. Excavations so far appear to have been in the cemeteries only.

In 1879 excavations were made into the remaining portion of "Tower Hill," during which two leaden coffins were found between three and four feet from the surface, which were described to the Beds Archæological Society, 12th September, 1879. One was about six feet the other five feet six inches in length and they were each about fourteen inches wide. They were both formed by folding an oblong sheet of lead into the form of a cist, the whole being kept in position by a stout frame of wood, fastened by iron spikes; the lids were of overlapping sheets and were not soldered. They soon showed symptoms of falling to pieces, so were again covered up, without being thoroughly examined. In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, p. 344, there is an account of a third coffin being found in the same excavations in the spring of 1880. It is described as being "five feet eight inches long, quite plain, and slightly tapering to the feet," and "was found in good preservation. The lid has entirely perished, but fragments of angle irons, apparently connected with an outer wooden casing, were also discovered.¹ There were no bones in these coffins, and this is accounted for by their lying in sand, a destructive agency. They lay east and west."

On the same page it is stated that the fact of so many extremely small coins being found at Sandy "is explained by the practice of the local labourers weeding the market gardens, and more particularly the onion fields, which abound in these parts, working on their knees, thus nothing in the shape of a coin, however small, escapes such close notice."

From the occurrence of the name of Bedford in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in the time of the early West Saxon invasion,² it would probably have been a Roman

¹ This coffin was presented by Mr. Beart, the owner of the ground, to Mr. A. Hartshorne, who has given it to the Museum of Practical Geology in Jernyn Street.

² The Saxon Chronicle states under the head of A.D. 571, that Cuthwulf fought against the Britons at *Bedicanforda*, and added to his brother Ceawlin's

dominions the towns of Leighton, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Eynsham.

Since the above was written some important discoveries appear to have been made at Bedford. In the *Building News*, Oct. 7, 1881, it is said, "In the course of excavations made by Mr. George Wills under his premises on the south side of Castle Lane, which occupy the site of

town, or small post, which seems confirmed by the number of roads pointing to it. But absence of remains is again the great drawback. Camden says that Roman coins had never been found at Bedford; but in 1811, in taking down old Bedford Bridge, several Roman coins &c., were found. (*Proc. Assoc. Architectural Societies*, vol. i, p. 382). Is the bulk of the small Roman post buried beneath the Castle mound?

But the most interesting discoveries within the county have taken place at Shefford or its neighbourhood. The first instalment of them has been described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. i, p. 395, in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Archæological Society*, vol. i, and in the *Transactions of the Associated Archæological Societies*, vol. i, p. 165, &c. Mr. Thos. Inskip who made the collection, and subsequently disposed of it to the Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge, has been the chief writer on the subject, and his communications may be summed up in the following account:—

For many years remains had been found, unknown to Mr. Inskip, in the neighbourhood, which had been lost or destroyed, when about the year 1827, a *denarius* was brought to him, found in some gravel on the public road, which had been brought from a pit in the neighbourhood. This led him to examine the pit and to keep a watch on future diggings in it. He soon was rewarded by finding two large dishes of Samian ware, one ten inches in diameter radiated in the centre with the maker's name crossing it OFFAGER; the other with horizontal handles. Soon after an urn surrounded by eleven Samian vases was found, together with a whitish coloured earthen bottle and a quantity of broken glass. The next discovery was of a number of terra-cotta vases about four inches high, bearing the potters' names, with a great quantity of greenish coloured glass, too much broken to be restored. One of the bottles had for its handle the device of a fish's tail.

Bedford Castle a number of Roman and Saxon remains have been found. They include pottery of both the periods named; Roman bricks, fragments of flues, and tessellated work, and encaustic tiles, having in them Norman and

perhaps Saxon mouldings. The discoveries, which are important as shewing that Bedford was indubitably a Roman station, are to be followed up by further investigations on the opposite side of the lane."

At the same time a brass pan, broken by the labourers, with the idea of finding money, was discovered. It is highly artistic. "On one side is a looped handle, the top of which representing an open-jawed lion's head is joined to the upper rim ; on the opposite side protrudes a straight handle terminating with the head of a ram ; the bottom is turned in beautiful concentric circles, and has still adhering to its inside (however strange it may appear to the sceptical) a portion of its original contents." (A similar vessel was found in the Bartlow Hills, though inferior in point of elegance, which is engraved in the *Archæologia*.) A first brass coin and a third brass, both apparently illegible, were found close by, and not far off an iron lamp stand.

Subsequently digging by himself Mr. Inskip found a large amphora, which, though broken by his spade, he was able to restore. It was two feet high, eighteen inches at its broadest diameter, and had two handles. Near it were three perfect terra-cotta vases with margins ornamented with leaves, a glass vase of a pale amber colour, nearly globular and radiated with projecting ribs. It is about double the size of a modern sugar basin and has no handles. A small glass funnel broken (but restored) and a shattered lachrymatory were found here, and in a hole scooped in the earth on one side of the interment were about three pints of seed, charred and perfectly black ; the dryness of the soil having preserved them. At a short distance was discovered a quantity of blue glass which, from the newness of the fractures, Mr. Inskip concluded he had just broken with his spade. He says "I collected the pieces and cementing them together they formed a beautiful jug or ewer, the shape of which is the most chastely elegant that taste could design or art execute. Its graceful neck and handle, its beautiful purple colour, and the exquisite curl of its lips, so formed to prevent the spilling of the fluid, proclaim it to be one of the most splendid remains of antiquity. It is radiated longitudinally and unites great boldness of design with delicacy of execution." At various times over three dozen Samian vessels of great varieties of shapes were found at this spot ; also what Mr. Inskip calls "a sacrificial knife." (?) The Samian vessels bore, amongst others, the following potters' marks:—

OF. ALBIN., OF. BIACI., CALVINVS., OF COET., (several examples, some broken) CVCALIM., CVIM., DONVM., FETI., LIBERALIS., LVPPA., OF. MACCIA., MACCIVS., MATVCVS, OF. MVSERA., NVTIS., OVIDI., OF. PRIMVS., REGINVS., SCOLVS., SCORVS., SILENVS., SILVVS., TENEVN., VIRTVTIS.

Mr. Inskip says, "This burial ground forms three sides of a square, which has originally been enclosed with a wall of sandstone from the neighbouring quarry, the foundation may be easily traced at the depth of three feet, the present high road forming the fourth side of the square. The depth of these deposits was about three feet from the earth's surface."

It is supposed, and with great probability, that a Roman vicinal way passed close to this enclosure, but so far no trace of it has been found.

Mr. Inskip, in making some slight excavations round the exterior of this wall, found a small silver trumpet sixteen inches long, the bones of a horse and his rider, an implement which seemed to have been used for picking a horse's hoofs and fastening his shoes. "Here," he says, "was formed a trench or cist about twelve feet in length, filled with the usual deposit of ashes, burnt bone, and charcoal; over this were placed Roman tiles leaning against each other at the top so as form an angle and protect the dust beneath." A denarius of Geta was deposited with it and another of the same Emperor was found at a short distance. Some copper moulds for pastry (?) are said to have been found here, and an urn with scroll work in high relief. "A variety of articles have been found occasionally deposited at the bottom of the urns, such as rusty nails, whisps of hay or sedge grass, bits of iron, pieces of lead, &c. A bit of lead found in one has the precise shape of a pot-hook. A ball of pitch was found at the bottom of a very large amphora, a vessel capable of containing more than four gallons. In one urn were found several balls of clay, which appear to have been kneaded by the hand, and are somewhat elongated."

Mr. Inskip conjectured, from this graveyard being walled, that a temple must have stood near, and some years subsequently began to search for it. After considerable trouble he was rewarded by finding, in an adjoining field, about half a furlong from the cemetery,

the foundation of a building twenty feet by thirty feet. Round its foundation was found a large quantity of mutilated Samian pottery and other coarse ware. Close to it is a pond still called *Oman's Pond*.

Mr. Inskip had also considered for some time that Stanford Bury, about a mile from Shefford, was the site of a Roman encampment, and on examination his conjecture proved correct. He says "The area of this camp is still very visible, and I feel assured the Pretorium occupied the spot on which the farm house now stands. The embankments on one side of the camp are still very perceptible. . . . A road was formed (still plainly seen) down to one end of the close where the soldiers have left a pond dug by them.¹ . . . At a small distance is a fine spring of water."

At the distance of two fields from this Mr. Inskip found two most interesting sepulchral vaults, full of antique remains. Of the first one found, he says: "A great number of terra cotta vases, both black and red, of every conceivable shape, and description of variety adorned this silent house of death, with fragments of the same nearly enough to fill two peck measures, the most perfect of these are at Cambridge, together with one very large amphora containing a ball of pitch in its foot. Six other urns, most of them equally large, and one still larger, were found with them. Here also were found the crumbling remains of several culinary articles—brass pans more than two feet in diameter, the iron rims and handles of which were left, the thin brass bottoms vanishing like ghosts, at the smell of fresh air and light of day. Two iron fire dogs, two feet ten inches high and three feet in length, stood on one side of the vault; they have a fine spirited stag's head at each end, with two iron bars curiously wrought to lay horizontally between the horns, from which pots and kettles might depend in two rows,

¹ Previous to Mr. Inskip's researches here, many interesting remains had been found and wilfully destroyed. He says (*Archæological Journal*, vol. i, p. 395): "Roman vaults have been emptied of their contents, vases of the most elegant forms and finest texture have been doomed to destruction for amusement, and set up as marks for ignorance and stupidity to pelt at. In another direction

I have known a most beautiful and highly ornamented urn with a portrait and an inscription on its sides stand peaceably on the shelf of its discoverer till, being seized with a fit of superstitious terror lest the possession of so heathenish an object might blight his corn or bring a murrain amongst his cattle, he ordered his wife to thrust it on the dunghill where it perished."

thus making the most possible use of the same fire. An iron tripod turning with a swivel on the top, and when opened, having a chain and pothooks descending from the centre accompanied the fire dogs. Two beautiful iron fire dogs were found in a tomb at Paestum.

"The fragments of a brass saucepan, with finely ornamented handle plated with silver inside, the lid also plated, was luckily saved, and the whole relic is highly interesting.

"Two singular iron handles of some utensils, which I doubt not were ladles, stood one at each corner of the vault; their upper ends are finished by a grotesque head with asinine ears, and the tongue lolling from the mouth like the mimes and buffoons employed to amuse the patricians at the *triclinium*. It is singular that these ludicrous figures should have a cross stamped on the forehead, in derision probably of paganism or of the true faith.

"From these more ponderous relics attention was directed to several white and black tesserae, the latter of jet; these are of the size of peppermint lozenges. . . . (An engraving of one of them appears in *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii, p. 71). Close to these was found a musical instrument somewhat resembling a flute, each hole for the fingers having a separate joint; it is formed of the *tibia* of some animal, and singularly enough has two embouchures to receive the breath of the player; these, it may be concluded, were intended to render the tone sharper or otherwise by due regulation.

"A bronze ever or jug was the next article to attract attention, the shape of which is exquisite. The upper rim and mouth are of singular shape somewhat resembling a figure of eight. The handle is of surpassing elegance, a beautiful female with extended arms embraces the outer and back part of the upper edge or rim; her face wears a lovely smile, and her hair is dressed in a peculiar style resembling that of the younger . . . Faustina as seen on her coins and medals; some few threads of the longest are seen gracefully falling down her shoulders, and almost reaching to the bottom of the handle which terminates with two fine masks, one above the other, the upper one

with distended mouth is laughing immoderately, the one beneath retaining a more staid though jocund countenance, both of them appropriate emblems of the jovial pitcher. . . . This elegant piece of antiquity which the ravages of the elements, earth and water, had much injured was found in an inverted position."

At only twelve paces distant the second vault was found; it had evidently formed the sepulchre of at least two ladies. Mr. Inskip says, "A splendid glass bowl, radiated in high relief, and a bottle to match, were disinterred without the slightest fracture; also a purple-coloured bottle equally perfect, this latter belonging to a splendid glass urn of Grecian shape, with *ansae* double fluted, the bottle and this purple vase formed a second suit of glass, but the latter was too much mutilated to admit of restoration." Near them "was placed a toilet box, finely embossed with bronze scroll work of very elegant pattern. This box had contained silver zone buckles, ear-rings, blue glass beads, silver tweezers, fibulæ, &c." One of the latter was harp-shaped. "A fine *armilla* of jet or shale was lying close by, and a coin of first brass, but too mutilated to decipher."

Mr. Inskip considered the first found vault to contain the ashes of the "old general." (?) The second he thought contained the remains either of his wife and daughter or of his two daughters. He says, "The latter opinion prevails with me, induced by contemplating two elegantly shaped urns that contained their ashes, about three feet in height, and which stood reclining and touching each other at one end of the sepulchre. In truth the number of female ornaments, together with the disposal of these two urns, must strike us with a strong presumption of the near affinity of the parties and their strong affection, seeing their ashes thus clinging together and still preserving their long embrace in death. A great number of the common snail shells were deposited in the foot of each urn."

Whether Mr. Inskip's conjecture as to the rank of the parties be correct or not, it is evident that the ashes were those of persons of distinction.

For further particulars of these discoveries, which took

place chiefly in 1834. See *Gent. Mag.*, Oct. 1834, p. 417, and March, 1845, p. 296.¹

Mr. Inskip also says, "On another occasion at Warden were discovered two fine Grecian-shaped amphorae of large size . . . with these were found two singularly shaped jars formed of shale or cannel coal . . . One of these is quite perfect, the other nearly so. These were dug up close to a Danish (?) encampment near the church, &c."

In 1844 Mr. Inskip found at "Church Field," in the parish of Northill, "Two skeletons buried crosswise, the head of one to the south-east, and that of the other in a contrary direction. By the side of these were placed three fine vases of glass, the largest of which, of coarse metal and of a green colour, would contain about two gallons. The form is sexagonal and it has no handles, the glass towards the lower part is half an inch in thickness. There was also a glass bottle of remarkably elegant design, and of the colour of pale port wine with a slight purple tinge. All these vessels were broken to pieces; some fragments of Samian ware were found and an iron utensil apparently intended for the purpose of hanging up a lamp against a wall." (*Archæological Journal*, vol. ii, p. 82; also *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, vol i, 1st series, p. 74; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi, p. 488, where the bottle named is stated to have a long neck with handle on one side.)

Two "saucer" shaped fibulae found at Shefford, gilt and having a "chased" centre, are described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii, p. 71-2 (and one is engraved at p. 79). A brass *fibula* five-and-a-half inches in length, found at Pirton, is also described on the same page.

It is singular that about a mile south-west of Shefford is a place called "Campton." Possibly it may be found eventually that the main station was at this place. Another intrenched quadrilateral area which has not been explored exists about a quarter of a mile north from Higham Gobior. During the last few years a number of coins, mill-stones, cinerary urns, and an amphora, have

¹ Many of the valuable articles found here are engraved in the first volume of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's

Transactions, from sketches by Sir H. Dryden.

been discovered there, which were lately, if not now, in the possession of Mr. J. Trustram of the Manor Farm.

At Willington in 1860, some Roman common pottery and Samian ware was discovered with an urn of dark red pottery ten-and-a-half inches high, about two feet six inches below the surface of the ground. Sixty yards to the west of these remains two querns were found, the largest sixteen inches in diameter, and near them another Roman urn six and seven-eighth inches high, with a number of bones and many fragments of coarse pottery. (These were reported at the time to have been sent to Woburn Abbey, but the Duke of Bedford informs me he knows nothing of their having been there.) In a field between Willington and Blunham a skeleton was found in a doubled up posture, and near it a much corroded third brass Roman coin, which Sir H. Dryden pronounced to be of Magnentius, A.D. 350-353.

There appears to have been a Roman settlement of some kind at Toddington. In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, p. 104, Mr. Brandreth gives a long account of the discovery in 1819 in a field belonging to Mr. Hicks of Toddington, on the west of that town, between Chalgrave and Winfield, near the road or place traditionally named by the inhabitants, "the Frenchman's Highway," by some labourers digging gravel for the roads, of great quantities of human bones, pieces of iron armour, numbers of spear heads with sockets and rivets, part of an iron helmet weighing two pounds, great numbers of pieces of sword blades, daggers, &c., buckles, rings, a small plate of copper (five inches by three) overlaid with a plate of thin gold, beads of stone and variegated glass, an urn full of beads of various colours. Four bosses of shields, shaped like a saucer and of the same size, five or six inches in diameter, "marked with flowers or figured work all over and when rubbed they shone like bright yellow gold." These objects were found "for the length of a furlong or upwards of two hundred yards or more." Some thousand bodies are computed to have been met with. Mr. Brandreth considers the portion of helmet to have been Roman (it came into his possession) but the interments seem to have been clearly of a Saxon type; though one feature seems peculiar, which is, that a number of small pots were found, filled

with little bones, like the bones of fingers, toes, &c.; both pots and bones crumbled to the touch. Some few coins were found during these excavations, but they got dispersed, and it is not known to what period they belonged.

A somewhat similar discovery appears to have been made ten years later. In Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* (edit. 1849, article "Toddington") it is said, "When digging gravel in a field on the estate of Mr. William Harbett in 1829 and 1830, great quantities of human bones and skulls, several urns containing small bones, the head of a spear, a sword blade, some beads, and other relics of antiquity were discovered."

The first *undoubted* relic of Roman times was found in 1836 in making a ditch on a farm called the "Lodge." The labourer who found it brought it to Mr. W. C. Cooper, of Toddington Park, who purchased it. It is a small bronze figure of an elephant seated on his haunches, between one-and-a-half and two inches high. It is engraved (actual size) in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii, p. 434.

In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ii, p. 271, at the meeting of June, 1846, "Mr. W. Horley forwarded a quantity of coins, Roman and English, found at various periods at Toddington Beds."

In vol. iii, p. 334, of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, Roman coins and other remains found at Toddington are noticed.

From the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. vi, 2nd series, p. 184, we gather that in March, 1874, the late Mr. James Wyatt and Major Cooper made some excavations in an isolated knoll called Fox Burrow, near Toddington. In the trenches cut numerous fragments of small urns imperfectly baked, and a few slightly ornamented, were found. The earth had evidently been disturbed previously. Bones of the horse, pig, ox, and deer, a large quantity of ashes and charred wood, and many stones and boulders, discoloured by fire were found in it. "Very little of the pottery was lathe turned or well burnt," the bulk of it being coarse and very slightly dried. There was an exception, however, on the north-east slope of the mound, where several fragments of a red Samian patera were found, and close to them an iron *culter*,

seven-and-a-half inches long, having a socket for a wooden shaft or handle. It was found four feet deep, lying on a bed of ashes, with several burnt stones and two flint flakes. Beneath these were "a large number of small pieces of very black pottery with a fine surface bearing a chevron pattern, the fragments of many urns, and a large quantity of wood ashes interspersed to the depth of another foot or more."

On the south east slope a few small pieces of a drab coloured urn of better manufacture were found, it was lathe-turned, also portions of the handle of an amphora, all Roman, and fragments of black ware, one having a chevron pattern. In many places only ashes, stones, and fragments of different urns were found.

There are two hypotheses as to these remains. Either they are those of a British population during the Roman era, or the mound has been a Roman *botontinus* previously explored and the soil thrown back to its former position.

This last conjecture leads me to the description of two interesting examples of the *arca finalis* found in Bedfordshire, one at Biddenham, the other at Sewell. The first is described by the Rev. W. Monkhouse (*Associated Architectural Society Reports*, vol. iv, Part II, p. 283) in a paper read Nov. 10th, 1857, to the Bedfordshire Archæological Society. Mr. Monkhouse says, "As some workmen were digging for gravel on the property of Lord Dynevor in Biddenham Field, about two miles from Bedford, and about one hundred yards from the high road which leads to Bromham Bridge, they happened upon what appeared to be the shaft of a well." (Lord Dynevor ordered this shaft to be explored.) "The gravel pit in which it stands is of considerable area, and no foundations of any buildings have occurred in it. There is no earthwork or remains of a military station near it. It is only three hundred yards from the river Ouse, which would seem to preclude the idea of its having been made for a well, as it would be very expensive and there are no marks of the bucket (which would cause abrasions to the steaning.) It has been dug originally eight or ten feet wide, and then "steaned" up by a most expensive shaft to a diameter of two feet nine inches." It was commenced on the crown of a small hill, "the most unlikely place to

find water in the whole neighbourhood." At different depths were found a human skeleton, part of an altar slab, a mutilated statue, fragments of fully fifty Roman urns including Samian ware, a cartload of pebbles, mostly calcined (not in a layer, but scattered throughout the pit), many bones of various animals, ox, horse, fox, hog, dogs, boar's tusks, &c. The shaft was thirty-seven feet deep.

Mr. Monkhouse thought it sepulchral, but being acquainted with Mr. Coote's theories as to Roman agrimen-sorial landmarks, I, in 1873, sent the last-named gentleman particulars of the discovery, with which he had not been acquainted, and he at once confirmed the correctness of my idea. He has since referred to the shaft in his *Romans of Britain*.

There has, however, doubtless been some Roman settlement at Biddenham. In vol. iii, 2nd series, *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries*, Mr. James Wyatt in a paper read 3rd May, 1866, says that he had paid a visit to the gravel pit at Biddenham, and "found some pieces of Roman pottery amongst the top soil which had been let down in the excavation." By closer search he found the pieces of, and restored, four urns, and a patera of clay, lathe-turned, two of which had contained bones, one was burnt inside to a red colour. They were about two feet below the surface and the soil was darker all round them than elsewhere. There were traces of charcoal. Within twenty yards of this spot a large brass of Lucius Verus (in his possession) was found, and he had occasionally picked up fragments of good Samian ware. In the same field Roman urns had been found about twenty years previously. "There is little doubt, therefore, that this was a small Roman settlement, although there have been no vestiges of large buildings or works ever discovered in this vicinity nearer than Sandy." Three larger urns found subsequently, Mr. Wyatt says, were wilfully destroyed.

In March, 1873, the Rev. H. Wood exhibited to the Bedford Archæological Society three large cinerary urns, one *poculum*, two pateræ of Samian ware, one bearing the potter's mark OF.CALVI. (the potter's mark on the other being illegible), two other vessels, and portions of a Samian bowl found in "South Field" at Biddenham.

The other shaft was discovered in 1859, but nothing was published concerning it until Mr. Wyatt addressed a letter to the *Times* which appeared on 9th October, 1860. It was found in making the branch line from Dunstable to the London and North-Western Railway at Sewell, the section of it being laid bare on the north side of a deep cutting in the chalk. Mr. Wyatt says, "The situation, however, militated strongly against this idea" (of its being a well), "it being one of the highest and driest spots on the downs, and the fact of there being just over the hill, a large spring which gives a constant and copious supply of water from the lower chalk. It is only about a hundred yards from the great earthworks known to antiquarians as the Maiden Bower. At the depth of about twenty feet, cut in the side of the shaft, foot holes or 'scotches' appear, and thence continue downwards at regular distances. Already the shaft had been exposed by the railway cutting to the depth of fifty-three feet, so that our excavations commenced at the level of the line. After a few bushels of the chalk *debris* had been thrown out the soil was of a darker colour, and some bones of small animals and birds were found, and lower down some fragments of burnt wood. Below these were pieces of unbaked pottery of a very coarse kind, then human bones and a large quantity of the same kind of pottery. The depth of thirteen feet below the railway line and sixty-six feet from mouth of the shaft on the surface of the downs was attained that day, and on the following morning the work was resumed. Bones and teeth of various animals were thrown up continually, and pieces of pottery occasionally, then a Roman tile, and a piece of sandstone squared like it, and several stones showing the action of fire. These stones were evidently from a distance, being chiefly sandstone boulders; the few stones which lie about these downs, generally are fragments of outcropping flints from the chalk. At the depth of sixty-seven feet the man came to a quantity of black flints, which appeared to have been purposely laid in a distinct course, not weathered flints like those on the surface, but such as are taken from the chalk cuttings in the hills at some distance beyond, this hill having no flints in its chalk. At

the depth of seventy-two feet were bones of animals, fragments of coarse red pottery, and a large quantity of charred wood. At seventy five feet there were more bones, and at eighty-one feet bones, charred wood, and pieces of black pottery. The depth of one hundred and sixteen feet was attained and then the work was abandoned owing to the drifting of the snow. . . . Sufficient evidence, however, has already been obtained to confirm the opinion that this was a Roman shaft, &c., &c."

The diameter of this shaft was forty-two inches to the depth of seventy feet and then gradually lessened to the depth of one hundred and ten feet, where it measured thirty-one inches across. This, for the period, must have been a work of very great labour, and its signification as a landmark of importance. The portion of the shaft below the railway line was soon filled up, and owing to the removal of a portion of the chalk escarpment, the upper part of it has been obliterated, so that this account is virtually now, the only evidence as to its having existed.

It is a singular fact that we have no records of any Roman villas or tessellated pavements having been discovered in the county, whilst the surrounding counties have produced a considerable number.

Mr. Brandreth (*Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, p. 104) speaking of the remains found along the line of the road running from "Houghton Gap" to Bedford says, "Among these were some fragments of pottery, and urns of light brown and coarse black clay, together with a small copper key and arrow head of the same metal, found in trenching a piece of ground for planting, and opposite to a moated square enclosure in the hamlet of Thorn, called the 'Bury Field.' A fine silver *denarius* was also shewn to me, dug up on Thorn Green close by.

"There is a field at Caldecote, or Cauldecote as it is sometimes written, where the priors of Dunstable had a jail and fishpond, in which I have seen many fragments of pottery turned up by the plough, all of them undoubtedly of Roman or Romano-British manufacture."

On the 10th August, 1854, on the visit of the Bedfordshire Archæological Society to Cranfield, "Mr. Langstone exhibited a quantity of Roman, mediæval, and later coins found in the parish."

Lysons (*Mag. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 18) says that Roman coins have been found at Market Street. There was also found at this place, which is just inside the county, prior to 1747, a brass tessera with a handle, perforated, through which was a ring. One side of the tessera bore the inscription—

TES.DEI.MAR.

And the other—

SEDIARVM.

It evidently reads *Tes(s)era Dei Marti Sedarum*. The last word is probably the name of a people, *Sediæ* (*Phil. Trans.*, vol. xlv, p. 224 ; Gough's *Camden*, vol. ii, p. 56, and Pl. II, Fig. 3.)

Roman coins were found in the parish of Cople, in digging a deep drain on the Duke of Bedford's lands, to the left of the road to Northill (*Assoc. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i, p. 383.)

On Dec. 2nd, 1862, a hoard of coins was found in Luton Hoo Park, in a brown earthenware vase. There were probably nearly 1000 but many of them had got dispersed before they came into antiquarian hands. They were *denarii* and small brass, and were of Caracalla, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Julia Soemias, Julia Moesa, Julia Mammea, Severus Alexander, Gordian III, Philip sen, Otacilia, Philip jun, Decius, Etruscilla, Herennius, Trebonianus Gallus, Aemilianus, Valerian, Gallienus, Salonina, Saloninus, Postumus, Victorinus, Marius, and Claudius Gothicus. They were in ordinary preservation and none were of a rare type. The only remarkable feature is the absence of coins of the Tetrici. From the date of the latest coin they would appear to have been buried *circa* A.D. 268-9.

On 22nd January, 1880, there was found a small hoard of one hundred and seventy-seven third brass coins of the younger Tetricus, in cutting a drain for Mr. Duncombe, on Priestly Farm, Priestly Moor, in the parish of Flitwick. They were found two feet six inches below the surface in a round lump in the peaty subsoil which was formerly a bog. From no trace of any coffer or box being found, it is presumed they were accidentally lost when in a bag. (*Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, vol. viii, 2nd series, p. 272.)

Several articles of pottery, amongst them specimens of Samian ware were dug up in a field belonging to the representatives of the late Miss Monoux, in the parish of Elstow, about a mile and a half from the vicinal way, leading south-east from Bedford. (*Assoc. Arch. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i, p. 382.)

At Hawnes, by the wood side, on another portion of the same line of road, very considerable remains of Roman pottery have been discovered. (*Ibid.*)

Lysons (*Mag. Brit.*, p. 18) says that an amphora was found about 1798 in the peat on Maulden Moor, together with several urns of different forms and sizes containing bones and ashes, and fragments of embossed Samian ware, about three feet from the surface of the moor.

"Lately was discovered in the parish of Flitton near Silsoe, Bedfordshire, the ashes of a funeral pile; around which ashes were deposited several urns or jars of various sizes containing human bones in a calcined state, &c." (*New Monthly Magazine*, vol. ix, 1823, p. 140.)

The Duke of Bedford on 14th March, 1833, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries an account of a very perfect amphora having been found in Woburn Park in 1833. (*Archæologia*, vol. xxv, p. 606.) This may have been placed there as a landmark (subterranean of course). These vessels were frequently so used.

At the "ballast hole" near the railway station at Biggleswade, there was found at the commencement of 1873, a Roman oculist's stamp, which I have described at length in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 360. It is also described in *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, vol. vi, 2nd series, p. 39. "It is a piece of quadrilateral steatite, measuring two inches by one and five-eighth inches in surface and three-eighths in thickness. The four edges or borders bear each of them two lines of inscriptions in small Roman capitals incuse and reversed. The inscriptions are—

C. VAL. AMANDI
DIOXVM. AD. REVMATIC

C. VAL. AMANDI
STACTVM. AD. CA.

C. VAL. VALENTINI
DIAGLAVC. POST. IMP. LIP.

C. VAL. VALENTINI
MIXTVM. AD. CL.

The first of these is, expanded—*Caii Valerii Amandi Dioxum ad Reumatica*. "The Dioxum of Caius Valerius Amandus for Rheumatica" which has been suggested to

mean "runnings at the eyes." "Dioxum" is a new word to antiquaries, and enables us to give the correct reading of a medicine stamp found at Bath in 1731, on which the same word occurred, but partly obliterated.

No. 2 reads, *Caii Valerii Amandi Stactum ad Caliginem*. "The Stactum of Caius Valerius Amandus" for blindness.

No. 3 reads, *Caii Valerii Valentini Diaglaucium post impetum Lippitudinis*. "The Diaglaucium of Caius Valerius Valentinus" (to be applied) "after a fit of runnings at the eyes." Pliny says this "Diaglaucium" was made from the poppy.

No. 4 reads, *Caii Valerii Valentini Mixtum ad Claritudinem*. "The Mixtum of Caius Valerius Valentinus for clearness of the eyes."

On the flat surface of the stone above each inscription we have *graffiti* inscriptions, a sort of direction to the persons using it, which side to use. These *graffiti* are—1. DIOX., 2. STAC., 3. DIAGLAUC., 4. MIXT.

Another peculiar feature of the inscription is that *two* oculists are named—Caius Valerius Amandus and Caius Valerius Valentinus. They were probably relatives.

The only temporary camp which can be identified as Roman is that at Etonbury near Arlsey. The Rev. J. Pointer in his *Britannia Romana* (1724) p. 54, and Gough (*Camden's Britannia*, edit. 1806, vol. ii, p. 56) name a camp about half a mile from Leighton Buzzard as being Roman, but its conformation distinctly refutes the statement.

It has been suggested that some mounds of a semi-circular character on the banks of the Ouse near Renhold, were the remains of an amphitheatre, but there appears to be nothing to warrant such a supposition.

The foregoing is, I fear, but an imperfect attempt to delineate the Roman antiquities of the county, which in a limited compass, it is difficult to do satisfactorily. Such as it is, however, I commit it to the consideration of the Institute.

NOTES ON THE INITIAL LETTER OF A CHARTER OF EDWARD II TO THE CITY OF CARLISLE.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

In looking over the Royal Charters in possession of the Corporation of Carlisle, I fell in with a charming little vignette representing the siege of a walled town. It is mainly framed in the initial letter, a capital chancery E, of a charter of 9 Edward II, but two groups of figures are outside the frame. My pleasure in this trifling discovery was much enhanced on noticing that the chief of the defenders, a knightly figure in complete armour, bears on his shield the well-known arms of Sir Andrew de Harcla, thus proving that the scene depicted is his gallant defence of Carlisle in 1315 against Robert Bruce and the Scottish army.

As the vignette itself, and not De Harcla, is the subject of this paper, I shall only give a very brief account of that gallant and ill-fated soldier. He was Sheriff of Cumberland from 1 to 16 Edward II; Warden of the Marches 8 Edward II; created Earl of Carlisle in 1321, and executed on a charge of high treason in 1325. The story of his arrest in Carlisle Castle by Sir Antony de Lucy, and of his subsequent execution on Harriby Hill near Carlisle, is told in the Chronicle of Lanercost, and from that authority I quote the following account of the siege just alluded to; I also give a translation taken from Jefferson's History of Carlisle:—

"Cito etiam postea eodem anno, in festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalene (Jul. 22, 1315), venit rex Scotie, congregata tota fortitudine sua, usque Karliolum; et circumdans civitatem diebus decem eam obsedit, segites omnes conculcando, et suburbia et omnia in circuitu devastando, et totam patriam concremando, et de Allerdalia, et Couplandia, et Westmerlandia, maximam prædâ pecorum exercitui adducendo. Omni autem die obsidionis fecerunt insultum ad aliquam trium portarum civitatis, et aliquando ad tres portas simul, sed nunquam impune, quia mittebantur eis de muro spicula sagittæ et lapides similiter tunc et alias, in tanta multitudine et numero quod dixerunt inter se, 'nunquid multiplicantur et crescunt lapides intra muros?' Quinto autem die obsidionis erexerunt machinam unam ad lapides jaciendos juxta Ecclesiam Sanctæ Trinitatis, ubi rex eorum se collocaverat, et projicerent continue lapides magnos versus portam de Calden et ad murum, sed nihil vel parum nocuerunt intus existentibus, excepto hoc, quod unum hominem occiderunt. Intra civitatem vero erant con-similes machinæ septem vel octo, exceptis instrumentis aliis bellicis, quæ vocantur Springaldes, ad longa spicula emittenda, et fundis in baculis pro lapidibus jaciendis, quæ multum terruerunt et gravaverunt exterius existentes. Interim autem erexerunt Scotti quorundam magnum berefrat ad modum turris cujusdam, cujus altitudo muros villæ notabiliter excedebat; quo viso, carpentarii civitatis supra unam turrem muri, ad quam oportuit illud instrumentum venisse, si ad murum accessisset, turrem ligneam erexerunt, quæ altitudinem alterius excedebat; sed illud instrumentum (vel aliud nunquam ad murum accessit, quia cum traheretur super rotas per terrain madidam et lutosam propter ejus gravitatem ibi stetit, nec ulterius duci potuit nec gravare. Fecerant autem Scotti scalas multas et longas, quo secum adduxerunt ad simul ascen-dendum murum in diversis locis, et suam unam ad suffodiendum murum villæ, si possent; sed hæc nec scalæ eis valebant. Fecerunt etiam de segete et de herba fas-

ciculos in magno numero ad implendam fossam aquæ extro murum ex parte orientali, ut sic eam siccò pede transirent. Fecerunt etiam pontes longos de lignis super rotas currentes, ut fortiter et velociter tracti cum cordis possent fossæ latitudinem pertransire. Sed nec fasciculi per totam moram Scotorum ibidem potuerunt fossam implere, nec pontes illi lignei foveam pertransire, sed ceciderunt præ pondere in profundum. Nono autem die obsidionis, cum essent omnia instrumenta parata, dederunt insultum generalem in omnibus portis villæ et in toto muro per circuitum, et invaserunt viriliter, et cives se æque defenderunt viriliter; et die sequenti similiter. Scotti autem ibi consimili cautela, qua castrum de Edinburgh acceperant, utebantur, fecerunt enim majorem partem exercitus sui dare insultum ex parte orientali civitatis contra locum Fratrum Minorum, ut illuc traherent populum interius existentem. Dominus vero Jacobus de Douglas, miles baldus et cautelosus, cum quibusdam aliis de exercitu qui erant audaciores et agiliores, posuerunt se ad partem occidentalem contra locum Canonicorum et Fratrum Prædicatorum, ubi, propter altitudinem et difficultatem invadendi, non sperabatur insultus, et ibi scalas longas erexerunt et ascenderunt eas, et sagittarios in magno numero habuerunt qui sagittas spisse jecerunt, ne aliquis ibi caput porrigeret extra murum. Sed, benedictus sit Deus! talem resistantiam invenerunt ibidem quod usque ad terram cum scalis suis sunt projecti, et ibi et alibi circa murum sunt aliqui interfecti, et alii capti, et alii vulnerati; nullus autem Anglicus in tota obsidione interfectus est præter unum hominem percussus sagitta, excepto homine supradicto, pauci etiam fuerunt vulnerati.

Die igitur undecimo, scilicet in festo sancti Petri ad Vincula (Aug. 1), vel quia audierunt de adventu Anglicorum ad amovendam obsidionem, vel quia ulterius proficere desperabant, redierunt mane Scotti in terram suam cum confusione, dimittentes retro se omnia instrumenta sua bellica supradicta. Quidam autem Angli insequentes eos ceperunt Johannem de Moravia, qui in prædicto bello apud Strivelyn habuerat pro parte sua tres et viginti milites Anglicæ, exceptis armigeris et aliis simplicioribus, et redemptionem maximam receperat pro eisdem. Ceperunt etiam cum prædicto Johanne dominum Robertum Bardolf, virum utique erga Anglicos pessimæ voluntatis, et ambos ad castrum Karlioli adduxerunt, sed postea pecunia non modica sunt redempti."

"Very shortly afterwards in the same year, on the feast of S. Mary Magdalene (July 22, 1315), the King of Scotland, having gathered together all his force, came as far as Carlisle, and surrounding the city, besieged it for ten days, treading down the cornfields and laying waste the suburbs and everything around, and burning the whole country, and collecting for his army all the cattle they could steal from Allerdale, Coupland, and Westmoreland.

"On every day they made an attack on some one of the three gates of the city, and sometimes on all three together; but not with impunity, for darts, arrows, and stones, as well then as at other times, were cast down upon them from the walls in so great an abundance, that they questioned among themselves, whether the stones did not increase and multiply within the walls. But on the fifth day of the siege they erected an engine for casting stones near the church of the Holy Trinity (the Cathedral), where their king had placed himself, and continually threw great stones towards the Caldew gate, and at the wall, but did no injury, or but little to those within, except that they killed one man: There were, indeed, within the city, seven or eight similar engines, with other warlike instruments, called springaldes, for throwing long darts; and slings in sticks, for casting stones, which greatly terrified and annoyed those who were without the city. In the meanwhile the Scots erected a great berefay, in the manner of a tower, the height of which considerably exceeded that of the walls, which being observed, the carpenters of the city erected a wooden tower, which exceeded the height of the other, upon one of the towers of the wall, towards which that engine must have approached the wall; but it never drew near to the wall, for when it was

drawn upon wheels over moist and clayey ground, there it stuck by reason of its weight, nor could it be drawn any further or occasion any inconvenience.

"But the Scotts applied many long ladders which they had brought with them for the purpose of ascending the wall in the same manner in different places, and a sow for undermining the wall of the city, if they found it practicable, but neither the sow nor the ladders availed them anything. They also made bundles of straw and grass in great abundance to fill up the moat without the wall, on the east side, in order to pass over it dry; they also made long wooden bridges running on wheels, that being drawn forcibly and rapidly with cords, they might be carried across the ditch; but neither would the bundles, during the whole stay of the Scotts there, fill up the moat, nor those bridges pass the ditch, but fell by their weight to the bottom.

"On the ninth day of the siege, when all the engines were ready, they made a general assault on all the gates of the town, and attacked valiantly throughout the whole circuit of the walls, and the citizens defended themselves as valiantly; and in the like manner on the following days. Moreover the Scotts employed a stratagem similar to that by which they took the Castle of Edinburgh—they caused the greater part of their army to make an assault on the eastern part of the city, against the place of the Friars Minors (the Grey Friars), that they might draw thither the party within, but the Lord James Douglas, a valiant and wary soldier, with certain of the more bold and alert of the army, posted themselves on the western side, over against the place of the Canons and Preaching Friars (the Black Friars), where, on account of the height (of the walls) and difficulty, an attack was not apprehended, and there erected long ladders which they ascended, and they had archers in great numbers, who discharged their arrows thickly lest any one should raise his head above the wall; but, blessed be the Lord, they found such a resistance there, that they were thrown to the ground with their ladders, and there and elsewhere about the walls, some were taken, some slain, and others wounded.

"Yet no Englishman was killed during the whole siege; except one man struck with an arrow, and the one above mentioned, but a few were wounded. Thereupon, on the eleventh day, that is to say, on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, the Scots either because they heard of the approach of the English to raise the siege or because they despaired of making any further progress, early in the morning returned into their own lands in confusion, leaving behind them all their warlike engines above mentioned. Certain English pursuing them took John de Moray, who in the before-mentioned battle at Strivellan had for his share twenty three English knights besides esquires, and others of lower rank, and received a great sum for their ransom; they took also with the aforesaid John, the Lord Robert Bardolf, a man certainly of the very worst disposition towards the English, and brought them both to the Castle of Carlisle."

Turning now to the vignette, the artist has represented within the frame of the initial letter, a walled town, Carlisle, and over the wall can be seen the roof and east window of the cathedral. Various turrets or towers rise from the wall, and one lofty one rises above the frame of the initial letter; this probably is intended to represent the castle. In the left-hand corner, outside the letter, is a "*machina ad lapides jaciendos*,"

This must be the one the Scots erected on the fifth day of the siege, "juxta Ecclesiam sanctæ Trinitatis,"¹ that is, the cathedral. It is clear to one having local knowledge that the scene depicted is the assault on the ninth day, "contra locum Canonicorum et Fratrum prædicatorum," that is the vicinity of the Sallyport steps, where the wall would be at least thirty feet high.

The details of the drawing will bear very close examination, and I propose to draw attention to some of them.

The principal figure on the loftiest tower is Andrew de Harcla himself; he has already sent one spear through a Scot below, and is depicted in the act of hurling another. Both the spears have loops at about one-third of their length from the butt end, and Harcla, in the act of throwing the spear, grasps it with his hand, having his forefinger inserted in the loop. The Romans used a strap or throng (*amentum*) tied to their spears; so did the Greeks (*ἀγκύλη*). De Harcla wears a huge visored conical topped helm much resembling No. 75 in the Institute's Catalogue of Helmets. It is surmounted by a panache or plume of upright feathers. Mr. Planché, in his "Cyclopædia of Costumes" (*sub voce* panache) says, that prior to the reign of Henry V panaches only appear as heraldic crests. This is an earlier instance of a panache than those given in works on heraldry, and it may either be a crest or a mere decoration. De Harcla also wears a sleeveless surcoat over a hauberk of banded mail. His sword, which has plain straight quillons, hangs at his left side, the surcoat hanging over the waist belt in most natural folds. On his left arm De Harcla carries his shield, which is suspended from his neck by the gigue and displays a plain cross containing in the dexter chief point a martlet. That these are the arms of De Harcla we know from Nicholas Roll, which gives—

"Sire Michel de Herteclaue de argent a une crois de goules. Sire Andrew de Herteclaue meisme les armes e un merelot de sable."

The martlet in this drawing is peculiar; it is not footless like those on the enamelled shield of William de Valence in Westminster Abbey (1296), but is sitting on a small twig.

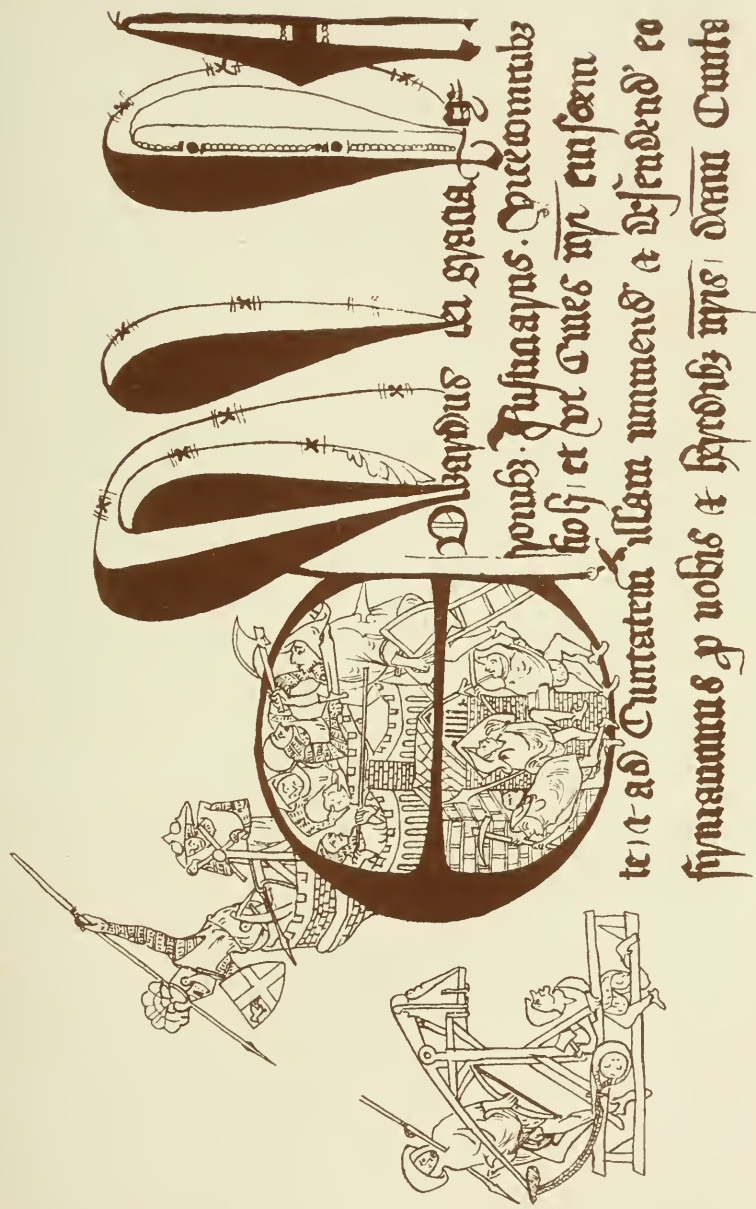
Next to De Harcla is a figure in surcoat and hauberk of banded mail. His hauberk has hood, which covers his head, and above that he wears an iron hat, or *eisenhut*, of which Demmin gives several instances. In this case the hat is of an umbrella shape with spike on the top, and knobs round. The wearer is winding up one of the "Springaldes"² mentioned in the chronicles, which seems to have been a large arblast or cross-bow, worked as usual with a *moulinet* or windlass.

Three other defenders are on towers or turrets of less altitude than that occupied by De Harcla and the "Springalde" man. One of these is lifting up a stone of, to judge by his face and attitude, great weight. A second with a coolness and imperturbability that makes me think him the town clerk, thrusts a long spear through a Scot who has climbed up a ladder,

¹ This expression puzzles me very much. The Cathedral of Carlisle is now the "Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity," but prior to the Reformation it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The writer of the chronicle must have meant the cathedral; first of all there was no other church he could mean; secondly,

near the cathedral would be the most eligible, in fact the only, place for throwing great stones against the Caldew (or Irish) gate

² A tower on the west curtain wall of Carlisle long retained the name of the "Springold" tower,



Drawn in facsimile by Albert Horskorne

while a third with his left hand clutches the Scot by the throat, and with his right, in which is an enormous falchion, endeavours to decapitate him. All these three are clad alike in hauberks of mail and surcoats, but their head-gear is varied; the third, whose hauberk is of banded mail, wears a plain steel or iron skull-cap; the second a coif of mail; while the first wears some sort of hood.

The besiegers are represented by six individuals; one of them, the "forlorn hope," we may suppose, has already been mentioned, as on the top of a ladder. He meets with a warm reception from the defenders, and is falling from the ladder and apparently about to give up the ghost, but still brandishes in his right hand a huge battle-axe; his left arm hangs relaxed, but the shield has not yet fallen to the ground, but is suspended from the arm by the enarmes at the back of the shield. The shield has a bordure round it, but this has, I think, no heraldic significance; no Scottish leader was killed or wounded, and the costume is not that of one entitled to bear arms. Three more of the besiegers are at the foot of the walls; one is an archer, and is discharging an arrow at the men on the battlements; another, with a spear and uplifted shield, watches the man falling from the ladder; while a third, in the act of vigorously plying his pick, is felled to the ground by a stone, which takes him about the nape of his neck. Two besiegers and the "*machina ad lapides jaciendos*" form a separate group. The machine is a *trebuchet*; one of the men has laid aside his battle axe, and with a mallet is wedging a stone into the loop of the sling. The other man is transfixed by a spear hurled by De Harcla and falls off the frame of the machine, on which he has been standing; he has an arrow in his right hand and a bow in his left. The besiegers are all dressed alike, in most wretched habiliments; they wear cloaks with hoods, some sort of cloths, covering the *pudenda* and apparently nothing else, save that their feet are encased in brogues. Lindsay of Pitseochie, whose chronicle of Scotland from 1427 to 1542 (cited by Planché) is in the vulgar tongue, says, "The other parts northerne are full of mountaines and very rude and homelie kynd of people doth inhabite, which is called the Reid Shankys, or wyld Scotcs. They be clothed with ane mantle, with ane schirt, fashioned after the Irisch manner, going bare legged to the knee."

We have thus eleven figures in this vignette, and, putting aside De Harcla, who is concealed by his vizored helm, there is a wonderful individuality of expression in the countenances. The whole drawing is full of life, truth, and vigour; and its fidelity to the account of the siege given in the Chronicle of Lanercost is most remarkable. Another point to be noted is, that there are no traces of pencil lines to be seen, so that the artist must have worked direct upon the parchment. He was probably on the staff of the Chancery Office, for the purpose of doing such work as we have now before us.

The charter (9 Edward II) has no direct reference to the siege of 1315, but its preamble recites (I translate): "Know ye that for the improvement of our City of Carlisle and that the citizens of our same city may hereafter pursue their avocations in the same city under greater tranquillity and peace, and may be so much the more animated to fortify and defend that city if that city were specially committed to their care, we have granted to them and by this our charter confirmed for us and our heirs the said city."

THE FRIAR-PREACHERS, OR BLACK FRIARS, OF GLOUCESTER.

By the Rev. C. F. R. PALMER.

The rapidity with which the Friar-Preachers or Dominicans spread throughout England immediately after their Order was introduced into this country, in the year 1221, is a remarkable evidence of the favourable reception accorded to them by every rank of persons. The priory at Gloucester was the fifteenth, which they established in the course of seventeen or eighteen years. It was founded, about the year 1239, by Henry III and Sir Stephen de Herneshull, knt., and was probably first colonised from Oxford, where the principal and most important house flourished as the head of that division of the English Dominican province called the Visitation of Oxford, within the jurisdiction of which Gloucester lay. It may be conjectured that the Lord of Harnhill, in Gloucestershire, bestowed the first site, and that the king was the chief promoter of the building of the dwelling and church; for there does not exist any record of the royal grant of a site, whilst the notices of material help in the fabrics and in the extension of the first domain are numerous and important, on the part of the king.

The munificence of Henry III, at the cost of the revenues of the kingdom, extended over a period of twenty-five years. The king being at Gloucester, Feb. 1st, 1240-1, ordered the keepers of the Archbishopric of Canterbury (the archbishop being in exile) to let the friars have twenty marks for the construction of their buildings.¹ The constable of St. Briavels, June 14th, 1241, was directed to let them have five oaks in the royal forest of Dene for timber, towards the work of their church,² for which works, June 18th following, the king also gave ten marks.³ The same constable was enjoined, Feb. 15th, 1241-2, to let them have six oaks out of the forest of Dene, "ad operacionem claustrii sui;"⁴ and the sheriff, next day, to carry the oaks to their house;⁵ while the constable again, May 6th following, was directed to give six oaks in the forest of Dene, where they could be most conveniently had.⁶ In 1243, fifteen oaks for timber, with all escheats, were similarly given, Nov. 5th, where most convenient and at hand in the forest of Dene, for the fabric of the church and the construction of the houses,⁷ the sheriff having been directed, the day *before*, to carry the trees to the Friar's house.⁸ The

¹ Liberat. 25 Hen. III, m. 17.

² Claus. 25 Hen. III, m. 8.

³ Liberat. 25 Hen. III, m. 9.

⁴ Claus. 26 Hen. III, p. 1, m. 10.

⁵ Liberat. 26 Hen. III, p. 1, m. 10.

⁶ Claus. 26 Hen. III, p. 1, m. 2.

⁷ Claus. 28 Hen. III, m. 19.

⁸ Liberat. 28 Hen. III, m. 20.

keepers of the Bishopric of Bath (*sede vacante*) had a mandate, Mar. 3rd, 1243-4, to let the friars have twenty marks "ad se hospitandos;"¹ and Simon de Wanton, keeper of the Bishopric of Chester (*s. v.*) Nov. 8th following, to pay F. William de Abbendon and the friars twenty marks for the fabric of their church.² This F. William, whose family name shows his Oxfordshire origin, was probably the first prior of the house.

And now the friars were evidently crippled in carrying out their plans of building, for want of space. The king gave them, July 8th, 1246, the sum of forty-one marks out of the issues of the county of Gloucester, to buy a plot of land for constructing their church, enlarging their churchyard, and making a road to the great thoroughfare of the town; and the sheriff was to find them all things necessary in food on the day they had seisin in the land.³

Afterwards the building was in progress for several years, and the royal alms were continued for this work and other purposes. The king bestowed five marks out of the issues of the bailiwick of *Waleramus Teutonicus*, Nov. 30th, 1252, for carrying timber.⁴ The constable of St. Briavels, May 14th, 1254, was ordered to give three oaks (*robora*) out of the forest of Dene, for fuel.⁵ The Bishop of Worcester had a royal mandate, Aug. 23rd of the same year, to let the friars have the chattels of Robert le Chaluner, who had slain a Jew of Bristol (which pertained to the king, but fell into the bishop's hands when the culprit fled with them into a church) whether such chattels consisted in ready money or other goods; and on the 30th, the gift was signified to the justices-itinerant in Gloucestershire.⁶ John Fitz-Hugh, keeper of the royal forest of Syrelet, was enjoined, June 1st, 1255, to give six good oaks for the works of the church.⁷ The king being at Gloucester, July 24th, 1256, issued two mandates, one to the constable of St. Briavels for five oaks out of the forest of Dene, the other to the keeper of the royal forest of Gillingham for five more, all for timber, with their escheats.⁸ The same keeper, Sept. 26th, 1257, was to provide ten oaks, where they could be most easily got on account of carriage.⁹

The path or road which the king had enabled the friars to make from their house down to the river Severn under the castle, ran between the castle-ditch and a garden belonging to the Priory of Lanthony. After a time, however, the canons of Lanthony raised some dispute, and blocked up the road. Thereupon an appeal was made on behalf of the friars to the king, who took them into his special protection, and Apr. 20th, 1258, ordered Henry de Bath and Robert Waler' to go in person and remove the obstruction without delay, and empowered them also, that if anything were unduly attempted, they should fully correct it, and compel the transgressor to redress.¹⁰ Moreover, at the request of the friars, Henry de Bath was commissioned to make some ordination in the matter, which he accordingly did, for their utility and accommodation; and Aug 25th. his decision received the royal confirmation.¹¹

Twice within the next seven years, there were royal gifts of timber, the first by an order, Nov. 2nd, 1260, to Thomas Gresle, justiciary of

¹ Ibid. m. 13.

² Liberat. 29 Hen. III, m. 16.

³ Liberat. 30 Hen. III, m. 6.

⁴ Liberat. 37 Hen. III, m. 14.

⁵ Claus. 38 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁶ Rot. Vascon. 37, 38, 39 Hen. III,

m. 4 intus et in sched.

⁷ Claus. 39 Hen. III, p. 1, m. 9.

⁸ Claus. 40 Hen. III, m. 6.

⁹ Claus. 41 Hen. III, m. 2.

¹⁰ Claus. 42 Hen. III, m. 9 d.

¹¹ Pat. 42 Hen III, m. 2.

the forest on this side the Trent, for four oaks out of the forest of Dene where best at hand ;¹ the second by an order, May 12th, 1265, to the constable of the castle of St. Briavels, for twelve oaks out the same forest. This last gift was revoked just before the battle of Evesham, (fought Aug. 4th) but was renewed, Aug. 22nd, for ten oaks, while the king was at Gloucester.² And now the building of the priory and church appears to have been finished. The house accommodated forty religious.

In the year 1257, the provincial chapter of the order was held at Gloucester, in this priory.³ Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, gave two quarters of corn, Mar 2nd, 1268-9, to the friars ; on the Nativity of our Lady (Sept. 8th) 1270, an alms of 13s. 4d. ; and June 2nd, 1271, a mark and two logs of wood for their fire : about the end of Feb., 1289-90, the Bishop of Hereford gave 6s. 8d.⁴ During three royal visits to this town, Edward I bestowed alms on these friars. He gave them, June 30th, 1277, 10s. for food.⁵ Roger de Clifford, justiciary of the royal forest on this side Trent, was ordered, Aug. 13th, 1278, to let them have four oaks (*robora*) out of the forest of Dene for fuel ;⁶ Ralph de Sandwyk, the king's steward in the same forest, Apr. 12th, 1280, to let them have six *robora* with the escheats : and Roger Strange justiciary, Mar. 26th, 1290, to let them have there three oaks for timber, "ad curdulas inde faciendas ad claustrum ecclesie sue."⁷ The executors of Queen Eleanor of Castile, soon after Michaelmas, 1291, gave 100s. to this convent, amongst most others of the Order, to F. William de Hotham provincial, by the hand of Robert de Middelton.⁸

It is probable that this donation from the *chere reine* of Edward I enabled the friars to carry out the design of enlarging their domain, which they were then contemplating. A royal mortmain-license was granted, Aug. 28th, 1292, for Roger le Mareshal to assign a messuage and land three perticates long and one-and-a-half broad, Henry de Blethesden land six perticates long and the same broad, and the prior of St. Bartholomew's at Gloucester land three perticates long and the same broad, to the friars, and also for the friars to enclose a lane amongst the same lands, leading from the street to their garden.⁹ All which could be done without detriment, as had been found by an inquisition taken at this town, May 23rd previous, in virtue of a writ dated as far back as July 11th, 1290. Mareschal's land was held of the crown, in capite ; Blethesden's, of the priory of St. Bartholomew, by 2s. 10d. a-year, but the friars had obtained a quit-claim of that service ; and the land of the priory of St. Bartholomew owed service to none ; and all three plots of land were not worth 2s. a-year in all issues.¹⁰

About the reign of Edward I, Thomas Lord Berkeley (who flourished

¹ Claus. 45 Hen. III, m. 26.

² Claus. 49 Hen. III, m. 4, 2.

³ Kirkpatrick's Hist. of the religious orders, etc. of Norwich.

⁴ Dixon's Fasti Eboracenses, by Raine : Household Roll of Bp. Rich de Swinfield (Camden Society).

⁵ Rot. garder. de oblat. et elemos. regis, 5 Edw. I.

⁶ Claus. 6 Edw. I, m. 5.

⁷ Claus. 8 Edw. I, m. 9 : 18, m. 13.

⁸ Rot. (garder.) liberat. pro regina, 19-20 Edw. I.

⁹ Pat. 20 Edw. I, m. 4.

¹⁰ Inquis. post mort. 18 Edw. I, No. 136. Jurors : Hen. Claung', Will de Asthale, Nich. de Malvarne, Gilb. de Twiggeworthe, John de Chaddesleye, Rog. Thursteyn, Tho. de Kydermunster, John le Lokyare, Steph. de Gardiner, John le Maudryn, Alex. Achard, and Adam de la Berewe.

from 1281 to 1321) relieved the brethren of this house very liberally out of his granaries.¹ Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, by will dated Sept. 13th, 1301, bequeathed 40s. to them; he died Jan. 26th following.²

The provincial chapter of the order was held here in 1311, and towards the expenses of it, Edward II, July 20th, gave £10 to F. William Pikeringg.³ This king being at Gloucester, Apr. 11th, 1321, gave 11s. to the (33) friars of this priory, for a day's food, through F. Walter de Cestrelad.⁴ Again at this town, Jan. 18th, 1323-4, on his arrival, he bestowed 9s. 8d. on the 29 religious of the convent through F. John de Lemynster, for the same purpose.⁵ Twice being at this town in 1326, he gave, May 11th, a groat each to the 40 religious through F. John de Burford; and Oct. 11th, 12s. 8d. to the 38 religious through F. Thomas de Wantinge, both times for one day's food.⁶

Edward III, on a visit to the town, Dec. 19th, 1328, gave 11s. to the 33 friars, for a day's food.⁷ He bestowed the usual royal gift of £15 towards the costs of the provincial chapter held here again Aug. 15th, 1333, and following days, half the amount being paid, May 4th, and the remainder, June 5th, out of the exchequer.⁸ And Oct. 5th, 1337, he gave a groat each to 31 friar-preachers, who, with the same number of carmelites and also of friar-minors, went out with the procession of welcome on his arrival at the town on the 15th of the previous month.⁹

At this time all the mendicant orders were much troubled with unruly subjects, who broke their "obedience," and wandered up and down the country in a vagabond manner, to the great scandal of religion. Amongst them was one F. William de Hassefeld, a friar of this house, who became an apostate, and stripping off his habit went about in the guise of a layman. He was arrested by the constable of Gloucester castle, who delivered him over to the prior here, to be punished according to his offence. But some of his friends and abettors gathered a great mob to procure his liberation, and day after day threats of violence were uttered against the prior and religious. The latter appealed to the king for help; and a mandate was issued, April 18th, 1338, to the sheriff of the county and bailiffs of the town, to make proclamation against any molestation of the friars and disturbance of the peace, and to arrest any who acted contrariwise.¹⁰

Elizabeth de Burgh, lady de Clare, by will dated Sept. 25th, and proved Dec. 3rd, 1360, bequeathed £8 to the four orders of friars at Gloucester. She was the third daughter of Gilbert de Clare, last earl of Gloucester and Hertford by Joan of Aeres, daughter of Edward I; and died Nov. 4th.¹¹

By a writ dated Jan. 26th, 1364-5, an inquisition was taken at Glouce', Apr. 6th following, by which it was declared that William de Chilterham might assign a plot of land six perticates in length and one perticate in

¹ Rudder's Gloucestershire.

² Thomas' Survey of the Cathedral Church of Worcester.

³ Exit. scac. pasch. 4 Edw. II, m. 4.

⁴ Lib. garder. 14 Edw. II: Additional MSS. cod. 9951.

⁵ Lib. de partic. expens. forensec. contra rot. garder. 17 Edw. II.

⁶ Rot. garder. de partic. expens.

forinsec. 19 Edw. II. Ibid. 20 Edw. II.

⁷ Contrarot. cust. garder. reg. 2 Edw. III.

⁸ Exit. scac. pasch. 7 Edw. III, m. 5, 10.

⁹ Comp. garder. reg. 11-12 Edw. III.

¹⁰ Claus. 12 Edw. III, p. 1, m. 12 d.

¹¹ Nichols' Royal Wills.

breadth to the friars, for enlarging their homestead. The land was held of the prior of Lanthony by the service of 6d. a-year, and its true value in all issues was 6d. The prior held it of Humphry earl of Hereford, and the earl held it of the crown.¹ The mortmain licence was granted May 8th, for the transfer of the land.²

Henry IV ordered the warden of the royal park of Harsfeld or his lieutenant, Aug. 5th, 1404, to deliver to the friar-preachers of Gloucester "sept keisnes appelez Rowers p^r foail," to be taken where it could be done with the least waste and destruction. The king made a similar gift of oaks, June 3rd, 1412, out of the same park, which pertained to the duchy of Lancaster.³

For the long period of one-hundred and twenty-five years only few incidents come to light in the history of the Black Friars of Gloucester. The master-general of the order, at Rome, granted leave, June 4th, 1475, to F. John Albe to accept any chaplaincies or benefices legitimately conferred on him, and to celebrate mass out of his convent and lend his services to any nobles (*dominis*) who required them; but he was to give a suitable part of his emolument to his convent. On the 13th of the same month, F. John Wyth of this house was assigned to it by the master-general; and inasmuch as he had gone to Rome without due leave, it was assented to and to be left unpunished, and as his journey back was long, he was empowered to stay at any convent on his way as long as the president pleased. F. Richard Schrevot was assigned, June 19th, 1481, to his native convent of Gloucester, for his devotion, in perpetuity, from which he might not be removed; nor could he be forced to accept the office of prior.⁴ Jane lady Barre, late wife of Sir John Barre knt., by will dated Feb. 3rd, 1484-5, and proved July 23rd following, bequeathed 20s. to the "Blak Freris of Gloucester."⁵

The civil Wars of the Roses were very detrimental to the religious orders both in their numerical strength and in their financial prosperity. When members of these orders were forced from their cloisters to betake themselves to the ranks of the secular clergy, it generally discloses the straitened conditions of the affairs of the communities to which they belonged; and such appears to have been the case when F. John Albe sought external service. But the years immediately preceding the dissolution of monasteries formed the period of the greatest trials for the mendicant orders. The friar-preachers of Gloucester were brought down to seven in number, and suffered such poverty, that sooner than allow their gardens to lie useless and desolate on their hands, they leased them to one of the principal inhabitants of the town, who was their friend, but at last powerfully co-operated in their destruction.

When the suppression of all religious houses was on hand, F. Richard Ingworth, prior of Kings Langley, but now suffragan bishop of Dover, received a royal commission, Feb. 11th, 1537-8, to make the visitation of the mendicant orders in the kingdom; and May 5th following, a mandate

¹ Inquis. ad q. d. 39 Edw. III, No. 15. Jurors: Tho. Muleward, Ranulfatte Felde, Hugh Honsom, Will. Janes, Tho. Laurence, Will. Heyhamstude, Pet. de Londe, Reg. atte Hall, Simon de Apperlegh, John Rastel, John Breware, and Walt. atte Wode.

² Pat. 39 Edw. III, p. 1, m. 11.

³ Reg. of grants of the Duchy of Lancaster, vol. xiv, fol. 35b, and vol. xv, fol. 69.

⁴ Regist. mag. gen. ord. Romæ asseruat.

⁵ The Herald and Genealogist, vol. viii.

from the king required him to sequester the seals, goods, and ornaments, and to take inventories of them in all the places visited by him.¹

Under these instructions, the suffragan set out on his route of destruction. His first visit to Gloucester was limited to examining into their property and goods. During his stay in this town, he was bounteously entertained by Thomas Bell the elder, an alderman, who was the lessee of the black friars' gardens, and had the deepest interest in securing his favour. The alderman was very active in helping to rescue the friars' plate that was pawned, and had the custody of it in his own house. After the suffragan had departed from the town, Bell obtained a letter certifying that the white friars and black friars here could no longer remain in their houses, on account of poverty. This letter he carried to the suffragan, and solicited that the black friars' house might be granted to him. The suffragan immediately wrote to the king's vicar-general, Thomas Cromwell, recounting the alderman's hospitality and assistance, and urging that as he daily set above three-hundred people to work and his premises were confined, it would be a very good deed if he could have the black friars', for it was fit for nobody so much as for him, and he was a great maintainer of the commonwealth by employing so many poor folks. This letter was given to Bell, to carry in person to lord Cromwell.²

Towards the end of July, the suffragan of Dover made his second and last visitation at Gloucester. On the 27th, he informed lord Cromwell that the houses of the black and white friars should be within the king's pleasure and command within four days.³ The next day, the black friars voluntarily gave up their house to him, saying that they could no longer maintain it, received license to visit their friends and go to other houses, and so departed with the sum of 16s. 8d. distributed among them. All which was certified by the mayor and three aldermen, in whose presence the visitor had executed his commission. Bell and his son made the inventory of the house, and appraised all the goods.

"M^d. thys xxviiij day of July In y^e xxx yer of ow^r most dred sov'en lord kyng he'ry the viijth, Rychard byschop of Dowor and vesytor vnder y^e lord p^rvy selle for the kyngs grace was In glowsetur, and ther befor the meyar and aldermen In the howseys of freers ther at ij tymeys In ij days putt the seyd Freers att ther lyb'teys whether they vold co'tynew In ther howseys & kepe ther relygyon and Iniuncyons accordeing to y^e same or ellys gyff ther howseys In to the kyngs handds. the iniuncyons he ther declareyd among them the whyche war thowthe by the seyd meyar & aldermen to be good and resonabyll, and also y^e sayd freers sayd y^t they war accordeyng to ther rewlys, yet as y^e warlde ys nowe they war nott abull to kepe them & leffe In ther howseys: wherfore volu'tarly they gaffe ther howseys In to y^e vesytors hands to the kings vse. the vesytor seyde to them, thynke not nor hereaft' reportt not that ye be suppressyd, for I haue no' suche auctorytye to suppress yow, but only to reforme yow: wherfor yf ye woll be reformeyd accordeyng to good order ye may co'tynew for all me. they seyde they war nott abull to co'teynew, wherfor the vesytor toke ther howseys and charytabully delyu'yd them, and gaff them lett's to vesyte ther frynds, & so to goo to oder howseys, wth the

¹ Lansdowne MSS. cod. 979.

series 2, No. 113.

² Misc. letters, temp. Hen. VIII,

³ Ibid. No. 129.

whyche they war very well co'tentt, & soo dep'teyd . thys whe y^e seyde
meyar & aldermen testyfy by ow^r hands subscrybeyd.

MAIST^r WYLLYAM HASARD meyr.

MASTER WYLYAM MATHEW alderman.

MR^r THOM^{as} BELL THE ELD^r aldermon.

THOMAS PAYNE alderman."¹

“The Inuentorye of the blacke frearys in Gloucester made
and praysyd by Mayst^r Thomas bell the elder, & mayst^r Thomas
bell the yongar assygned by mayst^r Mayre.

It'm a sewt of red velvett, prest deacon & s'bdeac'	.	.	xijs.
It' a sewt of blew velvett in lyk man'	.	.	xs.
It' a sewt of blew sylke w ^t goldyn bests	.	.	xs.
It' a sewt of whyet velvett w ^t garters	.	.	xs.
It' a sewt of black goldyn flowrys	.	.	xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
It'm a sewt of grene sylke	.	.	viijs.
It' a sewt of blew sylke	.	.	xijs.
It' a sewt of red veluet	.	.	xs.
It'm a sewt of whyet sylke	.	.	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
It'm a sewt of chekar worke	.	.	xs.
It' a noy' sewt of veluet & clothe of bawdekyn lackyng y ^e preyst	.	.	vs.
It' a noy' sewt st[r]ypeyd lackyng an albe	.	.	vs.
It'm a syngle vestymment blew sylke	.	.	xxd.
It'm a blew cope	.	.	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
It'm a syngle vestymment blew veluet	.	.	vjs.
It'm a syngle vestymment blew sylke	.	.	xxd.
It'm a blew cope	.	.	vs.
It'm a cope of blew velvet	.	.	viijs.
It'm a whyte cope	.	.	ijs.
It'm a cope of red veluet	.	.	vs.
It'm a blew cope w ^t ymags	.	.	iijs.
It'm a cope of sylke	.	.	iijs.
It'm a noy' cope [<i>erased</i>]	.	.	iijs.
It'm a noy' ray cope	.	.	[<i>blank.</i>]
It'm a noy' ray cope	.	.	iijs.
It'm a whyet cope	.	.	iijs.
It'm a noy' whyet cope	.	.	ijs.
It'm a noy' cope w ^t flowrs	.	.	ijs.
It'm x corporas casys w ^t vij clothys	.	.	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
It'm ij surpleys	.	.	ijs.
It'm iiij euscheyngs sylk	.	.	xvjd.
It'm vij paleys	.	.	ijs.
It'm ij dyap' clothys	.	.	xxd.
ij fruntletts	.	.	ijs.
It' j sylke	.	.	vjd.
It' ij payr of curteyns	.	.	xij <i>d</i> .
It'm to y ^e iiij alters iiij alt' clothys	.	.	iijs.
It'm iiij sylks for y ^e sepulere	.	.	xij <i>d</i> .
It'm iiij clothes for y ^e sepulere	.	.	iiijs.
It'm a palle for y ^e herse	.	.	xxd.

¹ Cotton. MSS. Cleopatra E iv, No. 161,

It'm in y ^e Ind' chamb' callyd rewar' a flock bed, a bolster	
w ^t test' & hangyngs about y ^e chamber	vjs.
It'm a bedstede, a coffier w ^t an olde almery & a small fourme	ijs.
It'm in y ^e 2 ^d bed chamber a flock bed & a bolst' & ij old cou'yngs	iijs.
It'm in the great chamber ij fetherbedds ij bolsters	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
It'm a table folde w ^t a fowrme	xvj <i>d</i> .
It'm ij bellis in y ^e steple	xls.
It'm y ^e tabls of alablastre	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .

The kechyn.

It'm xiiij peyce of pewt' great & small	iijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
It'm iiij brass potts, ij great & ij small	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
It'm an old cawdron	xij <i>d</i> .
It'm iiij broochys	iijs.
It'm ij great candelstycks & iiij smal candelstycks	viijs.
It'm a holy Watt' stope	vjd.
Item a payre of organs	vjs viij <i>d</i> .
It'm a lampe hangyng in y ^e quere	xvj <i>d</i> .

S^a totalu' xiiij*li*. xvijs. vjd. [*sic*.][*The rest is in the suffragan's handwriting.*]

Of thys sum ^a payd for plate y ^t lay to plege	xli. vjs.
It'm to y ^e coke for y ^e quart'	iijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
It'm to y ^e Freers	xvjs. viij <i>d</i> .
It'm costs ther	xijs. vjd.

S^a xj*li*. xviijs. vid.So resteyth styll in y^e vesyters handds

lixs.

the house w^t all the grounde the seyd vesyter hathe put in y^e handds of Mast' Thomas bell alderman to se it saveyed tyll the kyngs plesur be forthe knowen.

besyde theys the sayd vesyter hathe putt in y^e seyd aldermanys handds thys plate vnderwrityn : a brokyn crosse xix vnc', ij brokyn chales xxxij vnc', a lytyll pyxte & the bande of a maser xiiij unc', a senser & a schyp iij schar' xj vnc', besyde y^t a chales that longyd to y^e whyte Freers xj vnc' : the hole s'm^e ys

vij schar' vnc' & ix vnc'.

All ys to y^e kyngs vse &c.

RICARD' DEVORAC'.

[*Dorso*] The Blacke fryers Gloucetur.¹

The suffragan immediately rendered to lord Cromwell an account of all he had done at Gloucester. He said he had been at Bristol, and also in two houses here, where, on account of the outcry for debts he had men assigned by the mayors to appraise all within those three houses, had sold the goods and paid the debts, and had put the houses in safe custody. The substance in most houses was very small : in different places little more than the debts ; and the clamour of the poor men to whom the money was owing was "to tedysus." "In Glowseter," he wrote, "I haue dyschargeyd iij howseys, as by y^e mayer & aldermenys hands ye may p'seyue. the blacke fryers ys p(ro)p(er) lytyll howse, lytyll led but on yle, no remnts but ther gardens y^e whyche master bell y^e alderma' hathe In lese vnd' ther co'ue't sell for many yers ;" and then he reiterated his request that master Bell the alderman might have the blackfriars, and solicited that young Thomas Bell should have the "goodly howse" of the

¹ Treas. of rec. of exch. vol. A 11, fol. 11.

grey friars, of part of whose gardens he was the lessee.¹ At the same time he heartily petitioned Cromwell to be good lord to those poor men who had given up their houses, that they might have some discharge, so as to be able to put off their habits.

"1538. To my synguler goode lord Crumwell lord p'uy seale.

28 July. I be seche yow^r lordeschype to haue dyschage for theys fryers to change ther apparell.

The black fryers of glosset'.

fryer John raynoldes bachyler In dyuynyte p'or nup'.

fryer John howp'.

fryer Rycha'd bylond.

fryer Wyllyam swan.

fryer Wyllyam Walton'.

fryer Raffe Howell.

fryer Thomas meykyns."²

Then follow the other religious orders. Whether the friar-preachers availed themselves of this opportunity to sink into the ranks of the secular clergy is not evident, as their subsequent career is unknown. Among "the Housses of Freres lately geven vp, which haue any substa'ce of leyd," the suffragan returned, "The blak freres in Glocestr' oon Ile of the Church & p't of a Chapell, w^t div'se gutters."³ Their plate was deposited in the royal treasury, Apr. 25th, 1539, by Thomas Thacker.⁴

Thomas Bell the elder, who held of the friars two cottages with gardens, very soon completed the purchase of the whole, with the church, belfry, churchyard and all buildings and lands. For the sum £240 5s. 4d., he received by royal grant, July 21st, 1539, the Blacke Fryers, valued altogether at 26s. 8d. a-year, and some possessions of the late priory of Lanthony and abbey of Rilegh, to be held by him and Jane his wife, and his heirs and assigns for ever, by service of the twentieth part of a knts.-fee and the yearly rent or tenth of 12s. 2d. a-year; with the revenues from the last ladyday.⁵ The grantee was a clothmaker and draper, and one of the first that brought the trade of capping into Gloucester. By his industry he acquired wealth sufficient to maintain the knighthood which Henry VIII afterwards conferred on him, and twice was mayor of Gloucester. He turned the blackfriars' church into a beautiful residence for himself called Bell's Place, and the monastic buildings into a manufactory; and close by he founded and endowed some almshouses. His widow Jane outlived him; and as his only son Thomas (who did not get the greyfriars) died before him without issue, the blackfriars went to Jane his sole daughter. After her mother's death, she carried it, with a fair estate, into the family of Dennis, in which it remained for a few generations. Since 1769, the house has passed into many hands. The church is still a good residence, and the buildings have been changed into cottages, workshops, and outhouses.

The remains of this priory are very extensive and interesting. The traditions of the Dominican order required that the buildings should be arranged quadrilaterally, enclosing a plot of ground which formed the

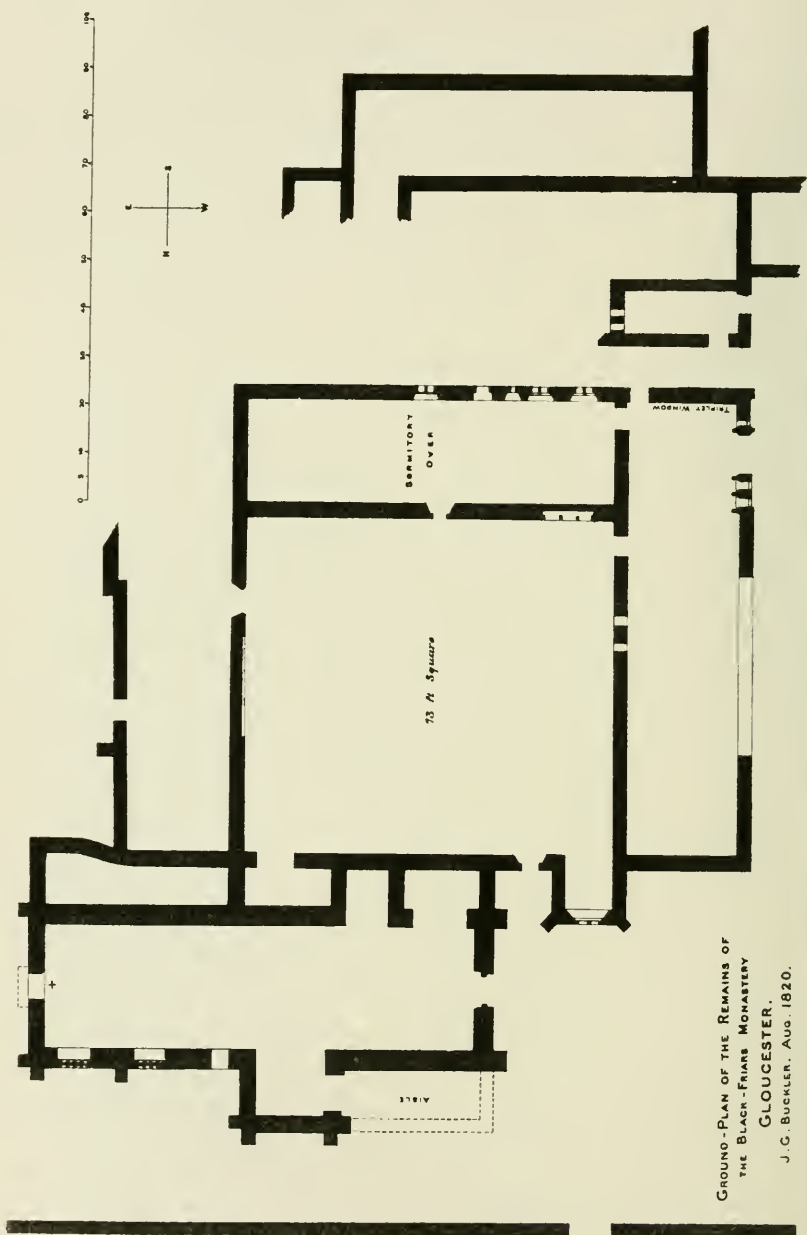
¹ Cotton. MSS. Cleopatra E iv, No. 160.

² Ibid. No. 162.

³ Treas. of rec. of exch. *ut sup.*, fol. 4.

⁴ Williams' Account of monastic treasures confiscated (Abbotsford Club).

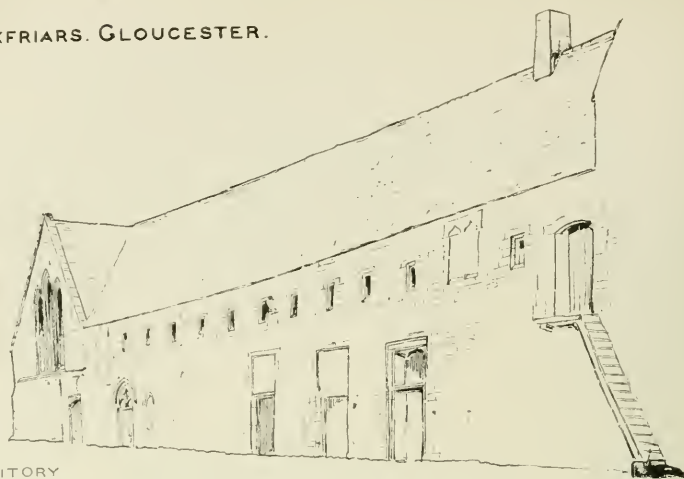
⁵ Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, p. 1, m. 37 (8).



GROUND-PLAN OF THE REMAINS OF
THE BLACK-FRIARS MONASTERY
GLOUCESTER.
J. G. BUCKLER. AUG. 1820.



BLACKFRIARS. GLOUCESTER.



DORMITORY
SOUTH S. DE.



DORMITORY WINDOWS

CAB del 1860



VIEW FROM NORTH WEST

JCB del 1820

cloistral cemetery for the deceased of the community, one side being occupied by the church ; but no fixed rule was adopted for the distribution of the offices. This is apparent from the plans of several of the English priories founded within the same period of twenty years. At Gloucester, Bristol, and Stamford, the church formed the north side of the quadrangle, whilst at Norwich and Canterbury it was on the south, and at Newcastle-on-Tyne on the east, being probably regulated by the conveniences of the localities ; and even orientation was not uniformly preserved. The culinary offices at Gloucester were evidently on the south, whilst at Canterbury they stood on the west.

The early Dominican churches were exceeding simple in arrangement and severe in details. A good example of them existed at Canterbury, where the choir, nave, and two aisles were all included under one long unbroken roof, and a porch at the west end afforded entrance to the congregation. The church at Gloucester, consisting of choir, nave, north chapel or transept, and north aisle, being rebuilt about the beginning of the 16th century, departed somewhat from this plan, inasmuch as the chapel was covered with a distinct transverse roof. It occupied only about three-fourths of the side of the quadrangle, the rest being completed by monastic buildings. In the church were three altars : the steeple with two bells, and the aisle have disappeared.

The rest of the buildings which complete the quadrangle, about 73 ft. square, are doubtless the original structures of the 13th century. The dormitory forming the second storey of the south side, with its exterior stairs, is still perfect, even to the stone partitions of the separate cells. On the ground floor was probably the refectory. The triplet window in the south gable of the west buildings is deserving of notice. But the interiors of all these buildings have been so much changed and adapted for modern requirements, that it is difficult to ascertain their monastic destinations. The cellaring is extensive, but presents little worthy of remark. It is best, however, to turn to the original plan and drawings, with which we have been favoured by Mr. C. A. Buckler, whose talents as an architect secure our confidence and esteem, whilst we tender to him our thanks for his kindness on this occasion amongst many others.

From time to time, some objects of interest have come to light again. In 1714 a missal was found in the friary, in which were the names of Walter Bowden and Agnes his wife, Richard Warminster, John Brigge, and Robert Darnal and Juliana his wife, who were probably benefactors. Upon a stone dug up in 1716, was the effigy of a friar ; and on another, *Ossa Johannis Bisely*. In the year 1779 there were in the floor of one of the houses made out of the ruins, the arms of Archbishop Dene (who occupied the see of Canterbury from 1501 to 1503) and those of the bishopric of Durham, St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester, and more frequently a bend cotized between six lioncels (not six trees, as Rudder says) for Bohun, all being probably the memorials of benefactors to the house. These tiles were still preserved in 1819. In the north wall of the church is what is called a sort of shrine, but is evidently the remains of the paschal sepulchre.

The seal of the convent was doubtless sequestered by the suffragan of Dover. The matrix of the seal of the friar-preachers of Truro, which shared the same fate, was dug up, in the autumn of 1842, in the garden of the vicarage-house of Sturry, near Canterbury ; but what the wanderings of

the Gloucester matrix for two hundred and seventy years have been, it is idle to conjecture. This matrix is made out of one block of brass wrought into shape by hand, being about a quarter of an inch thick, the handle being formed of a ridge along the back and pierced with a hole to secure a firm grasp. The stamp shows some traces of gilding; but the back and handle are rough in workmanship, presenting nothing but the marks of the file. The seal contains two principal figures, one bald-headed and bearded, clad in flowing garments, and holding a book and a reversed sword by the point; the other tonsured, habited in the cappa and capuce of the friar-preachers, and holding a long cross and a book: below, the demi-figure of a friar praying: legend, s'. COMMUNE: FRM: PREDICATOR'



GLOUCESTRIE. We believe that the figures are those of St. Paul the Apostle and St. Dominic, and that they were the saintly patrons of this priory. The date of the seal has been considered to be about the year 1280, but there is probably no reason for denying it a somewhat earlier period.

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR, 1881.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers on 1st January, 1881 (less payments made in 1881 in respect of debts due in 1880)	42	4	7			
" Petty Cash in hand	4	2	10	46	7	5
" Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance	433	12	0			
" Entrance Fees	13	13	0			
" Life Compositions	31	10	0			
" Sale of Publications, etc., including Subscriptions to General Index and Helmet Catalogue	135	18	4	614	13	4
" Balance of Account of Bedford Meeting				41	4	4

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publishing Account:						
Engraving, etc., for Journal	61	11	6			
W. Pollard, printing Journal	75	0	0			
Editing Journal	40	0	0	176	11	6
" House Expenses:						
Rent of Apartments	155	0	0			
Secretary's Salary	100	0	0			
W. S. Johnson, printing	49	5	6			
A. Thomas, book-binding	9	13	6			
Partridge and Cooper, stationery	10	6	6			
Bywater Bros. repairs	22	16	9			
Housekeeper and Sundries	4	8	0			
	351	10	3			
" T. Elger in respect of Bedford Meeting				12	15	0
" Petty Cash Account:						
Office Expenses, Messenger, etc.	59	9	10			
Stamps, Delivery of Journal, etc.	41	12	5			
Gas	16	5				
Cabs, Omnibuses, Portage, etc.	4	2	2			
Carriage of Parcels, Booking, etc.	4	16	3			
Stationery and Office Sundries	2	0	5			
Binding, etc., for Journal, Books, etc.	12	12	6			
Petty Cash at Bedford, Journeys, etc.	22	13	9			
	144	3	9			
" By Balance at Bankers on 31st December, 1881	81	4	6			
" Cash in hands of Secretary	6	17	0			
	88	1	6			

Reduced by payments in 1882 in respect of debts due in 1881, viz.—
 F. Watkins 38 15 0
 A. Hartshorne 45 0 0

By Petty Cash in hand	4	6	6			
	8	18	1	13	4	7
				£702	5	1

£702 5 1

Memo.	£	s.	d.
Bank Total	690	4	3
In hands Secretary	6	17	0
	697	1	3
Petty Cash on hand, 1st January, 1881	4	2	10
Subscription received paid into Petty Cash and not into Bank	1	1	0
	£702	5	1

Memo.	£	s.	d.
Payment per Bank account	692	14	9
Payments as above	689	0	6
	3	14	3
Caused as under—			
Difference			
Cheques drawn for Petty Cash	151	18	0
Petty Cash Payments	148	3	9
	3	14	3
Petty Cash Account—(abstract of)			
Balance, 1st January,			
1881	4	2	10
Cheques	151	18	0
Subscription	1	1	0
Less Payments	157	1	10
	148	3	9
Balance, 31st December, 1881	8	18	1

Presented to the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Carlisle,
August 3rd, 1882.

Audited and found correct, } W. HENLEY JERVIS, } *Auditors.*
July 12th, 1882. } H. J. BIGGE,
TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, *Chairman.*



Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 6, 1882.

J. HILTON, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN sent a paper on "Sens and Auxerre," which was read by Mr. E. Walford, and is printed at p. 97. On the proposal of the Chairman, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Freeman.

Mr. E. PEACOCK communicated the subjoined "Professio" of a sister of the Nunnery of Little Marlow, which was read by Mr. Hartshorne:

"The following document has been transcribed for me by the Rev. A. R. Maddison, from the Episcopal register of Lincoln. I think it may prove of some interest to the members of the Institute, as I do not at present remember that any similar "professio" has been printed. The published accounts of Little Marlow or Minchin Marlow are very scanty. It was a Benedictine nunnery, situate in Buckinghamshire. Who was its founder is uncertain. A list of the Prioresses, seemingly imperfect, is given in the *Monasticon*, vol. iv, p. 419.)

From this it appears that the Prioress to whom the profession was made was Margaret Vernon, the last lady who ever filled the post.

The bishop before whom this profession was made was John Longland. He was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, May 5, 1520, and died on May 7, 1547, aged 74 years.

Professio monial'm de Marlow parva.

"Die dñico p'mo die mensis septembris Anno dñi miffio quigen^{mo}xxvij^{mo} in ecclesia conventuali de marlow parva Reverendus in Xro pr Joh'es permissione divina lincoln Ep'us pontificalibus suis indutus intra misse solmpnia sorores Constantiam petronillam et Annam p'oratus pdicti de m'loo p'va ad et in ordine sancti b'nedicti admisit et easdem benedixit, et vota et pfessiones earundem singillatim recepit et acceptavit sub forma verborum sequen

"In the name of god amen I suster constanee, petronniff, Anne. In the presence of Almighty god and our blessed lady seint mary patrone of this monastery, and all aungells and seints of heven, and of you reverend fardour in god John bishope of lincoln and ordynary of this diocese, and in the presence of all this honorable witness, vowe offere and fully gyve myself to serve all mighty god duryng my lyffe naturall in this monastery of lytyll marlowe dedicate in the honour of god and our blessed lady seint Mary, and for this intent and purpose I here renounce for ener and utterly forsake the world and propety of temporall substaunce and goods of the same, and all other wordly delights and pleasures, taking upon me wilfull poverty, vowyng also and promysing ever to lyve in pure chastitie during

my lyffe. To chaunge my seculer lyffe into reguler conuersaton and religyouse manner, promysing and vowyng dewe reverence and obedience unto you reverend fadour in god John bishoppe of lincoln and your successors byshoppes, and unto my lady and mother dame Margarette now prioresse of this monastery and to her successors prioresses of the same, and utterly from hensforth I forsake myn own propre will and not to folowe the same butt to folowe the will of my superior in all lawfull and canonycke commandements, and to observe this holy ordre and religion according to the holy rules of seint benedict, and all the laudable constitutions of this monastery by the gracyouse assistance of our lord Jhu Christe. In wytness whereof I doo putt a signe with myn own hande to this my profession.

“Relique vero due sorores vota et professiones suas eiisdem verbis emisunt et ipsarum propriam suam professionem signo crucis subsignato tunc ibidem. Presentibus Magistris luca longlands armigero. Nicholao Small, henrico white artium magistris, domino hugone Mathewe & Johanne Rogers cap^{no} et aliis quamplurimis.”

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Peacock.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. C. R. B. KING.—Lithographic illustrations of the Undercroft of the church of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, and of a *Baldachino* lately removed from the church of St. Mary, Totnes. Concerning the latter Mr. King has been obliging enough to send the following notes:—

“The Altar-piece lately removed from the chancel of Totnes church deserves some notice from its exceptional character, forming as it did a canopy under which the altar stood. Before proceeding to describe this particular example, I would say a few words on the subject of canopies generally.

“Canopies of varying form under the name of ciborium, tabernacle, or baldachino, have been used in connexion with church furniture and services for many centuries, the earliest known instance being one in the church of St. George at Thessalonica. They were more general in Italy than in other parts of Western Europe. When connected with an altar, the usual form seems to have been that of four detached pillars, supporting a velarium or veil stretched on the top, and having curtains hanging between the columns to enclose the altar. In later times the curtain and veil were dispensed with, and the whole fitting partook more of the character of an architectural structure. Mediaeval instances occur in several churches in Rome, in St. Mark’s, Venice, and elsewhere, but the use of such structures does not seem to have been introduced into this country during the middle ages.

“The earliest instances of Altar canopies in England that I know of, are those in Winchester Cathedral, and Tong Church, Shropshire. The former was erected in the time of Charles I, and was removed about the year 1820. It consisted of a flat canopy or tester of oak, attached by its back edge to the stone screen behind the High-altar and maintained in a horizontal position without any visible supports. The outer parts were enriched by an elaborately moulded cornice, with cresting above, and carved festoons depending below the cornice. This example is shown in Plate xxiv of Britton’s work on Winchester Cathedral. The canopy at

Tong I have not seen, but from the descriptions I have received, I believe that it belongs to the 17th century. It is of oak, suspended by rods from the chancel roof.

"Sir Christopher Wren designed a Baldachino for St. Paul's Cathedral, following the character of that erected by Bernini in St. Peter's at Rome in the year 1633, having four columnar supports, carrying a roof, the whole standing quite detached, this, however, was not carried into execution.

"Wren, in several of his churches, gave a quasi Baldachino appearance to the oak panelling with which he usually lined the Eastern walls, but the columns were generally attached, or but little detached from the panelling, so that the altar did not actually stand *under* the pediment or cornice which surmounted the columns.

"Wren's pupil, Hawksmoor, in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, by the Mansion House, erected in 1716, placed a richly carved oak Baldachino altar, standing against the east wall. The canopy has a depth or projection of several feet, so that the altar stands entirely beneath it. The same architect, in the church of St. George, Bloomsbury, placed a somewhat similar, though plainer structure, having less projection, so that in this case the altar is partly beneath and partly beyond the line of the canopy. In both these cases the space between the supports of the canopy from north to south is so limited that the idea of the officiating clergyman standing at the north and south ends of the altar could not have been contemplated by the designer.

"I am informed by Lord Coleridge that in his younger days, the chapel of Eton College possessed a Baldachino of classic design, probably by Wren, very sumptuous in character, having carvings and inlays of various woods, but this has now disappeared.

"The design of the canopy in Totnes church consisted of two detached fluted columns of the composite order standing in advance of two engaged columns of like design placed on a panelled dado or pedestal next the east wall, on either side of the chancel, a little distance from the north and south walls. The east wall from which these columns projected had between the two clusters of columns a further curved recess eastward, forming a total recess at the floor line of nearly six feet. These groups of columns supported a horizontal entablature returning into the east wall, and not carried across the recess. From the top of the entablature an arched cornice, or archivolt, semi-circular in elevation, was carried, so connecting the two groups of columns. The front line of this arched cornice coincided with the face of the outer columns, giving a canopy five-and-a-half-feet deep.

"The soffit or underside of this arch was divided into moulded coffers or panels having pateræ of foliage within them. The arched ceiling was one foot in thickness, and above it the wall face was in the same plane with that behind the engaged columns. The wall had, at a still higher level, a cornice of simple character, level at either end, but wavy in the middle, reaching nearly to the curved roof of the chancel. On each side upon the entablature, stood a vase.

"Below the arch ceiling in the upper part of the east wall, was a small semicircular window with mouldings round it, and cherubs in relief filling up the space between it and the coffered ceiling, while below the window was some flowing foliage marking a change in the plan of the recess.

The whole structure was of lath and plaster on a framework of deal. The execution of the mouldings, and enrichments with all the intricacies of the modillioned and coffered cornice was exceedingly good, the only exception being the vases which were coarsely designed and executed.

"The altar, of oak, which is coeval with the canopy, is three feet nine inches long, and two feet eight inches in projection; this was probably intended to stand in the curved recess. The space between the pedestals of the canopy was nine feet in length, leaving a very limited space at either end of the table where it projected beyond the curved recess.

"I have been unable to ascertain the date of the erection of the structure, but it was probably towards the end of the last century. It must have been designed by an architect who had studied in Italy, the same perhaps who designed a house in Fore Street, nearly opposite the Ashburton Road, to the canopy of the doorway of which house it had some resemblance.

"I would say in passing that these canopies to doorways in the last century were called "Baldachins." The name is also applied to a canopy of cloth, supported by upright poles, borne over persons of distinction.

"It was hoped that the removal of this interesting object might have been accomplished without injury, so that it might have been preserved elsewhere as a relic of a fashion now abandoned, but the fragile nature of the work and the decay of the framework rendered this impossible. In view of this contingency I made sketches and measurements of the structure, which I drew out and had lithographed. Copies of this print I have presented to the public libraries, to the Archæological Institute, and to societies and individuals likely to be interested in archæological or ecclesiastical matters.

"There is a recent instance of a Baldachino in St. Barnabas church Oxford, but the attempt made a few years ago to erect one in St. Barnabas church, Pimlico, was frustrated, although the Totnes and other English examples were mentioned, in the course of the Faculty suit, as affording precedents for such fittings."

By the CHAIRMAN.—A collection of early keys, a bronze celt, and a large fibula, from Italy. The meeting was further indebted to Mr. Hilton for the opportunity of inspecting a parcel-gilt silver collar of SS. With reference to this object Mr. Hartshorne contributed some general notes on such decorations, which will appear in a future *Journal*.

By Mr. E. C. HULME.—Impression of a seal in low-relief, $\frac{1\frac{1}{2}}{8}$ inch in diameter, representing the Virgin and child seated in a flowery mead, and circumscribed by the legend, TIMOΘEOC ΠΙΛΑΠΧΑΚΩΣΩΝ ΝΙΝΟΥΙΗΘΑΕΟC. This was found on the site of Winchester House, Old Broad-street, City. It is apparently of the early part of the seventeenth century.

May 4, 1882.

T. H. BAYLIS, Esq., Q.C., in the chair.

The Rev. C. F. R. Palmer sent "Further Notes on the Priory of Dartford, in Kent," which were read by the CHAIRMAN, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Hartshorne, and are printed at p. 177. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Palmer for thus again contributing to the interest of the monthly meetings from his rich and extensive sources of information.

Precentor VENABLES sent a paper on Carrow Priory, a house

of Benedictine nuns in the suburbs of Norwich. Carrow is familiar to the readers of Skelton from his well-known "Little Boke of Philip Sparow," being an Elegy on the death of a pet bird, belonging to Mistress Jane Scrope, an inmate of the convent, by the talons of "Gylb," the nunnery cat.

"Gylb, I say, our cat
Worried her on that
Which I loved beste;
So cannot be exprest
My sorrowful heavyness,
But al without redress."

The irreverent rhymester parodies the funeral service of the Roman Catholic church:

"For the soul of Philip Sparow
That was late slain at Carow
Among the nunnes blake:
For that sweet soules sake
And for al sparowes soules
Set in our bedde routes."

After an invocation addressed to Jupiter and other names of ancient mythology, he proceeds to call down vengeance:

"On al the whole nacion
Of cattles
God send them sorow and shame
These vilanous false cattles
Made for mice and rattes
And not for byrdes small;
That cat specially,
Which slew so cruelly
My litle prety sparow
That I brought up at Carow."

Through the munificence of the proprietor, Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., one of the representatives of the City of Norwich, the buildings of the monastery have been recently exhumed. It was originally dedicated to SS. Mary and John the Baptist. King Stephen enlarged and endowed it with lands near Norwich; and in pursuance of the Royal decree, two sisters of the old foundation, named Seyna and Leftelina, in 1146, began to build a church and monastery, the former dedicated to the Virgin. King John, in 1199, granted the nuns a four days' fair. In 1245, consecrations of several bishops took place in the nunnery church. Afterwards it became a place of education for the daughters of leading families in the diocese. In 1395, Edith Wilton, a prioress, was prosecuted and imprisoned for giving sanctuary to a murderer, but after the trial was discharged. The last prioress but one, Isabella Wygon, A.D. 1514, erected the prioress's house, where her rebus, a Y and a "gun" appear on a chimney piece. The last prioress was Cecily Stafford, who received at the Dissolution a pension of £8, which on Q. Mary's accession she was still enjoying.

With the exception of the Prioress's house, which was converted into a residence by Sir John Shelton, the grantee, the buildings of the monas-

tery shared the common fate of conventual establishments. Everything that was saleable, timber, iron, lead, glass, was sold, and the walls of the cloister garth after being stripped of their facings remained as the enclosure of a garden. So complete was the interment of the ruins in their own *débris* that an observer in the last century declared "there were no apparent ruins." To the munificence of the owner of the property, Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., is due the disenterment of these remains, and the task of describing and planning the building has been ably undertaken by Mr. A. S. King. The fragments consist of the foundation of the church and of a range of buildings on the east side of the cloisters, consisting of the slype, chapter house, and day-room. After a minute description of these remains, the paper concluded by an assurance on the part of the writer that the Institute would be ready to tender their sincere thanks both to Mr. Colman for beginning and carrying out, and to Mr. Tillett, the occupier, for permitting the excavations, which, however rich in architectural results, must have been productive of no little personal discomfort.

Mr. E. WALFORD thought the members of the Institute would be glad to hear that these excavations were in a great measure the result of a meeting of the Archæological Association in 1879, which on that occasion gave the first impetus to the investigation by calling attention to this religious house, with regard to which the histories of the county were almost silent.

A vote of thanks was passed to Precentor Venables for his paper, as well as to Mr. Colman and the other gentlemen who have assisted in bringing to light such valuable evidences of an important monastic establishment.

The Rev. E. KING read the following notes on a dish by Thomas Toft:—

"At the monthly meeting of the Institute held in November, 1880, as recorded in the *Journal* for 1881, pp. 102-3, Professor Westwood, in reading 'A Notice of an Early Posset-pot,' amongst other interesting matter, touched briefly on what are termed 'Toft Dishes,' mentioning four existing specimens, viz., one in the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn Street; another in the Bateman Museum; a third in the possession of Mr. Bagshaw; and a fourth in the South Kensington Museum.

"Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, in his valuable work, 'The Life of Wedgwood,' also mentions four, omitting Mr. Bagshaw's, and quoting one then in the hands of a Mr. Mills, in Norwich. This dish was sold at his death.

"Mr. Rudler, of the Jermyn Street Museum, informs me that there is another, the property of Mr. Willett of Brighton. I have now the pleasure of exhibiting a dish which is the most perfect I have yet seen, and differing somewhat from any I have either seen or heard of.

"There seem to have been two Tofts, Thomas and Ralph, father and son, who were master-potters in the middle of the seventeenth century. Their works were at Burslem in Staffordshire, which has been, not inaptly, styled 'the cradle of the potter's art.' They flourished in the reign of Charles II, and were engaged in the manufacture of various articles of pottery. Mr. Shaw in his 'History of Staffordshire,' mentions Thomas Toft as potting in 1650.

¹ A paper on Carrow Abbey by Mr. Loftus Brock may be found in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association v. xxxviii, p. 165.

"Amongst other fictile ware they made 'Tygs,' and these large coarse dishes which are now called *Toft dishes*.

"The examples I have just mentioned are all, with one exception, undated. These dishes are formed of a salmony coloured, or sometimes of a yellowish, clay. The pattern, or ornamentation, instead of being painted, is laid on in '*slip*' of variously tinted clay; the outline and shading, such as it is, being marked out with dark brown, or pitchy-coloured lines, dotted with little white beads; the whole is thickly overlaid with a yellow glaze.

"Mons. Jacquemart in his '*History of Ceramic Art*,' as translated by Mrs. Bury Palliser, describes them as '*Earthenwares in relief, of a primitive and hideous aspect*.'

"1. The Jermyn Street specimen is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The centre is charged with a lion rampant regally crowned. The rim is trellised, and bears the name of Thomas Toft. It is much misshapen, as though it had been put into the oven in too soft a state; and it is, besides, considerably over-fired. An engraving of this dish is given in Mr. Jewitt's book, and also by Mr. Marryatt.

"2. The dish late the property of Mr. Mills, deceased, is 19 inches in diameter, and shows a full-length, but very unsymmetrical, female figure between two female heads in ovals. The rim in this case is ornamented with a double spiral thread and bears the name of Ralph Toft. This dish, some twelve or fourteen years ago, passed into other hands.

"3. The South Kensington specimen, which doubtless some of you may have seen, is $17\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, having the centre charged with a mermaid. It is in excellent preservation, and is an interesting example. This was, as a label upon it states, bought for £15 in 1869.

"4. The Lomberdale House example is, I believe, the largest known, being over 22 inches in diameter. It bears a three-quarter-length portrait of King Charles II, bearing a sceptre in either hand, one terminating in a fleur-de-lis, the other in a mound (probably the one for France, the latter for Britain) surrounded with foliage. This, like No. 1, has a trellised border or rim.

"5. Mr. Bagshaw's dish is described by Professor Westwood as having the figure formed of dark brown lines, dotted with white, and bearing the name of *Ralph Toft*. This and the one last mentioned I have not myself seen, but both are engraved in Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt's '*Life of Wedgwood*.' Mr. Chaffers in speaking of this describes it as having a female figure crowned, between two medallions bearing female heads, also crowned. This seems to be a similar, if not the same, dish to that which I have mentioned as having been sold at Mr. Mills' sale.

"6. Another, as I said before, is owned by Mr. Henry Willett, in Brighton, but I have no description of this.

"7. I am myself the fortunate possessor of the one I now exhibit.

"Of dated examples, besides the one already mentioned, Mr. Chaffers instances a specimen in the Salford Museum, bearing 'a gentleman and lady at full length, dated Ralph Toft, 1676.'

"Mr. Marryatt records one in the possession of Lady Stafford 'with the Royal arms of Charles II's reign;' this is probably undated except so far as the sovereign's arms indicate the reign in which it was potted.

"There may be others still in existence, and if so one would be glad for information about them.

"My dish though not so large as the Lomberdale House example, being but 18 inches in diameter, is the best specimen, with the exception perhaps of the South Kensington one, that I have seen. It differs from any of these which I have mentioned, bearing as you see, in addition to Thomas Toft's name, two similarly formed letters, T. L., immediately above, which I take to be the initials of one of Toft's potters, who either made the dish, or perhaps, more probably, ornamented it; and who, no doubt, thought his own initials as deserving of record as were his master's names in full."

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. King for his paper.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the inaugural meeting of the National Society for Preserving the Memorials of the Dead,¹ would be held on May 10th, under the presidency of the Earl of Carnarvon.

The following resolution was proposed by the Rev. E. KING, seconded by Mr. T. MARLOW, and carried unanimously:—"That this meeting desires to express its cordial approval of the objects of the Society, and wishes it every success."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. A. KING.—Plan of Carrow Abbey.

By Mr. E. P. LOFTUS BROCK.—Photographs of the same.

By Mr. R. M. PHIPSON.—Lithographic illustrations of the same.

By the Rev. E. KING.—A dish by Thomas Toft.

By Captain E. HOARE.—"Bronze medal struck to commemorate the first meeting of the British Archæological Association, at Canterbury, in the year 1843; artist, W. J. Taylor, of London. It may be thus described:—Obverse—on a shield, the Arms of the City of Canterbury, viz:—Argent, three Cornish choughs proper, two and one, on a chief Gules, a lion, passant, guardant, Or. The first and lower portion of these arms were the armorial bearings of Thomas á Becket, and as the authorities of the City of Canterbury adopted him as their patron, guardian, and tutelary saint, they also took his armorial insignia, as a portion of their own; the following inscriptions surrounding the shield:—FIRST MEETING, CANTERRURY, LORD ALB. CONYNGHAM, PRES. The date of the medal, 1844, divided on each side of the shield. Reverse:—A hand holding a vessel, and pouring oil into an ancient lamp, which is burning, surrounded by the inscription:—BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION. MDCCCLXIII. W. J. TAYLOR, F. LONDON, in the exergue. This medal was struck for subscribers only, and is rare; it is believed that one hundred copies only were struck.

¹ See vol. xxxviii, p. 464.



Dish by Thomas Toft



The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1882.

THE PLACE OF CARLISLE IN ENGLISH HISTORY.¹

By E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

In the course of the journeyings of our Institute through various parts of our island, in the course of the meetings which it holds year by year in our chief cities and boroughs, it often happens that the immediate scene of our researches specially calls back, as a matter either of likeness or of contrast, some other scene which we have examined in earlier years. I remember well how, in the discharge of the office which the kindness of the Institute has so often laid upon me, I was once called on to flit over a large part of our island, from British Cardiff to East-Saxon Colchester. Strangely enough, I found that in two stirring periods of history, at some distance from one another, in the first century and in the seventeenth, the fates of the Silurian and the East-Saxon lands were twined together in a way which beforehand we should hardly have looked for. Here, on our second visit to this renowned border city, on my first visit to it in the character of an officer of the Archaeological Institute, my thoughts have wandered to stages in our progress earlier than the meeting of the Institute at Cardiff. From the hill and the castle of Carlisle I would ask you to look south-eastward to the flats of Holderness, to the haven of Kingston-upon-Hull. I would ask you also to carry your eyes more directly southward, to that one among all the *chesters* that Rome has left us which has specially taken that once vague description as its own proper name, to the scene of the bloody victory of Æthelfrith and the peaceful

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Carlisle, August 1st, 1882, at the Opening of the Historical Section.

triumph of Eadgar, to the City of the Legions by the Dee. Between Carlisle and Chester, between Carlisle and Kingston-on-Hull, I trust to show some instructive historic analogies and contrasts.

There are not many of the chief cities and boroughs of England which can point with undoubting certainty to a personal founder in strictly historic times. On founders who are purely mythical I need hardly dwell, and it would almost seem that they are passing out of date even in popular belief. I found at Colchester that, while yet wilder legends were still in vogue, old King Coel was well nigh forgotten in his own city, and that it needed rather hard work to get a copy of the music of his own song to sing on the battlements of what for the nonce we may call his own castle. Among more real personages, who do not claim to be looked on as grandfathers of the founder of the New Rome, it has happened in not a few cases that some well-ascertained man has founded a castle or a monastery, and that a town has grown up around his foundation. So it was, to take only two examples out of many, with the abbey of Saint Eadmund in one age and with the castle of Richmond in another. So in northern England Durham owes its being to the happy choice of Ealdhun, when he picked out the peninsula girded by the Wear as the fittest place to shelter Saint Cuthberht's body after its wanderings. So in southern England the younger Salisbury owes its being to the happy choice of Richard Poore, where he moved his church from the waterless hill of elder days to the merry field that looks up to it. But I speak rather of cities directly called into being as cities, as great military or commercial posts, by the policy of princes who strove to strengthen or to defend their kingdom. We believe that Edinburgh came into being at the bidding of Eadwine the Bretwalda as the outpost of Anglian Lothian against the Scot. We know that Taunton came into being at the bidding of Ine the King as the outpost of Saxon Somerset against the Briton. But the foundations of Eadwine and Ine belong to a time so early that we can hardly look on them as cities or boroughs in the later sense. In the long list of English towns which first appear in history among the works of Eadward the Unconquered and Æthelflæd the Lady, it is hard to say

where they bade an uninhabited site to become for the first time a dwelling-place of man, and where they simply strengthened sites which had from the beginning of English settlement in Britain been covered with English homes. But it is one of the works of Æthelflaed, and one of the works, if not of the elder Eadward, yet of the namesake of after-times who walked in his path and renewed his glories, which I would ask you to look to as fellows, in the way of likeness and of contrast, to the city in which we are now met. Chester, Carlisle, Kingston-upon-Hull, can all point without doubting to their personal founders. Let the eldest of the three, the work of the Mercian Lady, wait a while. I would first ask you, dwellers and sojourners within these ancient walls, at the foot of yonder historic castle, dwellers and sojourners on a spot which has played so great a part in English warfare, not to look with scorn on the lowlier, the more peaceful, the more recent fame of the great haven by the mouth of Humber. I can hardly believe that the men of Hull would willingly exchange their founder for the founder of the Carlisle that now is. On the stairs of their town-house stands their founder's statue, a statue which fifteen years back I had often to pass, and which I could never bring myself to pass without showing some mark of worship to the greatest of England's later kings. Carlisle, I believe, contains no such memorial of her founder; and, if she did, I am not sure that some years of very near acquaintance with him and his doings would lead me to pay him like reverence. For while Hull may boast herself as the creation of Edward the First, the Carlisle that now is can claim no worthier founder than William the Red. I give the founder of Hull his conventional number under protest. Lawyers and courtiers have taught us to forget the worthies of our own stock; but the men of the great Edward's own day better knew his place in history; they counted him, by a truer and worthier reckoning, as Edward the Third and Edward the Fourth, fourth among the Kings of the English, third among the Emperors of Britain. If we are to change the number of the founder of Carlisle, we must change it the other way; for, as we are standing here on soil which formed no part of the realm of the Conqueror, he who was William the Second for the kingdom of England, might

be deemed to be only William the First within the earldom of Carlisle. Between the founder of Hull and the founder of Carlisle, between Edward the First and William the Red, the general contrast is certainly as wide as any that can be found between any two of the princes and leading men of our history. I need not now draw their portraits. The portrait of the great Edward I have striven over and over again to draw as occasion served. The portrait of William Rufus I have so lately drawn in the fullest detail of which I am capable that I am not as yet ready with a single freshening touch. Between the father of his people and their oppressor, between the foul blasphemer and the devout crusader, between the man of the most debased life and the mirror of every personal virtue, there is indeed little likeness. And though the reign of Rufus does in its way mark a stage in our national progress, it is hardly in the same way as the reign of the king whom we may hail as the founder of our later commerce and of our later law, the king who made fast for ever the great political work of the uncle whom he overthrew. And yet there are points in which two men so unlike as the founder of Hull and the founder of Carlisle may truly stand side by side. Each gave a king to Scotland; each warred with the Briton; and, if the Welsh warfare of Rufus brought him but little of immediate gain or immediate glory, it did in truth open the way for the victorious warfare of Edward. But, before all things, each enlarged the borders of the kingdom of England in a way that was done by no king between them. That the ground on which I now stand is English ground is the work of William the Red. And that the city in which we are met has been for nearly eight hundred years a dwelling-place of man is his work also.

But it may be that some one stirred up by a praiseworthy local patriotism, may arise and ask how the King's-Town-upon-Hull, whose plain English name bespeaks a comparatively modern origin, can be in any way set side by side with a city like this, whose British name points to an antiquity far older than the Conqueror's son. Hull, he may say, had undoubtedly no being before the days of Edward the First; do I mean to say, he may ask, that Carlisle had no being before the days of William the Red? And I must answer that, though each prince is, on his own

ground, alike entitled to the honours of a founder, yet the work of Rufus by the Eden and the work of Edward by the Humber were not wholly of the same kind. They differed in this, that the one called into being a haven of peaceful trade, while the other called into being a border fortress for the defence of his kingdom. But they differed further in this. Edward was strictly a creator. If men already dwelled on the site of the King's-Town-on-Hull, there was, till his keen eye marked the advantages of the site, nothing that could claim the name of town or borough. But William Rufus, in founding what has lasted from his day to ours, did but call into renewed being what had been in ages long before his. He called into being a city of men, and he girt it with walls and towers; but he called it into being on a site where men had dwelled in past times, and which had been defended by walls and towers of an older pattern than those with which the Red King fenced it in a second time.

As I have already hinted, if we had no record to tell us of the fact, the very name of *Carlisle* would be enough to teach us that the history of this city is essentially different from that of any other English city; and, above all, that its first being dates from a day long before the day of William Rufus. Alone among the cities of what we now deem the proper England, Carlisle bears an almost untouched British name, a name which was assuredly not given to it by a King of the English of Norman birth. This alone would show that, if Rufus was on this ground truly a founder, yet he was a founder only on ground where others had been founders long before him. Now here comes in the analogy between Carlisle and the other city with which I have already asked you to compare it. The part which was played at Carlisle by the son of the Conqueror was essentially the same as the part which had been played at Chester by the daughter of Ælfred. Rufus and Æthelstæd alike called into renewed being a city which had once been, but which was no longer. Deva, Caerleon, the City of the Legions, had stood void of men for three hundred years, since Æthelfrith smote the Briton beneath its Roman walls. It stood, as Anderida stands still, a "waste chester" which the invading Dane could turn on occasion to warlike uses.¹ The Lady of the Mercians built

¹ See the Chronicles, 894.

up the waste places, and filled the empty walls with inhabitants. The "waste chester" rose again, bearing an English version of its ancient name. Caerlleon, City of the Legions, became in English mouths *Legeceaster*. But so renowned was the chester of the Legions, the chester of Æthelfæd, among the many chesters of the land, that it became emphatically the Chester, and has for ages been known by no other name.

Whether Roman *Lugubalia*, British *Caerlluel*, ever sank so low as Roman *Deva*, British *Caerlleon*, we have no means of judging. We know not whether it ever stood as a mere "waste chester," like *Deva* and *Anderida*. On the whole, the evidence looks as if *Rufus* had not found it utterly desolate. The story of its restoration looks that way; the history of the name looks that way. At *Caerlleon-on-Dee*, the British name was, according to the usual rule, turned round and translated. The Briton, according to the idiom of his tongue, had put his *caer* before the qualifying name; the Englishman, according to the idiom of his tongue, put his *ceaster* after it. *Caerlleon* became *Legeceaster*, as the southern *Caergwent* became *Wintanceaster*, *Winchester*. But on the spot where we now stand the British name has ever lived on. *Lugubalia* became *Caerlluel*, as *Venta* became *Caergwent*; but while *Caergwent* has become *Winchester*, *Caerlluel* has not, in modern speech, become something like *Lulchester*, but, with the slightest change of sound, it remains *Caerlluel* to this day. As far as modern usage goes, it has not shared the fate of the *Caerlleon* by the *Dee* and the *Caergwent* by the *Itchin*; it has lived on, like the other *Caerlleon* by the *Usk*, the other *Caergwent* on the *Silurian* shore. And this fact, the fact that we speak of *Winchester* and not of *Caergwent*, while we speak of *Carlisle* and not of *Lulchester*, becomes the more remarkable when we light on another fact, namely that, for a season, on some mouths at least, *Lulchester* was the actual name of the city where we are met. There is just evidence enough, but only just enough, to show that the English form of the name was really known.¹ In the ninth century we hear of *Lulchester*; in the eleventh we hear of *Caerlluel*

¹ The form *Lucrecstre* is found twice in the two lives of Saint Cuthbert printed in the Surtees edition of Simeon of Durham, pp. 146, 231. It must, as

the editor says, be a corruption of *Lulcestre*. *L* and *r* sometimes get confounded in a strange way, as we often see *Guillermus* for *Guillelmus*.

again. This seems to prove almost more than if the name of Lulchester had never been heard at all. It does not absolutely prove continuous habitation; but, combined with other facts, it looks like it. And it does prove that, while there had once been an English day on the spot, it was followed by a renewed British day. In the case of the City of the Legions, some form of the name, British or Latin, must have lived on for Æthelflæd to translate into English. But it was she who translated it. In her father's day the spot had no English name; it was not the Chester of the Legions, it was simply a "waste chester." But William Rufus did not think it needful to translate the name of Caerlluel into either French or English. He did not think it needful to call again into being the English translation which had been once made, but which was by his time doubtless quite forgotten. Neither did he, like the founders of Richmond and Montgomery, give his creation a name in his own tongue, borrowed perhaps from some well-known spot in his own land. All this shows that, when Rufus came, the British name of the spot must have been in familiar use.¹ The name of Caerlluel must have been far better known in his day than the name of Caerlleon could have been in the days of Æthelflæd. And this looks as if Caerlluel was not so utterly a waste chester in the days of Rufus as Caerlleon-on-Dee was in the days of Æthelflæd. But we must further remember that English Æthelflæd had every temptation to give her restored creation an English name. To the French-speaking Rufus—for there is no reason to think that he knew our tongue like his greater brother²—a British name would sound no more strange than an English one. If he found the name of Caerlluel as well established as the name of Eoforwic, he had no more temptation to change the name of Caerlluel than to change the name of Eoforwic.³

¹ Yet *Luel*, rather than *Caerlluel*, would seem to have been the better known form. See *Sin. Dun. Historie Recapitulatio*, 854, 883 (pp. 67, 72, Surtees ed.). In the former place the words are "*Lugubalia, id est Luel (nunc dicitur Carleil).*" In the second we read of Abbot Eadred that "*pro eo quod habitabat in Luel Lulise cognominabatur.*"

² Indeed the Peterborough Chronicle (1095) seems directly to imply the con-

trary. William Rufus gives the tower which he makes to blockade Bamburgh the French name of *Malvoisin*. As the chronicler puts it, "*hine on his spece Malveisin het, yet is ou Engliše yfel nehhebur.*"

³ The contraction of *Eoforwic* into *York* is not change in the sense that is here meant, and there are several intermediate forms.

Such then are our analogies and contrasts. Between Carlisle and Kingston-on-Hull there is such fellowship as may be deemed to arise between those two of the chief cities and boroughs of England which, alone or almost alone, can each claim as its personal founder a king of all England and a king who enlarged the bounds of England. Between Carlisle and Chester there is such fellowship as may be deemed to arise between cities which, after lying for a long time more or less thoroughly forsaken, were again called into being as cities of men, as border fortresses of the English realm. Other cities have in the like sort risen again. So pre-eminently did Aquæ Solis Acemannesceaster, the old borough which by another name men Bath call. So in all likelihood did most of the inhabited *chesters* throughout England; so not unlikely did *Londonwick*, *Londonborough*, itself. But in no other cases can we be so certain of the fact, so certain of the motive, as we can be of the work of Æthelflæd in 907 and of the work of William Rufus in 1092.

But it rarely happens that any ancient and historic city, however close and instructive may be its points of likeness to its fellows, is left without some points in its history which are absolutely its own and which might serve as its definition. I do not mean simply incidental definitions, based on some great fact in the history of the city. In this way we might so define Chester as the city which beheld the last great victory of the heathen Englishman over the Christian Briton and which was the last of English cities to bow to the Norman Conqueror, So we might define the elder Salisbury as the city which looks down alike on the field of battle which decreed that Britain should be English and on the field of council which decreed that England should be one. These are indeed events whose memory is now inseparably bound up with the historic spots where they took place; but the course of history might have taken such a turn as to cause them to take place elsewhere. York or Exeter, instead of Chester, might have been the last city to hold out against the Conqueror. Gloucester or Winchester, and not Salisbury, might have been the scene of his great act of legislative wisdom. To take the highest range of all, if York stands alone in Britain as the seat of

Imperial rule, the peer of Trier and Milan and Ravenna, that post of supreme dignity might just as easily have fallen to the lot of London or Verulam or Camelodunum. If Lincoln stands out within our world as the head of aristocratic commonwealths, as the city which, but for the day of Senlac and the day of Salisbury, might perchance have ruled like Bern and Venice over subject lands, yet it might have been that the lawmen of Stamford or Cambridge should have held the place which was held by the lawmen of the Colony of Lindum. I speak rather of definitions which enter as it were into the essential being of the cities themselves. It is after all an accident in the history of Exeter that she should have withstood William the Conqueror and welcomed William the Deliverer. It is an essential part of her personal being that she should have been among cities what Glastonbury is among churches, that she should have been the one city of Britain whose historic life is absolutely unbroken, the one city which passed from the Christian Briton to the Christian Englishman, it may even be without storm or battle, certainly without any period of abiding desolation. And Carlisle has her personal definition of the like kind. We can say of her that she is the one city which, having once become part of an English kingdom, again fell back under the rule of the Briton, the one city which became again part of the united English realm when, by a strange process indeed, the son of the Norman Conqueror drove out the one man of English blood who ruled as a prince in any corner of Britain.

It is a relief to one whose immediate business it is to speak specially of the city of Carlisle that he is not called upon to mix himself up with all the puzzles which surround the history and ethnology of Cumberland. He is not called upon to fix any limits to the extent of a name whose extent was ever changing. When Eadmund the Doer-of-great-deeds gave Cumberland, as perhaps the first of territorial fiefs, to his Scottish fellow-worker, when Æthelred, in one of his strange fits of energy, came to Cumberland on an errand of havoc, the site of Carlisle may perhaps have been in some way touched in either case. But the city of Carlisle was certainly untouched; for the city of Carlisle just then was a thing which had

been and which was to be again, but which at that moment was not. Nor is he called upon to solve that most puzzling of problems, the history of Scandinavian settlement and influence in the land around us. That Scandinavians of some kind, Danes of Northmen, made their way into the land is plain alike from the record of history and from the traces which they have left to this day. On the eastern side of England, in Northumberland, in Lindesey, in East-Anglia, we know the time of their coming; we know the names of their kings and earls who reigned at York. Here we simply know that they did come, and, as a matter of actual record, we know that they did come by one fact only. But that is a fact which touches our immediate subject in the most direct way. The one thing that we know was done in this immediate region by Scandinavian hands is the thorough destruction which Scandinavian hands wrought in the city where we are come together, destruction so thorough that, for two hundred years, the city ceased to be a city.¹ This fact concerns us most intimately; I do not know that we are at this moment called on to enter on the problem, how it was that Cumberland could be spoken of as especially Danish land,² while the presence of Danes in it certainly did not hinder the succession of a line of Scottish princes.³ But I am not called on to speak of Cumberland. In the time that specially concerns me, we have only to do with the name of Carlisle, not at all with the name of Cumberland. The land which the Red King added to the English kingdom was not the land of Cumberland, but the land of Carlisle. When under Henry that land became an English earldom, it was an earldom of Carlisle, not an earldom of Cumberland. When under the same king the land became an English diocese, I need hardly say that its bishop was Bishop of Carlisle, not of Cumberland; by that time the

¹ The words of Florence (1092) seem enough—"Hæc civitas, ut illis in partibus aliæ nonnullæ, a Danis paganis ante c. annos diruta, et usque ad id tempus mansit deserta." We of course connect this with the notice of the Danish invasion and the action of Abbot Eadred in Simeon of Durham (875) and the two lives of Saint Cuthberht before referred to.

² See Henry of Huntingdon, 1000, where he speaks of Æthelred's Cumbrian expedition as a victory over the Danes; "Ubi maxima mansio Dacorum erat."

³ See the succession of the kings of Cumberland or Strathclyde in Palgrave English Commonwealth, ii, cccxxvi.

territorial titles of bishops had altogether died out in England. The land which formed its diocese had no name, it had to be pointed at as that land in which is the new bishopric of Carlisle.¹ The name of Cumberland, like the name of Westmoreland, as the name of a part of the immediate English kingdom, dates only from the days of the Angevin. And, as for the problems of Cumbrian ethnology, let them be debated beyond the city walls. Of the city itself written history tells us only, what we have already heard, that the Dane overthrew the city and left it empty, and a point on which I shall have to speak again, that, when the Norman came to restore and to re-people city and land, it was with a colony of Saxons that he re-peopled them.

I have defined Carlisle as being that one among the cities of England which, having once become English, became British again. The unbroken English life of Carlisle begins with the coming of the Red King and the settlement of his southern colony. For two hundred years before he came, it had been British or nothing. For at least two hundred years before that, it had been part of an English kingdom, that of the Angles of Northumberland. For at least two hundred years before that it had shared the independence of those parts of Britain from which the Roman had gone, and into which the Angle or the Saxon had not yet come. Of the Roman and British life of the city we have little to tell, but that it had a long Roman and British life no man can doubt. Under various shapes and corruptions of its Roman and British name, we find it in every list of the cities of Britain. *Luguballium*, *Lugubalia*—I may be forgiven for cleaving to the shape which the name takes in the pages of English *Bæda*—occupies a site which seems marked out by Nature for a great fortress. It is a position, it is a site, which seems specially marked out as designed to guard a border, to defend a land against dangerous neighbours who may one day become wasting invaders. And this duty the hill of *Lugubalia* has had laid upon it throughout more than one long period, in the hands of more than one set of masters. I was

¹ Hen. Hunt. i. 5 (p. 10 ed Arnold). "*Ille regio in qua est novus episcopatus Carlil.*"

tempted to say elsewhere that it is not without a certain fitness that the spot which was to be the bulwark of England against the Scot should of itself put on somewhat of a Scottish character. I pointed out that the castle-hill of Carlisle bore a strong likeness, though a likeness in miniature, to the castle-hills of Edinburgh and Stirling. In all three the castle crowns the summit of a hill, steep at one end only. It crowns it therefore in a different sense from those hill-towns where the fortified akropolis forms the centre of the city. At Edinburgh, at Stirling, at Carlisle, the castle alike crowns and ends the city. It is at once an akropolis and an advanced bulwark. All three strongholds are emphatically watch-towers, homes of sentinels, standing and looking forth to guard the land of their friends and to overlook the land of their enemies. But when I spoke of Carlisle, the bulwark of England against the Scot, as having itself a Scottish character, I was thinking of some later ages of its history. In wider view of the history of our island, I might have expressed myself otherwise. From one side we might look on all three as being for several ages charged with what was essentially the same historic mission. In a more general view than that of the fluctuating political boundary of the English and Scottish kingdoms, each of these fortresses, looking out as they all do, so significantly and so threateningly to the north, might pass, from the days of Eadwine, from the days of Rufus, as a bulwark of Teutonic Britain against the Celtic lands beyond it. That duty was at least as well discharged by Stirling in the hands of an English-speaking King of Scots as it was by Carlisle in the hands of a French-speaking King of England. In a broad view of things, the artificial boundary of the English and Scottish kingdoms, that is, the boundary which parted off the Angle of Northumberland from the Angle of Lothian, is of far less moment than the boundary of Teutonic speech and civilization, whatever might be the name or the formal nationality of its champions. But what distinguishes Carlisle from its two northern fellows is that, while it has shared with them the championship of Teutonic Britain against the Celt, it, alone of the

three, had already held an analogous place in days before any part of Britain was Teutonic.

It will be at once seen that, while Stirling and Edinburgh guard one natural line of defence, Carlisle guards another. Stirling and Edinburgh guard the northern line, the line of Antoninus and Valentinian, the line drawn across the isthmus between the firths, at the point where Britain becomes so narrow that some ancient writers looked on the land beyond this line as forming another island. It is strange how nearly Valentia, the recovered conquest of the elder Theodosius, answers to the Scotland of later history, the English kingdom ruled by kings bearing a Scottish title. Of that kingdom Stirling and Edinburgh were border fortresses against the genuine Scot, save so far as Teutonic speech and culture crept up the Eastern coast to meet the kindred settlements which the Northman made in the lands which lay beyond the home of the Scot himself. Ages came when that was no mean function; but it was a function whose counterpart was called into only rare and fitful action in the days when the Cæsars ruled in Britain. To hold the land against the Celt was the calling alike of the Roman and the Teutonic lords of Britain. But the Roman could not be said to hold anything with a firm and lasting grasp beyond that great bulwark of which Lugubalia kept the western ending, as the Ælian bridge kept the eastern. Speaking without strict topographical accuracy, but with an approach to it near enough to convey the general idea, we commonly say that the Roman wall stretches from Carlisle to Newcastle. The Roman wall, the greater of the Roman walls, the only Roman wall in the sense which the word conveys in modern usage, the mighty bulwark of Hadrian, of Severus, and of Stilicho, may be fairly said to take Lugubalia as one of its starting-points. Not placed itself immediately on the line of the wall, the fortress looks out, as one of its chief points of view, on the station of Stanwix, the near neighbourhood of which may have caused Lugubalia itself to have been really of less military importance in the days of Roman occupation than in either earlier or later times. Yet the fortress itself does in some sort form part of the great bulwark, if it be true, as I have

heard suggested, that the moat in advance of the wall to the south may be traced along the line dividing castle and city. On this point I venture no opinion, but leave it wholly to those of greater local knowledge to decide. Of one thing we may be sure, that the Roman was not the first to turn this natural fortress into a place of strength. He was possibly the first to fence in the headland with a wall of masonry—though indeed some have suggested that Lugubalia was defended only by a stockade; he was surely not the first to part it off by a ditch from the sloping ground to the south. We may be sure that such a site as this was marked off as a place of defence even in the days when the art of defence was rudest. Here, as in so many other cases, the Roman did but seize on and improve on the works of the older inhabitants of the land. But we may be equally sure that it was at Roman bidding that the primitive stronghold became the akropolis of a city, a city where the arts and luxury of southern Europe were for the first time planted on this furthest border of Roman abiding power. From his own world the Roman had gone forth to bring the other world of Britain under his dominion. But, as he looked forth from the akropolis of this his most northern city, he must indeed have felt that there was yet another world beyond, a world within which the power of the Cæsars could spread itself only now and then, in moments of special and at last of dying energy.

Presently a time came when the Roman world, within and without Britain, was to be cut short, when the older barbarian world against whose outbreaks Lugubalia had been planted as a bulwark was again to be enlarged, again to take in lands and cities where the Roman had ruled and where he was still to leave his memory behind him. We enter that unrecorded age whose silence is more eloquent than any record, that age of darkness whose gloom gives us a clearer teaching than we can often gain from the fullest light of contemporary history. The Roman has gone; the Teuton has not yet come. The second period of British independence and isolation has begun, the length of which was so widely different in different parts in Britain. In Kent many a man who had seen the eagles of Rome pass away from Britain must

have lived to see the keels of Hengest draw near to the coasts of Thanet, and to take his parts in the bloody fights when the Welsh fled from the English like fire. Nay, the life of man is now and then so long that some who were born under Roman law, subjects to the sons of Theodosius, may have stayed on to die as helpless elders when Ælle and Cissa left not a Bret alive within the walls of Anderida. Far otherwise was it here in Lugubalia. Two centuries at least of untouched Celtic independence must have passed before this corner of the island which the Roman had forsaken fell under the rule of any Teutonic conqueror. How are we to fill up that long gap when even the most meagre records are speechless? It might indeed be easy to fill it up from the world of legend. We may at pleasure people merry Carlisle with the company which poets of earlier and later days have called into being to gather round the shadowy form of Arthur. The knights and ladies of Arthur's court, their loves and their exploits, I leave poets to deal with; I leave poets too to deal with the warfare of the British prince in lands far beyond the shores of Britain. But the question whether we are to look for a historic Arthur in so northern a part of our island is a fair question for critical discussion. If such an Arthur there was, we may fairly look on Caerlluel as in every way likely to have been his capital. But can any one here who bears in mind whence I have come, reasonably ask me to become the prophet or champion of a northern Arthur? As a disciple of Dr. Guest, I must accept a personal Arthur; but both my local and my personal allegiance constrain me to place him and his exploits in a part of our island far away from this. I must accept an Arthur who was a thorn in the path of our fathers, a valiant enemy who did somewhat to delay the work which turned Britain into England. I must grant to him the glory of a victory of no small moment over the English arms; but I must place that victory far away from Lugubalia and the Roman wall, on the spot where he met Cerdic face to face beneath the rings of West-Saxon Badbury. Dwelling within sight of the Tor of Avalon, hard by a hill which bears Arthur's name, and which looks out on the spot where men deemed that

Arthur slept, I may join in honouring the memory of a gallant foe, the Hector, the Hannibal, the Hereward, of Britain; but I must be allowed to honour him on my own ground or on the ground of my immediate neighbours. If any man asks me to believe that the tyrant Arthur came with the men of Cornwall to win back his wife whom the King of the Summer-land had carried off to the sure shelter of the Glassy isle, I feel no special necessity laid on me to refuse so harmless a request.¹ But I cannot let the hero of our *antecessors* in the south-western peninsula go further from us than to the lands which may be seen from his own southern hill. Two British names, of which I have often had to speak, have a tendency to get confounded both ways. We of the *Æstiva regio*, where Arthur found his tomb, may let him go so far from us as to keep his court at Caerlleon by the Usk; we cannot part with him on so long a journey as to let him go to keep it at Caerlluel by the Eden.

The fifth and the sixth century pass away; the seventh brings us face to face with deeds with are more certain, and with doers of those deeds of whom, if legend can tell us less, history can tell us more. At some time in that century, earlier or later, Lugubalia, beyond all doubt, passed under English rule. But was it earlier or later? When Æthelfrith had done what Ceawlin had failed to do, when he had cloven asunder the solid British land which still stretched from the Clyde to the Severn Sea, when he had smitten the monks of Bangor and left the City of the Legions a howling wilderness, are we to deem that the spot on which we stand was among the lands which the last heathen king of northern England added to the Northumbrian realm? Or shall we deem it that Lugubalia bowed to Æthelfrith, but that what Æthelfrith won, Cadwalla won back, when for the last time the northern Briton went forth conquering and to conquer? Was the city and its fortress part of the immediate realm of the Bretwaldas, Oswald and Oswiu? One thing is certain that, later in the century, Caerlluel formed part of the realm of Ecgfrith. It may have been part of his

¹ See the Legend in the Life of Gildas, § 10, p. xxxix. ed. Stevenson. There we have King Meluas "reguans in æstiva

regione," and we read how "Glastonia, id est, Urbs Vitrea. . . . obsessa est ab Arturo tyranno," &c.

conquests from the Briton; it was at least not one of those among his conquests which were won only for a moment. For nearly two hundred years after Ecgfrith, the city remained part of the dominions of the Northumbrian kings, part both of the spiritual fold and the temporal possessions of the bishops of Lindisfarne.¹ In English mouths too at least, its name took an English shape, and British *Caerlluel* became, as we have seen, English *Luelceaster*. It had its abbots, its abbesses, one at least among them of royal birth, the sister of Ecgfrith, to whom and to others the holy Cuthberht foretold their king's coming end.² Indeed, save his own holy island, few places stand out more conspicuously than *Lugubalia* in the history of the saint of Lindisfarne. We see him, in the picture of Bæda himself, visiting the city with somewhat of the curiosity of an antiquary, taken, as we have been this day, to look at its ancient walls, and to stand by the fountain which had been wrought in a wondrous sort in the days of Roman rule.³ Can we deem that, of the walls on which Cuthberht gazed we have this day gazed on any abiding fragments? Carlisle is not as dead *Anderida*, it is not as living *Colchester*, it is not even as *Chester*, which was dead and is alive again. Had saint Cuthberht been taken to see the walls of any of those ancient cities, we could point with all assurance to the stones and bricks on which he looked, abiding in the place in which he saw them. In the walls of Carlisle I have believed myself to see Roman stones; I leave it to more minute local knowledge than my own to judge whether any of them still abide in the places in which Cuthberht can have looked on them. One would be glad indeed if we could thus directly connect the Carlisle of the present with the Bernician saint, for it is simply through its connexion with him in life and death that we hear at all of the first English occupation of the

¹ We find the grant of Ecgfrith to Saint Cuthberht and the Saint's foundations in the second life in the *Surtees Simeon*, p. 230:—“Huic adjecerunt civitatem Luel, id est Carlei, et in circuitu XV. miliaria, et ibi Sanctus Cuthbertus congregationem sanctorum alium et abbatissam ordinavit, et scholas ibi constituit.” This agrees with the

story in Bæda's own *Life of Saint Cuthberht*, 27.

² Bæda, u.s. The city is described as “*Lugubalia civitas, quæ a populis Anglorum corrupte Luel vocatur.*”

³ “*Deducentibus cum civibus ut videret menia civitatis fontemque in ea miro quondam Romanorum opere exstructum.*”

city. The living Cuthberht prophesied within it; well nigh two hundred years later the dead Cuthberht appeared in a warning dream to its abbot Eadred. Thus we learn that Lulchester was then still part of the Northumbrian realm. It was to be so no longer. The Dane was in the land, and Luelchester was to perish at his hands, though not to perish for ever. Its abbot had a share in placing a king on the throne of York, now that York was the seat of Danish kings, as it had once been the seat of Roman Cæsars. He had a share in guarding Saint Cuthberht's bones till they found that home at Cunegaceaster which sheltered him till Ealdhun found for them a nobler resting-place. But the city from which Eadred Lulisc took his surname ceased to be, and its site passed away from the rule of the foreign King of Deira, for whom he found a kingdom, from the fellowship of the native saint of Bernicia, for whom he found a tomb. Of the site where Lugubalia once stood we hear nothing; but it cannot fail to have shared the fate of that Cumbrian under-kingdom which afterwards came to form the appanage of the heirs of Scottish kingship, and over which the West-Saxon and Danish lords of all Britain claimed at most the rights of an external over-lord.

Thus we learn from incidental notices, and from incidental notices only, that towards the end of the ninth century, the site, the walls, the ruined dwellings, of Lugubalia, passed away from immediate English rule. They ceased to be part of any English kingdom. They had been part of the realm of the Northumbrian; they never became part of the realm of the West-Saxon. They formed part of a kingdom whose princes became the men (perhaps sometimes rather the men of the men) of Danish Cnut and of Norman William, but they were no part of the realm which owned the Danish and the Norman conqueror as its immediate sovereign. It is surely hardly needful for me to dwell on the exploded errors which were matters of more than local controversy only nine years back.¹ There is surely no doubt now, there ought never

¹ I refer to the controversy in the *Times* in the year 1873, of which I have said something in my *Reign of William Rufus*, ii, 545. But I must correct one assumption which I made both in that note and in the text, namely, that Lugubalia was

part of the lands lost to Northumberland at the fall of Egfrith. I had not given heed enough to the story of Eadred, which clearly fixes the loss of the country, as well as the destruction of the city, to the Danish invasion of 875.

to have been any since the day of our Institute's earlier meeting on this spot, why it is that Cumberland and Westmoreland do not appear by those names among the shires which are entered in the Norman Survey. Why Northumberland and Durham are not entered may still be a question, though to my mind it is not a very hard question; but the case of Northumberland and Durham and the case of Cumberland and Westmoreland have nothing in common. Northumberland and Durham might have been entered; we may fairly ask the reason why they were not entered; but Cumberland and Westmoreland, by those names, were no more likely to be entered in Domesday than the earldom of Orkney or the county of Ponthieu. Domesday is a survey of lands which formed part of the dominions of the King of the English, not of lands which formed no part of his dominions. In the days of William the Great, nay, in the days of his sons and of his grandson, there were, as I have already said, no English shires bearing the names of Cumberland and Westmoreland. Of the lands which now bear those names, part already belonged to the English kingdom and formed part of an English shire. Those lands are duly entered in the Survey under the shire of which they then formed a part, the great shire of York, yet greater in those days than it is now. But the parts which immediately concern us, the site of Carlisle, the special land of Carlisle, are not entered in the Survey, for the simple reason that in the days of William the Great, they formed no part of the English kingdom.

Again I repeat—it is no discovery of mine; it was announced in this city three-and-twenty years ago by a master of the history of Northern England¹—it was not under the Conqueror himself, but under the son of the Conqueror, that the land of Carlisle was restored to the English realm, that the city rose again, strengthened by fresh bulwarks and colonized by new inhabitants. The tale which carries back Earl Randolf and his earldom into the Conqueror's day, which further turns him from an Earl of Carlisle into an Earl of Cumberland, has been copied over and over again; but no statement

¹ See Mr. Hodgson Hinde's Paper on the Early History of Cumberland in the *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 216.

ever was more utterly lacking in authority. The reference commonly given is to a well-known passage in a printed text of the writer known as Matthew of Westminster. This would at most prove that a single inaccurate writer of somewhat doubtful personality had made a not very wonderful confusion ; but the authority for the common tale is even less than this ; it comes simply from a marginal note written by some unknown person in a copy of Matthew Paris.¹ Genuine contemporary history knows nothing of the restored city of Carlisle till the days of William Rufus ; it knows nothing of an earldom of Carlisle till the days of Henry the Clerk. In the year 1092, so witnesses the Chronicle, "the King William with mickle *fyrð* went north to Carlisle, and the borough set up again, and the castle reared, and Dolfin out drove that ere the land wielded, and the castle with his men set, and sith hither south went, and mickle many of churlish folk with wives and cattle thither sent to dwell in the land to till it." There is the true tale. It is a curious instance of the way in which so much of our most trustworthy history has to be patched up from notices which are purely incidental, that it is from another record of this same event that we learn the destruction of the city by the Danes two hundred years earlier.² That fact might otherwise have been passed by ; but it was needful to put it on record to explain the state of things which the Red King found in Lugubalia and the coasts thereof.

No part of our fragmentary story is more thoroughly fragmentary than this, the central fact of the whole tale. The entry in the Chronicles stands by itself ; we are left to connect it as we can with anything that went before, and with anything that came after. We are not told what led to this action of the Red King at this particular time ; we find a certain Dolfin in possession of the land ; but we are not told what he had done to lead to the attack which the King of the English made upon him ; we are not even told who he was. But, from his name and from the whole circumstances of the story, we can

¹ This was shown by Dr. Luard in the *Times*, January 16, 1873. See *Saturday Review*, January 18, 1873.

² See the extract from Florence in p. 480.

hardly be wrong in setting him down as one of the house of the Lords of Bamburgh and Earls of Northumberland, and as the son of that Gospatric who in his youth risked his life to save Earl Tostig, and who afterwards himself ruled for a while as Earl under the Conqueror, but who had in the end to find shelter with the Scottish King. And we can hardly be wrong in assuming that whatever Dolfin held he held as the man of Malcolm. Here then was a corner of Britain still ruled by a man of the loftiest English birth, sprung by the female line of the stock of West-Saxon kingship, but held under the supremacy of the King of Scots. The land now becomes in one sense more English, in another less. Up to 1092 there was still an English ruler in Britain; there was still a man of English blood holding an earldom, lordship, or whatever it is to be called, which so far formed a distinct State as to be no part of the immediate dominions either of the Norman or of the Scot. Here was still a ruler, who, sprung from Northumbrian earls on the one side, from West-Saxon kings on the other, might, with the minutest accuracy, be set down as an Anglo-Saxon. As long as such a ruler still reigned, there was still something like an English power in Britain twenty-six years after the Norman landed at Pevensey. But its existence as an English power implied separation from the now united English kingdom, it implied dependence on the Scottish crown. After the change which the Red King wrought at Carlisle, no man of purely English descent ever again ruled in Britain, but this sentimental loss might be looked on as counterbalanced by the reunion of the severed land with a kingdom of England which was soon again to become an English kingdom. The French-speaking founder of Carlisle made way for a king who was English in birth and speech, if not in blood, and who handed on his crown to descendants who came of the old kingly stock by the same tie of female descent as Dolfin and Gospatric themselves.¹ We are not told what it was that

¹ One is always tempted to forget, or rather one is always tempted to remember that the sons of the Conqueror did come from Ælfred through their mother Matilda. But this bit of pedigree was doubtless utterly forgotten, while the

descent of the sons of Henry the First from the old English stock through their mother Matilda was in everybody's memory. One lay within, the other without the range of practical politics.

led the Red King to march with a great fyrd to Carlisle and to drive out Dolfin. Save for this expedition, the year 1092 was a year of peace. The events recorded under it are mainly ecclesiastical. Just before his march into Carlisle, the King would seem to have been at Lincoln, ready for the hallowing of Remigius' minster, a hallowing which did not come just yet.¹ The year before had been a busy one indeed. King William had made peace with his brother Duke Robert, and the two had dispossessed their younger brother Henry, Ætheling, Count, and Clerk. Malcolm of Scotland had meanwhile harried Northumberland as far as Chester-le-Street, and had been driven back by the Normans and English of the land. The three sons of the Conqueror, all now reconciled, had come to England together; they had all gone northwards; they had entered Malcolm's dominions; but, instead of a battle, the mediation of Robert and Eadgar had led to a treaty, and to an act of homage done by Malcolm to the King of the English. Then the brothers had quarrelled again, and Robert and Eadgar had gone away to Normandy. So much for 1091. In 1093 a Scottish embassy comes to William Rufus during his momentary fit of reformation at Gloucester. Then Malcolm is summoned to the court of his over-lord; Eadgar is sent to bring him honourably; he comes, but the capricious Rufus refuses to see him; Malcolm goes home in wrath; he invades England for the last time, and dies at Alnwick.

Here there are two years, 1091 and 1093, both full of warlike dealings between England and Scotland, but dealings broken by a treaty, a treaty followed by a year of peace as far as the two kingdoms are concerned, but in which we find these remarkable doings on the borders of the two, the driving out of Dolfin and the establishment of the English power at Carlisle. We may be sure that these events had some reference either to what went before or to what came after. One might suppose that Malcolm, like some other kings, betrayed his ally and vassal Dolfin, and that the surrender of Carlisle to William was one of the articles of the treaty agreed upon between him and the King of Scots. But if this were so, William would surely have taken possession of his

¹ See William Rufus, i. 312.

new dominion on his way southwards, and would not have waited till seemingly the latter part of the next year. It is far more likely that the occupation of Carlisle was a piece of capricious aggression on the part of Rufus, an act which, whether it was or was not a breach of the letter of the treaty, was sure to kindle the wrath of Malcolm to the uttermost. A King of Scots might reasonably be wrathful at the wrong done to a vassal of Scotland, and still more at the standing menace which was now set up against the Scottish kingdom itself. We cannot be certain, because it is not recorded ; but we may be strongly tempted to believe that the occupation of Carlisle held a foremost place among the complaints which Malcolm and his embassy had to make to Rufus, and to which Rufus, when he had risen from his bed of sickness and penitence, characteristically refused to hearken.

The whole later history of Carlisle—one might say, the whole later history of England—witnesses to the importance of the step which was now taken by the Red King. The whole later relations between England and Scotland, from that day to the union of the crowns, were influenced by the presence of a great and strong English city so close to the Scottish border. The step, whatever may have been its moral aspect towards Malcolm, towards Dolfin, or towards Dolfin's subjects, was, as an act done by a king of England, for the strengthening of his kingdom, the act of a keen-sighted general and a far-sighted statesman. And William the Red, though he did not always choose to be either, could be both whenever he did choose. What became of Dolfin we know not ; as concerns Dolfin's subjects, the story suggests that they could not have lost much, and that there were not very many of them to lose anything. The words of one of our best authorities, literally taken, would imply that the city was a mere uninhabited ruin. As I have already hinted, it is perhaps dangerous to press descriptions of this kind too far. Some dwelling-places of man may likely enough have still gathered round the ancient walls, more likely within than, as at Anderida, without. It is enough that Lugubalia had ceased to be a city and a fortress, and that, at the bidding of William the Red, it again became both. How much, in wall and

castle, may be his work, how much may be the work of his brother, I must leave local knowledge to settle. What William wrought, Henry undoubtedly strengthened.¹ As for the land, as distinguished from the city, our story certainly implies that it was, to say the least, not very thickly inhabited. No part of Britain was thickly inhabited then according to modern standards; but the land of Carlisle must have seemed empty of men according to the standard of the eleventh century. To drive out those whom he found in the land, and to plant in it a colony of his own subjects, might be an act of wise policy on the Red King's part. It might even be a wise way of disposing of men who might be dangerous in other parts of the kingdom. Dissatisfied Normans, oppressed Englishmen, would be turned into loyal subjects, when they were set to guard the border city of England against the Scot. But this is not the kind of migration of which the Chronicler speaks, or at least he speaks of another kind of migration as well. The land must have really lacked inhabitants of any kind, when William found it a wise step to bring churlish folk from southern England to dwell in the land and to till it. I need not dwell on the guess, in any case a mere guess, and to my mind not a likely guess, which connects this settlement with the dispossession of English—sometimes of Norman—owners to make way for the New Forest. The important point is that the colony planted by William Rufus in the land of Carlisle, was strictly a Saxon colony. It was a Saxon colony in a land for which Briton, Angle, Scot and Dane, had often striven, but where the Saxon was altogether a new comer. Now in all the discussions on the ethnology of Cumberland this Saxon colony seems to be forgotten. Yet its coming is an undoubted fact, and perchance the fact of the eleventh century may have left some signs even in the nineteenth. I merely throw this out as a subject for local inquiry. Are there any distinctively Saxon elements to be traced within the land

¹ Simeon (1122) is emphatic on this work: "Hoc anno rex Henricus, post festum sancti Michaelis Northymbranas intrans regiones, ab Eboraco divertit versus mare occidentale, consideraturus civitatem antiquam quæ lingua Brittonum Carlel dicitur, quæ nunc Carleol Anglice,

Latine vero Lugubalia appellatur, quam data pecunia castello et turribus præcepit muniri." Mr. Hinde remarks that the earldom of Carlisle had lately reverted to the Crown, by exchange with Earl Randolph for the earldom of Chester.

colonized by Rufus, that is, I would again remind every one, not all modern Cumberland and Westmoreland, but the special land of Carlisle, the old earldom, the old diocese? In the neighbouring land of Bernicia I have sometimes seemed to notice points that were distinctively Saxon. The *chesters* of that land, as opposed to the *casters* of Deira, are, if not distinctively Saxon, at least English as opposed to Danish. And I began to doubt whether it was owing to the coming of Octa and Ebussa or to what, when I heard, along the Roman wall, such names as Bellingham and Ovingham sounded with a soft *g*. Surely, I said in my heart, here are folk who are *Westsaxonibus ipsis Westsaxoniores*.

One thing we must not forget, namely, that the ecclesiastical side of Carlisle is not the work of William Rufus—we could hardly expect it to be so—but the work of Henry the First. Early in the reign of the Lion of Justice, the fallen abbey of Eadred rose again in the shape of a new priory of Austin canons, of which the King himself, if not the founder, was at least a benefactor. Here, as in many other places, from Wells to Manchester, from the tenth century to the nineteenth, the chapter or other ecclesiastical body is older than the bishopric. Nearly thirty years after the foundation of the priory King Henry planted his English confessor Æthelwulf in the new episcopal chair of Carlisle. It was not till the next century that the unbroken succession of the Carlisle bishops begins; still Henry is none the less the founder of the See, although for many years his foundation remained vacant. And if Henry was the first to give bishops to Carlisle, Henry was also the first to give her earls. And they were bishops of Carlisle, earls of Carlisle. The limits of the land added to England by Rufus were the limits of their diocese and their earldom. If Henry founded bishops and earls, it was in a city founded by Rufus that he founded them. Yes, I would say to the citizens of Carlisle, the Red King is your founder, and you cannot escape him. You might better have liked the Conqueror, to whom an old-standing blunder has assigned you. You might better have liked Ecgrith or Æthelfrith, Cadwalla or Arthur. You might better have liked one whom a

writer of the twelfth century gives you, even Divus Julius himself.¹ The future Dictator is, I suppose, carried thus far northward by the same kind of process which has carried Hengest, out of the narrow Kentish range which history gives him, to Stonehenge and Sprotburgh, and I know not where else besides. But the journey which Cæsar never took was taken by the king into whose body some thought that the soul of Cæsar had passed.² The Roman must be satisfied with having called Corinth and Carthage into a restored being; it was his Norman *avatar* that did the same good turn by Carlisle. You must be content that the work of calling your fallen city into a new being was the work of him who every morning got up a worse man than he lay down, and who every evening lay down a worse man than he got up.

I am near the end of my discourse, but some might think that I am still near the beginning of my subject. But I have really reached its goal. I have carried the history of Carlisle through those stages of its history which give the city its distinctive historical character, which work out what I would call its personal definition. We have seen, at Lugubalia, as in other parts of the land, the Roman city left as a city of the forsaken and independent Briton, and then pass under the rule of an English kingdom. So far Lugubalia has simply followed the rule, except so far as it would seem to have been one of those more favoured places which passed from British to English rule without any intermediate period of desolation. The thing which forms the distinctive character of Carlisle is that its time of desolation came later, that the coming of the Danes wrought not only the overthrow of the city, but its separation from English rule. The forsaken site became part of a British kingdom, which presently bowed to an external English supremacy, but which, instead of passing under immediate English rule, became an appanage of the Scot. Then at last the land returns, if not to English rule, at least under the rule of England, and the Norman builds up again what the Dane had overthrown.

¹ So Orderic (917 B), in recording the taking by David, calls it "Cardulium

validissimum oppidum, quod Julius Cæsar, ut dicunt, condidit.

² See William of Malmesbury, iv., 320.

But I should hardly have said "at last ;" Carlisle was yet again to pass under the rule of a King of Scots, and to be again restored to the realm of England. When all the sons of the Conqueror had passed away, when the nineteen years of anarchy had come with his grandson, King David, in all zeal for his Imperial niece, cut short the kingdom of his other niece's husband, and added Carlisle, with other lands and fortresses of Northern England, to the Scottish dominions. Just then subtle questions of homage were not likely to be argued, and the King of Scots doubtless held Carlisle by whatever right he held, if not Dunfermline, at least Lothian.¹ But what one Henry had strengthened, the next won back, and if Dunfermline and Lothian passed under the outward supremacy of the Angevin king, Carlisle again became part of his immediate kingdom. In this way the distinctive feature of the history of Carlisle, its falling away from England and its recovery by England, was really acted twice over. But the second loss, the second recovery, were but a feeble after-shadow of the first ; they did not involve the destruction of the city and its calling again to a renewed life. For the moment indeed the question might have been asked, whether the rule of David was not more English than the rule of Stephen, if in courtesy we look on Stephen as exercising any rule at all. Practically Carlisle, with the other parts of England which were ceded to David, obtained a happy exemption from the horrors which laid waste the rest of the kingdom, and, as soon as the kingdom had again a settled government, they again became members of the English body.

The place of Carlisle in English history is thus fully ascertained. The city has run a course of its own in the earlier times of our history ; it now finally takes its place as an English city in order to discharge one special function among English cities. Carlisle has now to be, before all other spots, the bulwark of England against the Scot. So I must speak in obedience to the received rules of language ; but we should ever bear in mind that warfare with the Scot hardly ever meant warfare with the true bearers of that name, allies as they so often were of the English over-lord ; the truer name of the warfare of

¹ On the nature and effects of this cession, see *Norman Conquest*, v. 253—263.

which Carlisle was for many ages the centre would be warfare, as in the old days before England had a single king, between the northern and the southern English kingdoms. One king marched from Westminster, another from Dunfermline, each at the head of armies of the English speech, strengthened, it may be, or weakened by wilder allies from the Celtic background which overshadowed both English realms alike. In this warfare the border city was ever the main object of attack and defence. The time would fail to tell how many times Carlisle was besieged by the Scottish invaders, how many times it was the trysting-place of the hosts of England. It has a strange sound when, in the year of the Great Charter, the Scottish Alexander took the city, as David had taken it before him, and how he presently did homage—for Carlisle, for Scotland, or for what?—to the French prince whom the Norman barons of England had chosen to take the place of the rebel tyrant from Anjou.¹ But the Scottish occupation under Alexander was yet shorter than the Scottish occupation under David; two years later the Scottish king, ere he could be absolved from ecclesiastical censures, had to give up Carlisle, not to the Lord Lewis to whom he had so lately done homage, but to the Lord Henry, chosen and hallowed King of England.² Through the wars of the Edwards, the name of Carlisle meets us almost at every page; it stands out specially as a spot bound by another tie to one of the other spots with which at starting I compared and contrasted it. The needs of warfare and of policy caused the city of William Rufus to be many times honoured with the presence of the founder of Hull. Edward, father of parliaments, held three famous parliaments within your walls, and, as you were told three-and-twenty years ago by a voice which is now silent, the good estate of the river Thames and its traffic was

¹ See the Chronicle of Laneerost under the year 1215, pp. 18, 19. The passage about the homage runs thus :—"Rex Scottorum in Anglia moram faciens, homagium fecit dicto Lodowico, sub ea forma quæ barones Angliæ eadem fecerant. Et tam ipse Lodowicus quam barones Angliæ, tactis sanctuariis juraverunt quod nunquam sine ipso rege

Scottorum pactum pacis cum rege Angliæ inirent, quod omno tamen non est observatum."

² *Ib.* 1217, p. 25 :—"Rex Scottorum Alexander, antequam absolvi mereretur, Carliolum voluntati regaliū Angliæ tradidit." "Regaliū," because the King was a child.

discussed in this distant corner of the English kingdom.¹ From Carlisle the Hammer of the Scots set forth on his last enterprise, when the enfeebled frame of the mighty warrior and lawgiver sank beneath the weight of cares and labours beside the sands of Solway. A generation later the presence of Edward King of Scots at Carlisle may be a momentary puzzle; but the personage so described was no Scottish conqueror like David or Alexander; Edward Balliol, faithful vassal of his southern over-lord, found it convenient to make use of Carlisle as something between a court and a place of shelter.² In the sixteenth century Carlisle again received a Scottish sovereign; but it was a deposed queen flying from her own people. In the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century, the city was again occupied by a Scottish army; in the earlier case by a Scottish army in league with the Parliament, in the latter by a Scottish army marching in the cause of a pretender to the English crown whose claims were at least Scottish rather than English. And in this last occupation we are after so many ages brought back to a race which has been for a long while out of our sight. If most so-called Scottish armies were more truly to be called armies of Englishmen of Lothian or of converted Britons of Strathclyde, we cannot say this of the Highland host of Charles Edward. Then the true Scot—or, for aught I know, the true Pict—showed himself on English ground in his true garb—his true garb, I say, for the devices of the famous army-tailor to whom the present so-called Highland dress is said to be owing, must have come at a later date. Let some student of the antiquities of dress tell us the exact distinction between the two. If that distinction should prove to be very wide, it might save King George the Fourth, who doubtless clad himself in the more modern fashion, from Lord Macaulay's gibe that he "disguised himself in what, before the Union, was considered by nine Scotchmen out of ten as the dress of a thief."

I have rushed with somewhat headlong speed through

¹ See Mr. Hartshorne on the Parliaments of Carlisle, *Archæological Journal*, xvi., 326.

² See the year 1334 in the *Chronicle*

of Lanercost, pp. 277-281. "*Dominius Edwardus rex Scotie*," has to be distinguished from "*David quem [Scotti ante unxerant sibi in regem]*."

several stirring ages. But to tell what Carlisle, after the city had put on its characteristic character, did and suffered is rather the business of other members of the section, and not of its president. For detailed notices of such points we look to local zeal and local research ; my business is rather to point out what Carlisle is, to fix its place among the cities of England, to trace out what is special and distinctive in the history of the one English city which still keeps its almost unaltered British name, the city where a foreign king, the most deeply hated of his line, showed himself as the enlarger of the English kingdom, the man who, if he drove out the last separate ruler of the old English stock, drove him out only to become himself the founder of a Saxon colony, and to give England her abiding bulwark against her northern neighbour, so often her northern enemy.

ON THE CRYPTS AT HEXHAM AND RIPON.¹

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

Before the year 678 St. Wilfrid had built churches at Hexham and at Ripon, famous in that day and since. And it would be interesting, if possible, to shew that the churches in these towns still contain something which can be ascribed to so early a date. Now it happens that each of them possesses a crypt evidently of great antiquity, and these crypts are so like one another, and different from what we find elsewhere, that they must almost certainly have been built at the same time and under the same direction, if not by the same hands; and at no time is this so likely to have happened as when both churches were under the care of Wilfrid himself. There is, therefore, good *prima facie* reason for thinking that the crypts belong to his time. But on the other hand we have the distinct statement of Leland that the "old abbey" of Ripon stood on a different site from the "new minstre."

The late Mr. Walbran, of Ripon, was the first to call attention to the resemblance between these crypts, and he has given excellent descriptions of them, with many valuable observations, in a paper in the York volume of this Institute, in his own Ripon guide, and in the preface to the first volume of the Surtees Society's "Hexham." He accepted Leland's statement as conclusive with respect to the sites at Ripon, but was so convinced that the existing crypt is of Wilfrid's work that he supposed him to have built *two* churches there. A simpler hypothesis seems to be that Leland was mistaken, or that what he wrote has been misunderstood. And I hope before I have done to point out how the tradition which he has preserved may be taken so as to agree with what seem to be the facts of the case. But first let us examine the crypts themselves, and see if we can find anything about them which may give a clue to their date.

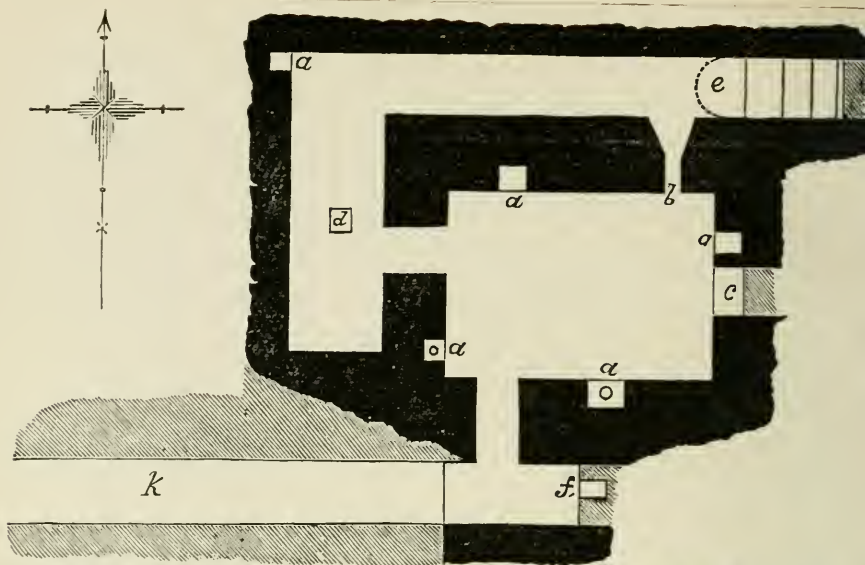
¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Carlisle Meeting, August 3rd, 1882.

It will be allowed that they are earlier than the introduction of what we call the Norman style. But how much earlier is a more difficult question. We do not yet know enough of the history of English church architecture for the four centuries and a half of its existence which preceded the Norman conquest to be able to give a date to each example, as we can to those of the corresponding period, which came after it. Men talk of the "Saxon times" as if they were all as one, quite forgetting that from the landing of Augustine to the death of the Confessor was as long as from the Battle of Agincourt to the present day, and that the changes which took place in England during the first period were not less important than those during the last. There must in so long and eventful a time have been some changes in architectural style, and it may be that by further study of what is left we may some day learn what they were. But we do not know them now, and are fain to class together all works which range from the seventh century to the eleventh.

Architecture failing, let us see whether ecclesiology can help us? Crypts of the twelfth century and later are not uncommon, but are, I think, seldom found except in churches which can trace their existence to before the conquest. The post conquest crypts are often very large, and differ in many ways from the earlier ones, but they are a tradition from them, and the ultimate source from which they are derived is the *confessio* of the Italian basilica. Now in the earliest years of the English church two rival parties contended for supremacy within her; the Italian party originating in the Roman mission, and the Celtic, or as it was then called, the Scottish party. The Italians obtained a nominal triumph at the Synod of Streoneshalch, or Whitby, in 664, but the Scottish influence remained strong, and it had a large share in the formation of the traditions of our national church. In a paper which I had the honour of reading before this Institute at Lincoln two years ago¹ I tried to

¹ *On the Growth of English Parish Churches*, printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii., p. 364, &c. Since that paper was written I have become convinced that the pure basilican form

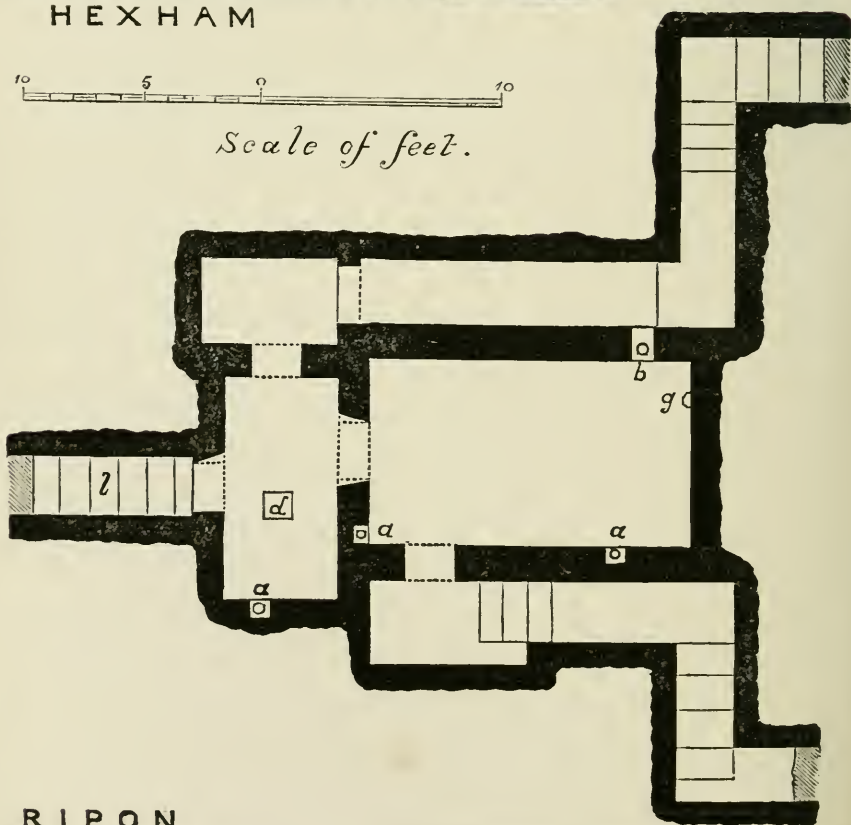
of church building soon went out of use in England, and that what I have called the *mixed* type of plan was used at least after the Danish invasions for both Abbey and Cathedral Churches.



HEXHAM



Scale of feet.



RIPON

shew that each of these great parties had its own type of building, which became the patterns respectively of the regular and the secular churches. Wilfrid, the founder and builder of the churches at Hexham and Ripon, was a strong partizan on the Italian side, and we should have expected that he would have built accordingly, even if we had not been expressly told so. His churches were in the Roman manner, and that at Hexham was a notable example of it. There was not its like north of the Alps—*Neque ullam domus aliam citra Alpes montes talem edificatam audivimus* says the contemporary Eddi.

Now let us turn to the remains themselves, and see how far they agree with anything we should expect to find in churches built after the Roman manner. It is sufficient to refer to what Mr. Walbran has written for minute descriptions of the crypts themselves; but I give plans of them drawn to the same scale, by which they may be readily compared;¹ and I borrow from Mr. Walbran this summary of their resemblances and differences,² altering a few words to avoid the confusion of two systems of naming.

“The central chamber at Hexham is rather larger than that at Ripon, measuring 13 feet 4 inches by 8 feet, against 11 feet 3 inches by 7 feet 9 inches. It is also placed much deeper in the ground. In the one, the cells at the west ends of the flanking passages have triangular roofs; in the other, the cells are not defined from the passages by arches, and are covered with flat stones. At Hexham, the western chamber has a barrel vault; at Ripon, a semi-vault only. At Hexham, the heads of the niches are flat, and there are none in the eastern wall; at Ripon, they have semicircular heads, and there is one on the north side of the east wall, and another larger one

¹ I am indebted for the Hexham plan in the first place to my good friend, Mr. R. J. Johnson of Newcastle, who has charge of the church professionally; but I have also had the use of the plate of the crypt from Mr. C. C. Hodges's forthcoming book of measured drawings of the church. The Ripon plan is taken from Mr. Walbran's, with some additions noted on the spot. The references on these plans are as follows:
a a Lamp niches.

b b Lamp niches with backs pierced to the passage behind.

c Window into crypt blocked up.

d d Square holes in vault for ventilation.

e Opening for headway of original stairs

f Stopping of passage with a lamp niche in it.

g Inserted bracket.

k Later passage of entrance.

l Stair inserted between earlier walls.

² See Raine's *Hexham Priory* (Surtees Society), vol. ii., p. xxxv. of the Introduction.

higher up in the middle of the same wall. But both crypts have obviously proceeded from a common type, although the idea is more elaborated at Hexham than at Ripon. Both central chambers have their entrances in the same positions. In both the semi-circular heads of the doorways, which are of the same height—6 feet 3 inches—are cut out of horizontal slabs. The passages in each agree in width within an inch. Both have funnel-like apertures in the heads of the niches, and deep round basins in the bases. In each the north-east niche is pierced through to the passage behind. Each has a small rectangular opening in the roof of the western chamber, which may have been connected by a flue with the floor of the church above; and both have been plastered throughout.”

To this I must add that the flanking passages rise eastwards; and both of them at Hexham, and the northern one at Ripon end in stairs upwards. The last has overhead what appears to be the opening in the floor of the seventh century church, by which it was originally entered. A little digging here would probably lead to interesting results. It is possible that the southern passage once went on eastwards like the other, although it is now stopped by masonry with a lamp niche in it, which seems to be of early date. This passage is continued westwards for some distance, and after turning south, ends in a stair up to the nave. This is certainly a late extension, for there is a thirteenth century gravestone used up in its roof. It probably dates from the later middle ages, when people used to make offerings at “St. Wilfrid nedel in the crowdes.” There is a western stair also at Hexham, where it rises direct from the western chamber. I suspect that this also is an addition; but Mr. Hodges, who has studied the place very closely, believes it to be of the same date as the rest.¹

¹ Since this was written I have seen the Hexham crypt which I had not before. The steps are certainly added, but the entrance to them from the western chamber, and the walls at the sides to the height of about six feet are of the original work. It appears, therefore, that there was a cell running westwards from the western chamber and roofed over with

stone like the passages; and that in later times the roof has been taken away, the side walls carried up, and the stair inserted. The cell was perhaps intended to receive a tomb, and the stair was put there, like the western passage at Ripon, because the eastern approaches interfered inconveniently with the arrangements of the church built above in later times.

The *confessio* of an early Italian basilica, such as Wilfrid took for his model, consists of a chamber containing relics under the high altar, either with or without an opening or window to the church on the side towards the people, and a passage running round its other sides and entered by steps at each end, either directly from the choir of the singers or from the aisles or transept, as the case may be. Now if we look at our Hexham and Ripon plans, fixing our attention upon those points in which they agree, we shall see that, except for an interruption of the surrounding passage, in each case at the south-west corner; this is exactly what we have got there. But—and here is the fact which is specially important as regards the date of the work—the passages and stairs of approach come from the *east*. The churches to which these crypts belonged had, therefore, their high altars at the *west* ends.

The western position of the altar is of very early date, so early indeed, that it has been doubted whether it was ever used here in English times except at Canterbury,¹ where it remained from the old *Roman* church which Augustine found and repaired. And even there, although the altar itself stood, with the bishop's chair in the apse behind it to tell of its former dignity, until the fire in 1067, it had long before given place to a newer high altar in a choir built towards the east. Brixworth, founded in 680, and the most perfect basilican church we have remaining in England, has its altar towards the east; so that in Wilfrid's own time, and in churches built like his in the Roman manner, the present English custom was already in use. In these two churches, however, it is certain that the altars were at the west; and as no important works seem to have been done at either of them between the seventh century and the twelfth; and even if there had been, it is impossible to believe that the orientation would be changed from the general to the exceptional direction, we are driven to the conclusion that the crypts belong to the first foundation, and they, therefore, claim our interest, not only on account of their venerable age, which has now passed the twelfth century, but as personal relics of a very remarkable man.

The "old abbay" at Ripon, which Leland mentions, if

¹ The old conventual church at Lyminge seems to be another example of the same sort.

it had any existence at all except in the imagination of his informants, may have been the site of that "Scottish" establishment which was displaced when Ripon was given to Wilfrid. If he built his church on a new site, and a chapel remained on the old one, it is quite possible that the name of "the old abbey" may, with the help of the greater appearance of antiquity in the chapel than in the often rebuilt minster, have continued even till the sixteenth century.

Having now, as I think, fixed the date and purpose of these crypts, let us before leaving them consider some of their details. Although the central chambers, and those next west of them, are about the same size in the two examples, the original passages of entrance spread out widely at Hexham and keep close to the main walls at Ripon. This clearly points to some difference in the form of the churches to which the crypts respectively belonged. We have descriptions of the church at Hexham by the contemporary Eddi and the twelfth century Prior Richard, who saw its remains. Canon Raine has printed both in the first volume of his *Hexham Priory*. They are rather obscure, but seem to describe a basilican church with aisles and galleries, and mention is made of underground works, that is, of our crypt. All writers who mention the church extol its great size and magnificence. Now, size is but by comparison, and it might well be that to men accustomed to the little cell-like churches of the "Scottish" tradition a basilican church of the Italian type might seem immense, although its actual dimensions were very moderate. But we have good reason to believe that those of the Hexham church were really very considerable. Enough remains of the almost contemporary church at Brixworth to shew that it was of good size, and as that was not a church of the first class, and the historians who mention it do not wax eloquent upon its bigness, we may justly infer that one which did so excite their admiration was very considerably larger.¹ Moreover, the ruins of it which remained in the twelfth century, which was

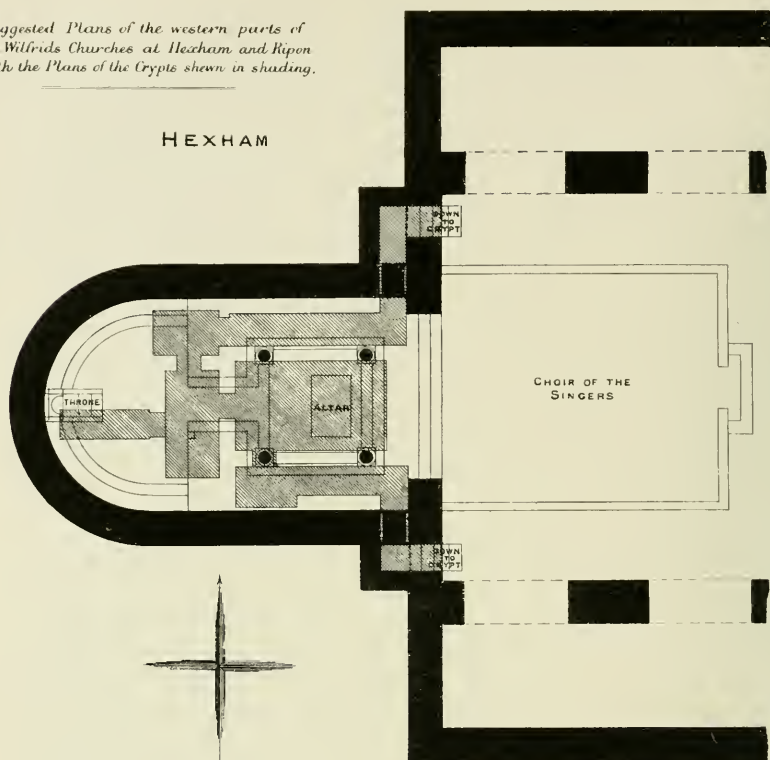
¹ The clear width of the nave at Brixworth is thirty feet, and if the entrances to the crypts were in like positions in

both churches that of Hexham can not have been less than thirty-two feet.

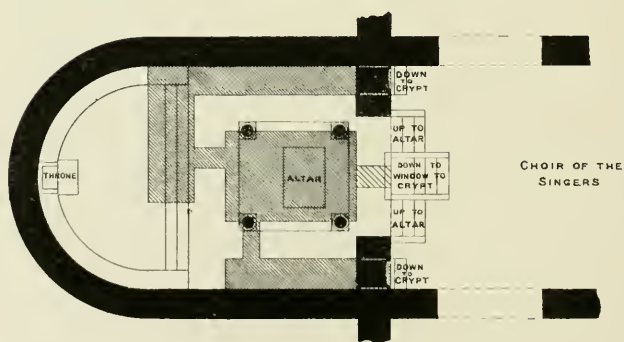


*Suggested Plans of the western parts of
St. Wilfrids Churches at Hexham and Ripon
with the Plans of the Crypts shewn in shading.*

HEXHAM



RIPON



Scale of Feet

not a time of small buildings, were large enough to call forth the praises of Prior Richard.

The church at Hexham then was a basilica of good size with aisles, and perhaps with a broad transept between the nave and the apse, and the entrances to the crypt were wide apart so as to come outside the enclosing walls of the choir of the singers, just as we find them to have done at Brixworth. But we are not told that the church of Ripon was large, and we find that there the stairs (or stair if there was only one) have gone down straight from the choir of the singers itself. I have attempted in the plans opposite to shew how churches of the basilican type can be fitted on to the crypts. The deep presbytery of much more than a semicircle agrees with what we find at Brixworth and other very early churches in England.

Both crypts have niches in the walls, with cups or cressets for lights at the bottoms of them and funnels to intercept the soot at the tops, shewing us the early use of this simple method of lighting, which was kept up at least in the conservative abbeys till the sixteenth century.¹ The piercing of the back of the north-east niche into the passage beyond can not be accidental, as it is found in both crypts, but I cannot offer any explanation of it.² The hole in the vault of the western chamber in each crypt was probably for ventilation, as Mr. Walbran suggested. Like ventilators were found in the curious crypt of St. Philbert de Grand Lieu, described and figured by Sir Henry Dryden in the first volume of the *Sacristy*.

What Mr. Walbran called the large niche at the east end of the Ripon crypt is really the opening or window, through which people in the church could by descending a few steps look into the *confessio*. There is no corresponding opening at Hexham, perhaps on account of the greater depth of the crypt. That at Ripon was opened out a short time ago, when those engaged in the erection of a new organ began to alter the old vault to fit it for the reception of some of their machinery. This was very properly stopped, but enough had been done to enable

¹ See *Rites of Durham Abbey*, Surtees Society's edition, pp. 19 and 72.

² This piercing at Ripon forms the well known *St. Wilfrid's Needle*.

our member, the Rev. W. C. Lukis, F.S.A., to examine the outside of the east end wall, and in a letter to me he says that it "was so irregular, some of the stones projecting far beyond others, that there can be no doubt whatever that it was never intended to be seen." Now this is the description of a wall from which the facing stones have been removed. The fair face towards the original church afforded good ashlar stones, which could be used again, so they were taken away by those who had the altering of the church into its later shape, of which the *confessio* formed no part.

In each crypt the surrounding passage is interrupted at the south-west corner; and doorways are so placed that anyone entering by one stair and leaving by the other must pass through the west end of the central chamber. This was no doubt for the convenience of persons visiting the relics deposited there, but I do not know of any other example with the same arrangement.

I have spoken of the Ripon crypt as though it had a stair towards the east on each side, as I believe it originally had. But the southern passage is, as I said just now, stopped by masonry which does not appear to be far removed in date from the rest. Now, such an alteration, if it has been made at all, must have been made for some reason, and it is just possible that one stair having been found sufficient for convenience, the other was removed in order to provide an honourable place of burial for the founder, who, as Bede¹ tells us, was buried at Ripon nigh the altar on the south side, *juxta altare ad austrum*, which would exactly describe this spot; and if this were so, it may be that the body of Saint Wilfrid, which both Ripon and Canterbury claimed to possess, still rests undisturbed where it was laid by his friends nearly twelve hundred years ago.

¹ *Ecc. Hist.*, liv, c. 12.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN BRITAIN IN 1881,
WITH NOTES ON ANOTHER FOUND
AT BINCHESTER.

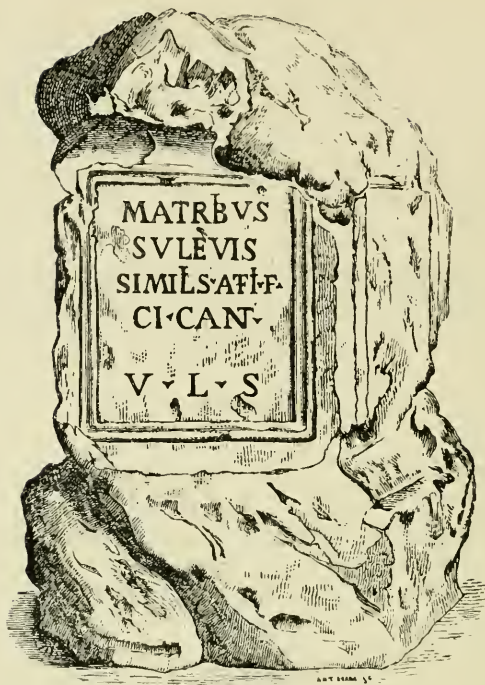
By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

The present paper has been much delayed owing to the long illness of the writer. But the delay has nevertheless been advantageous, for it has enabled him to obtain several additional items of information regarding the inscriptions named in it, and another fairly productive year has to be added to those previously given.

At Colchester, on the 21st May, an altar was discovered during excavations for a sewer in Balkerne Lane. It is at present about fifty inches in height and almost exactly two feet square. Whether it had a focus cannot be determined, as the head is much broken, the material being "fire-stone." It has had a sunken panel on each side but no ornaments can be detected upon their much-worn surface. On its face, which was downwards when found, the inscription has, by this means, been well preserved. The letters, which are elegantly cut, and of an early period, are, divested of ligatures—

MATRIBVS
SVLEVIS
SIMILIS.AETEL.F.
CI . CANT
V . L . S

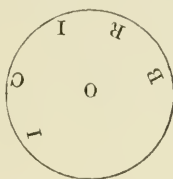
I annex an engraving of the altar, which is only the second found in Britain mentioning the *Sulevae*, the other being found at Bath in 1754; but the latter is to the *Sulevae* simply; in the Colchester altar we find them for the first time designated *Matres*.



The next point to be noticed in the inscription is the name of the father of the dedicator (in the second line). Professor Hübner, Mr. J. E. Price, and others, read it as *ATTI*, but as will be seen from the engraving the first *T* is a compound or ligulate letter (*ETE*, as I think), and I would read it as *AETIIL*. The name *Aeteius* is to be found in *Corpus. Inscr. Latin.* vol. v., No. 4520. In the fourth line I proposed to expand *CANT*, as showing that *Similis* was a Cantabrian citizen; but Mr. C. Roach Smith, Dr. Hübner, and Mr. H. C. Coote prefer to recognise him as a Cantian, or member of the *Civitas Cantius*, of the county of Kent. Either expansion is possible, and my grounds for giving the former were that we have an inscription (Gruter, p. 439) which records the presence of an officer at Colchester, who was Prefect of the second cohort of the Astures, a people who with the *Cantabri* occupied a portion of Northern Spain on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. This officer held a civic post, being Censitor (or assessor) of the Roman citizens of the colony at Colchester. From the absence of any mention

of military rank, Similis probably was a civilian also. The whole inscription I would read *Matribus Sulevis, Similis, Actei(i) F(ilius), Civis (Cantius, or) Cantabriae V(otum) L(ibens) S(olvit)*.

To Mr. J. E. Price, I am indebted for the inscription in the base of a Roman glass jar, which contained bones, recently found at Colchester, and now in the museum there. It is—



And would appear to read BRICI. Mr. Price says there may have been a sixth letter, which has been worn away, but he thinks it improbable. If the small centre circle is to be taken for the letter o the word *officina* is intended by it.

As usual the greatest number of inscriptions have come from the neighbourhood of the Roman Wall. I am indebted to Mr. W. Jackson for the photograph of an altar found near the station at Moresby, and now preserved in a house near Workington. It is thus inscribed:

I. O. M.
COH. II. THRA
EQ. C. P. M. AN
TON. POS. PRA*
***TP**

The altar is much weathered, and the last line especially is (with the exception of the two letters given, which are clear) almost obliterated. From the preceding lines we can however restore it with certainty, the whole inscription being *I(ori) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Coh(ors) II. Thra(cum), Eq(uitata) C(ui) P(raeest) M(arcus) Anton(ius) Pos(tumus) Praefect(us) Pos(uit)*.

Two other inscriptions have previously been found at this station mentioning the second cohort of the Thracians.

At Burgh-upon-Sands, a small altar much broken was found in a walled up door of the church. It is only nine

represents a cavalry soldier, apparently armoured, holding in his right hand a standard, and riding over a prostrate foe. His helmet is plumed, and a sword is hanging by his right side. A column on each side has flanked the group, though the former are much shattered and broken, and the extreme upper part has also been decorated, but is now much obliterated. Beneath the sculptured portion is an inscription consisting of four lines within a sunken panel with mouldings, which runs thus :—

DIS . MANIBVS FLAVINVS
EQ . ALAE PETR SIGNIFER
TVR CANDIDI AN XXV
STIP . VII . H.S.

i.e. *Dis Manibus. Flavinus¹ eques Alae Petrianae, Signifer turmae Candidi, annorum viginti quinque, stipendiorum vii. hic situs (est).* Or in English “To the gods the shades. Flavinus, a horse soldier of the *Ala Petriana*, standard bearer, of the troop of Candidus twenty-five years of age, and seven of service. He is laid here.”

This is the fourth inscription naming the *Ala Petriana* found in Britain. One (now lost) was found at Old Penrith, in Cumberland, another at Carlisle, and the third on the face of a rock at Lanercost. It was in Britain in A.D. 124, according to the *Riveling tabula* of the Emperor Hadrian, and the *Notitia* places it (*circa* A.D. 400) at *Petriana*, which it gives as one of the stations on the wall. The site of *Petriana* has not yet been identified, but this discovery would seem to point to Hexham as bearing that name, which I think receives some confirmation, from another inscription (fragmentary) found many years ago at the same town, and which has generally been read as

GNI CIVI
RAVTHVS . ET
ARFAIAVG
T . TSCV
.
.
.

but I have a strong suspicion that the third line should be read AEF. AL. AVGV. and is part of the words PRAEF.

¹ The I in FLAVINVS is formed by an upward prolongation of the first perpendicular stroke of the N, and is much worn. This, with the fact of the F at the commencement resembling the letter E, made me in common with Dr. Bruce

and other antiquaries, read the name as ELAVNVS, and I thus published it in the *Academy*, October 1, 1881. It was only on receiving a photograph of the stone that I obtained the correct reading.

AL. AVGV(STAE PETRIANAE); the Carlisle inscription giving the *Ala*, the prefix of *Augusta*. It is desirable that this point should be settled, as the accumulation of evidence regarding the presence of the *Ala* at Hexham bears upon the question whether the latter place is not the *Petriana* of the *Notitia*.

At South Shields a few more inscriptions have come to light. The first to be noticed is a tombstone broken into several pieces and reddened by the action of fire, which has caused portions of the stone to flake off, and part of the second line is entirely broken out. The extant letters seem to be—

D. M. S.
AV * * * DVS
VIX * * ANNO
S.VIII * * * SES VIII
LARRVNTIVS SAL
VIANVS. FILIO
B. M. PIISIMO.

The only difficulty in the inscription is the name of the deceased in the second line. To Mr. R. Blair, who favoured me with the copy of the inscription, I gave the reading AVGVNDVS, and see no reason to alter my opinion. When the same gentleman sent a copy of the inscription to Professor Hübner of Berlin, that eminent authority likewise gave the same reading. The whole inscription is *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)*. *Augendus vixit annos viii menses viii.* *L(ucius) Arruntius Salvianus filio bene merenti piissimo.* “Sacred to the gods the shades. Augendus lived eight years (and) nine months. Lucius Arruntius Salvianus, to his well deserving (and) most dutiful son.”

Two *graffiti* inscriptions on portions of tiles have been found at the same place. One seems to be—

TEG. LA —

and is probably an abbreviation of the word *Tegula*, followed by an I laid horizontally.

The other is more shattered and also more complex. The upper portion is—

* ERIACVS.

followed at a considerable interval by—

* * *
O F E L
* * Q C S E

In the upper portion there is an appearance of part of a letter before the E, but too small to judge of its identity. The whole inscription is in a cursive hand, and appears to have been scratched before the tiles were baked. In the under portion there are also appearances of the lower parts of letters, above OFEL, and two (if not three) letters before the QC, but of too barbarous a character to be distinctly ascertained. On the fragment of a small Samian cup found at the same station are scratched letters which appear to be—

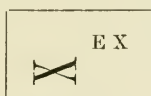
VRCA

At Binchester a tile has been found also bearing a *graffitic* inscription, written upon it, before the clay was baked, with some sharp instrument. The letters are of the same “cursive” nature as those at South Shields, and the inscription appears to be—

ARMEAMIDOCVII

I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Hooppell for a photograph and description of this tile, but unless ARMEAMI be a proper name, nothing can be made of it.

To Dr. Hooppell also I am indebted for the three next inscriptions. The first is in the face of the wall over a culvert, which passes through the wall of the station at Binchester, near the north-west angle. It is—



and seems to be simply the mark which in Roman inscriptions signifies a thousand, with the letters EX attached. The second inscription was found by Dr. Hooppell on a stone in the wall of the eastern rampart¹ of the Roman station at Catterick (*Cataractonium*). It is simply—

MACEM

and I should opine is a portion of a centurial inscription.

The third inscription occurs upon a tile found at Lin-

¹ About fifty yards from the south end of the exposed portion.

coln, and is stamped in fine characters within a label. It reads—

C . VIB . EXO

and the only doubtful portion is the last word. Can it be an abbreviation of *exornavit*? The first part is plainly *C(aius) Vib(icius)*.

In the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Oct. 1881, p. 363, it is stated that on the 5th August that year the members of the *Cambrian Archæological Association* inspected a stone built into the north wall of Ateham Church (near Wroxeter) concluded to be Roman, and on which were the letters

R P A I S O

There is a fracture of the stone immediately before what is given as the letter S. If the stone is Roman I am inclined to think that it has been inscribed

R . P . NATO

and reads as several other similar stones do (*Bono*) *R(ei)p(ublicae) Nato*. (To one) "born for the good of the republic," a compliment frequently paid to Roman emperors.

There is a fragmentary inscription given in the 2nd edition of "The Roman Wall," p. 250, which does not seem to have been included in Dr. Hübner's work. It is in fine letters, reversed, on the outside of a portion of a "Samian ware" vessel, and reads

BAN*

There is a portion of the bottom of another letter visible after the N, which may have been V or another N. Has the word been BAN(NA) the name of a Roman station somewhere in this neighbourhood.

Amongst the MSS. of the Rev. Thomas Machell, who died Rector of Kirkby Thore (Westmoreland) in 1698, now preserved in the Cathedral Library at Carlisle, is a large collection of memoranda originally formed with the view of being embraced in a county history of Westmoreland. A number of unpublished Roman inscriptions, hitherto unpublished, are given in them, of which by the

courtesy of Mr. R. S. Ferguson, I am enabled to give copies.

Mr. Machell first gives the inscription on a defaced altar which had gone in his time, but had been recorded by Dugdale in his visitation of the county in 1664. He gives it as—

FORTA
BALLI
N. M. S. S
C. CALEDI
VS. FOR
NTINVS
NOIV

As it stands little or nothing can be made of it, but there have no doubt been ligulate letters. In the last line the I is within the O. I am inclined to think that the first line has been an abbreviation of the word FORTVNAE, and that the whole has read something like this—FORTVNAE BALNEARI. G. CALEDIVS FRONTINVS . . . There are a number of inscriptions extant to *Fortuna Balnearis*, e.g., *Corpus. Inscr. Latin.*, vol. ii., Nos. 2701 and 2763, both found in Spain.

Mr. Machell also mentions a stone at Kirkby Thore, on which were the letters

DEO ALAE.

These should undoubtedly be DEC. ALAE. "Decurion of the Ala . . ." He commits the same error in describing another inscription found at Kirkby Thore, which he tells us was on a plinth which he found whilst excavating. He reads it—

ELL^ EQQ. LLAVRELIVS. M
ARCVS DEO ALAE. V. S. L. LM.

Of the first word I can make nothing. The second, EQQ, stands for *Equites* or *Equitum*, though in what connection I cannot, from its position, understand. The next letter L is also puzzling; but the remainder is clearly *L(ucius) Aurelius Marcus, Dec(urio) Alae V(otum) S(olvit) L(aetus) L(ibens) M(erito)*.

The next stone was also found at Kirkby Thore, and according to Mr. Machell was inscribed

). CAST

i.e., *Centuria Cast(i)*. The name of Castus occurs several times in Britanno Roman inscriptions.

An altar found at Burney Beck (in the parish of Kirkby Thore) is next described. Mr. Machell supposed it to have come from a fort on the summit of the south end of Milburn Fell, but he truly says he did not consider the fort Roman, as it was of a circular shape. There is no reason, however, to doubt the fact that it may have been occupied by the Romans for hunting purposes. Burn and Nicholson in their *History of Westmoreland* (vol. i., p. 388), name the altar and give the inscription on it as DEO SILVANO simply, but Mr. Machell gives it as

DEO SILVANO
AELIVS. VOTVM SOLVIT.

and in his drawing are representations of the sides of the altar, on which were sculptured sacrificial implements, as in many other examples.

A description of the Roman station at Ambleside is given by Mr. Machell, and appended to it is the following :—

“And there is a field house call'd Bowsrigg Highhouse 1 mile south from hence in the way 'twixt Ambleside and Windermere Church, in the east end of which I found a stone brought from the said Borvans with this broken inscription, concerning a Roman cohort, which cohort pinn'd up ye Britons in Cartmel and Furness.”

VXV
CHO
SAN

The letters in the first line are very rude and also ligulate, so that I may not have rightly read them. They resemble two V's conjoined with a diagonal stroke from right to left across the first stroke of the second V. *C(o)ho(rtis)* is plain in the second line. The S in the third line is reversed, but I think it has read (*Centuria*) *San(cti)*. It is, however, difficult to say whether it had been a portion of a tombstone or of a centurial stone. This is the only inscription *preserved* from the station at Ambleside unless Dr. Hübner's No. 1341 is (as I have reason to believe) the stone found at Ambleside over forty years since, and of which a drawing was exhibited to the Institute by the late Mr. Beck, August 25, 1845.

There are two inscriptions from the Roman station at Overborough (Lancashire) of which Machel made rather rude drawings, and of which he thus speaks:—

“At the Vicaridge House in Tunstall are two fragments of Roman Inscriptions, translated hither by the late minister, from Burrow-upon-Lewin in y^e said parish which I have placed one upon another for the better convenience of graveing.”¹

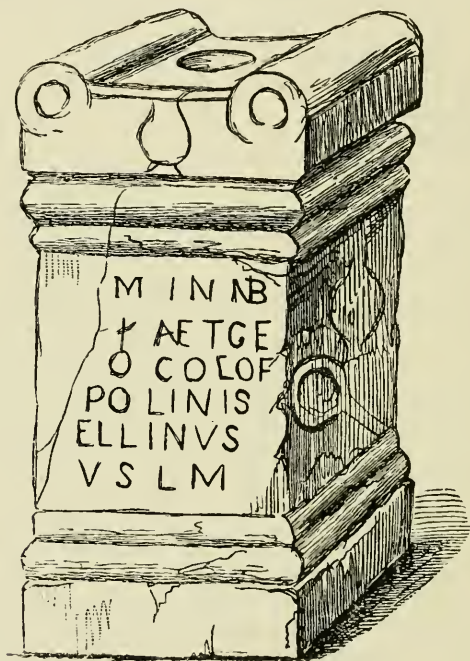
As given by Machel, these are—

(1)	(2)
D .	D . M . S .
M . S .	
ET . PERPETVE SEC	
VRITATI AVRELIVS	
NNIOTV	
AN . LIIHMILI	
AVREVBIAECON	
XXXVII . AVR . P.P.P.	

The first inscription is (as given) peculiar. We have in part of the second and third lines, the phrase “Perpetuae Securitati”—“to perpetual security”—the first time that it or any other cognate phrase has been found in Britain, though on the continent such expressions occasionally occur. In the fourth line the letters seem to be a misrepresentation of ANICETV(S), and the first six lines would read *D(iis) M(anibus) S(acrum) et perpetu(a)e Securitati, Aurelius Anicetus, An(norum) LII. hic mili(tavit)*. The remaining two lines seem to have been subsequently added. I have been inclined to read them *Aureliae Con(iugi) (Annorum) XXXVII Aur(elius) p(ro) p(ietate) p(csuit)*, but Dr. McCaul, in a letter to me, prefers *Aur(eliae) Eu(se)biae con(jugi)*, and suggests that the last three letters were F. P. P. expanding them as *F(ilius) P(ie) P(osuit)*. In any event, the stone commemorates *Aurelius Anicetus* who lived fifty-two years, and appears to have been stationed and fought for some time at Overborough; and his wife, *Aurelia*, who lived thirty-seven years; the stone being probably put up by a son of the parties. The second inscription is merely the head of a tombstone, the formula *D(iis) M(anibus) S(acrum)* alone remaining. Each of these stones was of a pyramidal shape and surmounted by the representation of a fir cone.

¹ The second inscription is, in the MSS., pinned to the lower right corner of the first.

The remaining stone noticed in the Machel MSS. is thus spoken of: "An altar (above a yard high) digg'd up at Kirkby in Loansdale *circa* An. 1684, in a Bank by the river Leun called Abbat's Brow adjoining the north east side of y^e church-yard and now lyeing in the High Street for a seat at Widdow Morris' doore. One side of the Altar (which I have supplied) is broke off and lost. The 1st line seemed to be NVMINIBVS, the 4th APOLLINIS, the last VOTVM SOLVIT." A drawing of the altar is given,



from which the annexed engraving has been taken. The remaining portion of the inscription I would read as--

.. MINIB	<i>Nunibus</i>
... TIETGE	<i>Augusti et</i>
, OCOLEGH	<i>Genio Colegii</i>
. POLINIS	<i>Apollinis</i>
ELLINVS	<i>Ellinus</i>
V S L M .	<i>Votum Solvit Libens Merito.</i>

"To the divinity of the Augustus and the Genius of the College of Apollo, Ellinus performs his vow willingly to a deserving object." From the fact of the existence of a college dedicated to Apollo it is evident that Overborough

must have been a more important place than it has been generally considered. That this altar belonged to that station, which is only some two miles distant from the place where it was found, seems certain.¹

The Rev. Canon Raine has recently detected on a slab of stone preserved in the York Museum a portion of an almost defaced inscription. Portions of three lines are traceable, but only the commencement of the second line is legible, thus--

CIVI
.

In the Mayer Museum at Liverpool there is preserved a fragment of red Roman pottery, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, from Carlisle, bearing a small portion of a *graffiti* inscription rudely scratched, which seems to be--

* V D
O L I V
* C R I I S

The asterisks mark where portions of letters are visible. The last line I think has been part of the word CRESCENS, I I being used for E.

In the vicarage garden at Bowes (*Lavatrae*) in Yorkshire there is preserved a round stone which has certainly in comparatively recent times been used as a millstone. It has borne an inscription in the Latin language, of which a part remains. This was communicated to me a few years ago by the Rev. C. B. Wardale, the vicar, but I have been doubtful whether it belonged to the Roman era. My friend, Mr. Robert Blair of South Shields, who very recently inspected it, has come to the conclusion that it is Roman. With the view therefore of putting it upon record, and inviting its inspection by other antiquaries, I give the inscription--



¹ It is possible that the letter B has been obliterated at the commencement of the line, and that the name might thus

read "Bellinus," as in an inscription found at Binchester.

The stone is 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, and 6 inches in thickness, with a round hole in the centre. The Rev. Dr. Hooppell has lately published a somewhat different version of the inscription, not thinking it Roman. This is however at present an open question.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1813, p. 17 (vol. xxxiii., pt. 2), a correspondent signing S.M. says that in August, 1812, he saw on the road side, two miles from Fisgard, on the way to Newport (Pembrokeshire), "an irregular stone lying loose among many others of the same kind bearing an inscription rudely cut, apparently Roman." An engraving of it is given (Pl. II., fig. 3), and the writer asks whether it was a mile stone. This, I opine, it was. The only lettering which can be made out (some of which may be ligulate) is—

IAIXI
MII.

During the first half of this year (1881) the workmen employed in making public gardens, at the Castle, Aber-gavenny, found some Roman stamped tiles (probably of the Second Legion); but unfortunately they were immediately broken up to be used for making the walks.

A few notes and corrections as to previously found inscriptions have to be added.

In vol. xxxvii of the *Journal*, p. 137, I have described a centurial stone found at Goldcliff, Monmouthshire, on which, in the last line of the inscription, I gave what seemed to be a portion of a letter between MM. This turns out to be merely an ornamental stop, and further examination shews faint traces of an I to exist at the end of the line which should be given as M.M.I. My friend, Mr. A. D. Berrington, has suggested as the expansion of these letters *M(ari) M(ille) I.*, which seems very probable.

In the same vol., p. 151, I named an inscription built up in the roof of one of the chambers of Caernarvon Castle. Further examination makes it doubtful if this is a Roman inscription, but the letters are almost obliterated.

In vol. xxxviii. of the *Journal*, p. 296, I gave an inscription on the bottom of a glass vessel found at York as PATRIC. It should be PATRM, the meaning, *Patr(iciu) M(anu)*, being, however, the same.

On p. 297 of the same vol. I gave an inscription on a

fragment of pottery found at York, $\overset{QVR}{IO}$, which I notice Dr. Hübner has included in his potters' marks, 1337, No. 61.

In speaking of two Greek inscriptions found at York (in the same vol., p. 298), I rendered the letters $\Sigma K P I B$ as the first part of the name *Scribonius*. The Rev C. W. King however, in a paper communicated to the Institute, December 1st, 1881, reads these letters as part of the word *Scriba*, and identifies Demetrius with the grammarian of that name mentioned by Plutarch.

I am indebted to Mr. A. D. Berrington for some interesting information relative to the inscriptions Nos. 146 and 147 of Dr. Hübner. No. 146 had been supposed to be lots, but is now built upside down into the inner face (south-western) of the north-western pillar of the gateway of Tretower House, on the left of the main road from Crickhowell to Talgarth. It is in good preservation, and reads $\succ$ VALENTI. F. The $\mathbf{I}$ is omitted by Dr. Hübner.

No. 147 is built into the north-east angle of the wall of a house called Tŷ-llys, on the northern side of the orchard of Tretower Castle. It is much more worn than No. 146, but is plainly

$\succ$ PEREGRI
NI. FEC.

Dr. Hübner omits the centurial mark $\succ$, at the commencement of the inscription.

Since the close of the year some other inscriptions of interest have been brought to light, which will be embodied in the list for 1882, which I hope soon to have the pleasure of communicating to the Institute.

Amongst the inscriptions described by Camden as existing in his time at Binchester, there is one which has much puzzled antiquaries, owing to the name of a cohort occurring in it, which is otherwise completely unknown, COH. I. CARTOV. That Camden was in error in giving this reading, I shall now endeavour to establish. In the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Julius F. VI, f. 295) there is a very different reading of it by Sir R. Sibbald, and he also gives another reading which he says was that of Sir Robert Cotton, Camden's companion.

According to Camden the commencement of the inscription was wanting. The three readings are these—

Camden.	Sibbald.	Cotton.
.		
TRIB. COHOR. I	(TRIB. OI . . . T	AIRIB OLIST
CARTOV	CART * OVAL	CARTOVAL
MARTI VICTORI	MARTI VETTO	MARTIVSTIO
GENIO LOCI	GENIO LOCI	GENIO LOCI
ET BONO	LIT. INT.	ET BONO.
EVENTVI.		

It seems certain from the first extant line as given by Sibbald and Cotton that the COHOR. I of Camden is a conjecture of that author. From Sibbald we learn that there were traces of other letters before the T of TRIB, from Cotton we learn that at least the letter A was in that position. The inference at once is that (M)ATRIB. for *Matribus* was there.

From the combined testimony of the three versions of the inscription it will be seen that it is dedicated to a number of deities. Two other instances of similar dedications found in Britain may be given as bearing on this point.

(1)	(2)
GENIO LOCI	MARTI
FORTVN REDVCI	MINERVAE
ROMAE. AETERN	CAMPESTRI
ET. FATO. BONO	BVS. HERCL
.	VICTORIAE
	EPONAE
	

No. 1 was found at the large station at Maryport. No. 2 at Castlehill, on the Antonine Wall, in Scotland.

The nature of this dedication would consequently lead us to conclude that instead of the name of a cohort being where Camden places it, the name of some deity or deities would be there. That the other two authors are right seems confirmed by the fact that out of five more altars recorded as found at Binchester, three are dedicated to *Matres*.

Two recent discoveries of altars at Binchester have made us acquainted with the fact that the station was garrisoned by the *Ala Vettonum* for some considerable time. The Vettones were a people of Portugal, whose territories lay between the Douro and the Tagus. What is more natural than that they would erect altars to the

gods of their native land and its neighbourhood. In the third line, therefore, I think Sibbald is right when he renders it as MARTI VETTO (NVM), "To the Vettonian Mars"—and this leads me to the chief point in the inscription, the letters in the first line after MATRIB. That the word is some ethnic adjective applied to the mothers there can be little doubt, and I have come to the conclusion that OLISIP has been the abbreviation, referring to Lisbon (*Olisipo*).

It was not only the *Matres* of *countries* who were worshipped, but we find examples of "mothers" presiding over towns, *e.g.*, Orelli, No. 2263, where we have MATRIS DEAE. BAIANAE. This seems to be another instance. A Portuguese *ala* worshipping the goddess mothers of Lisbon is exactly what might be expected.

Again, the third line I opine contains some other titles of the mothers. As we find an example (at Winchester) of a dedication to the "Italian, German, Gallic and Britannic mothers;" and at York, another to "the African, Italian and Gallic mothers;" so here I think there is another example. As Sibbald makes an ornamental stop to occur between CART and OVAL, the first portion may relate to the "Carthaginian mothers;" but I merely throw this out as a suggestion. I have some suspicion that the letters OVAL may have been in the original QVAR, and related to the "Quariates," a people of Gallia Narbonensis. The whole inscription would therefore read (exclusive of the missing lines)—

MATRIB. OLISIP
CART. * QVAR
MARTI VETTO
GENIO LOCI
ET BONO
EVENTVI

THE MOATED MOUND OF SEKINGTON.

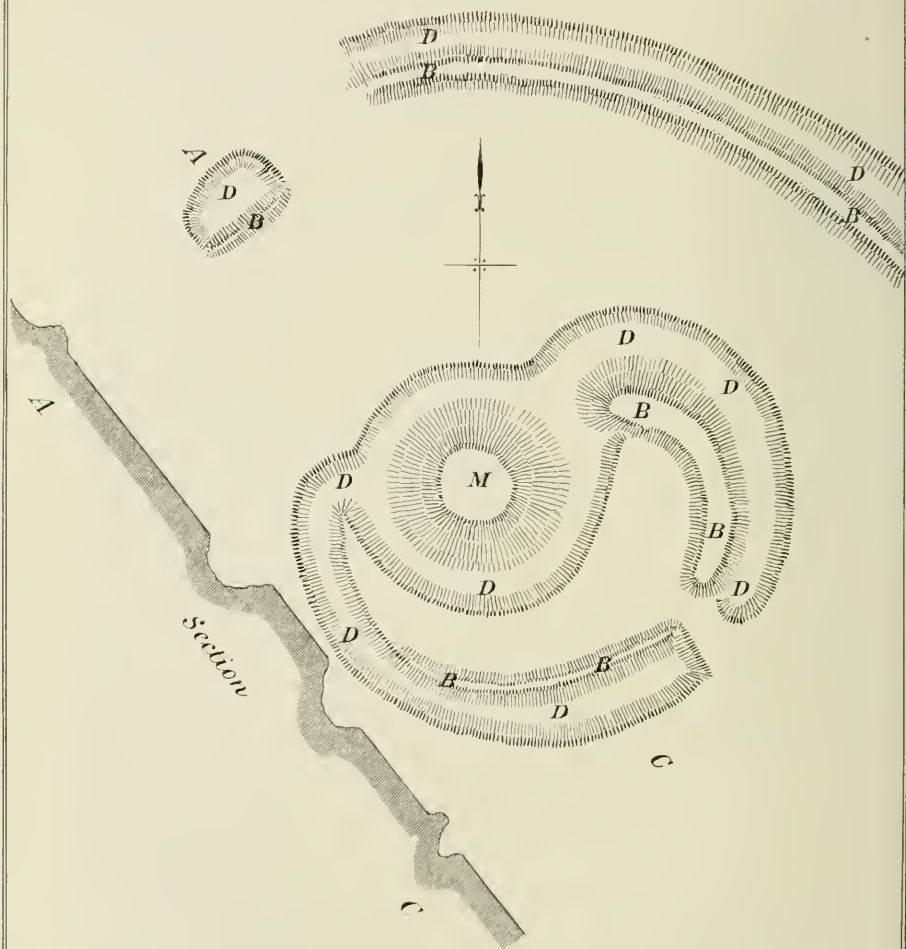
By G. T. CLARK.

Sekington, or as it was formerly, and it may be more correctly written Seccandune, and Sekingdon, is a village four miles north-east of Tamworth, on the Ashby-de-la-Zouch road, on the extreme north of the county of Warwick, on its Staffordshire border. The district is of an entirely rural character, removed from the advantages and disadvantages of minerals and manufactures, and presenting no very remarkable natural features. The surface is moulded into a number of low rounded hills and shallow vallies, down each of which flows a nameless brook, contributing either to the Mease or the Anker, and so to the Tame and the Trent.

Sekington is classed by Kemble as the mark or settlement of the Secgingas. It is not, however, without a special record of its own, for here, at Seccandune, took place a bloody battle between Cuthred of Wessex and Æthelbald the Mercian king, in which the latter was slain by treachery. Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worcester, and Henry of Huntingdon all mention the battle, though Florence calls the place Segeswalde. Ethelwerd gives as the date A.D. 757, the other four 755.

It appears from Domesday that in the reign of the Confessor Sekington was held by Celred and Godric, which latter held $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides of the king, and possibly dwelt upon the Burh. The Conqueror seems to have granted the manor to the Earl of Mellent, from whom it came to the Camvilles, a powerful Baronial family, commemorated in the adjacent parish of Clifton-Camville. The heiress of Camville, in the reign of Edward III.,

SECKINGTON MOUND.



M. Mound

B. Banks

D. Ditches

134 ft = 1 Inch.

married Burdet, in whose descendants in the male line the property has since remained, and the late Sir Robert Burdet was here buried. There are not many estates remaining, even in Warwickshire, which have descended in a direct line from the reign of Henry II., and in a direct male line from that of Edward III. The ancient church is now being rebuilt, and the heavily burdened local residents are hoping that the expense may be borne by Lady Burdet Coutts and her nephew.

Sekington is however mainly remarkable for its Burh or Moated Mound, which is of large dimensions, and as perfect or nearly so, as Brinklow, and more perfect than, though scarcely so large as, Ælfleda's Burh at Tamworth.

The Burh stands a furlong north-north-west of the parish church, on high ground, commanding a rather rich panoramic view. Its principal feature is a large conical mound, wholly artificial, truncated, having very steep slopes, and encircled by a ditch, out of which it rises, and whence it was in part formed. The mound is about 50 ft. diameter at the top, and about 140 to 150 ft. at its base. Its height is rather over 30 ft. Dugdale states its top diameter at 23 ft., and its height at 42 ft., so that it probably has been reduced somewhat since his time. The ditch is about 30 ft. wide, and from 10 to 12 ft. deep, and was no doubt originally somewhat deeper.

From this proper ditch of the mound there springs on the western side a second ditch, which passes southwards until, sweeping round towards the east, it includes a semilunar court or ward, and again joins the ditch of the mound on its east side. This court covers and protects about two-thirds of the area of the mound, and the content of its ditch being thrown inwards, forms a bank along its scarp. This bank begins at nothing towards the south-west, and increases gradually in breadth and height towards the east until it ends in a substantial mound, about two-thirds of the height of the great mound, and divided from it by its ditch. The entrance to this court was towards the south-east, and is indicated by a cutting in the bank, and a slight causeway across the ditch. The ditch varies in depth and breadth, being greatest where the bank is highest and broadest.

Outside these works, towards the north-north-east,

and east, are clear traces of an exterior bank and ditch, in part containing water. It is probable that this defence was carried all round the inner works, so as to include a spacious annular court. The edge of this bank, to the north, is shown by the slight but marked deflexion of the high road, a very old one, to avoid it.

The disposition of this, as of every other Burh, shows that the lord of the soil, whose house of timber occupied the summit of the mound, provided protection, not only against an extensive foe, but against his own dependents; or it may be against the foeman, supposing him to have carried the outer defences. The bank, which, regarded merely as a defence against those on the outside, had better have been carried across the ditch so as to abut upon the mound, is separated from it, leaving the ditch of the mound, as a citadel, unbroken. It is also to be observed that the mound forms a part of the exterior defence of the work; and this on the side of the higher ground, and consequently more exposed front. If we suppose the lord's house on the summit to be enclosed within a circle of stout piles or planks, as shown in the Bayeux tapestry, and a similar palisade to be erected along the crest of the bank within the ditch, the only addition needed to make the defence complete would be to carry the line of palisades across the ditch of the mound until it abutted on each side upon the lord's house. This no doubt is what was done. At least it was what the Normans did when they replaced by a keep and curtains of masonry the structures of timber and lines of palisades upon these older earthworks. This may be seen at Tamworth, where an early Norman wall crosses the ditch and runs into the mound; or at Lincoln, Arundel, Hawarden, Tickhill, Tonbridge and many other early castles, where the curtain wall of the court is carried across the ditch of the mound, so as to abut upon the keep, with which, however, its ramparts have no communication. In this way the strongest part or citadel of the castle was placed upon its naturally weakest front; and, at the same time, its proper defences as a citadel were unbroken, and the enemy who had obtained possession of the court was still a long way from mastering the whole fortress.

It is to be hoped that the long descended owner of

this very interesting Burh will direct his tenants to abstain from injuring it. Very recently a large excavation has been made in the south side of the mound, evidently for some rural purpose.

A short distance north of Sekington, between it and Thorpe-Constantine, on the west of the high-road, in an angle of the Staffordshire border, is a small low or tumulus, much trimmed and modernized, but probably old and sepulchral. It is not shewn on the ordnance map.

At Elford, also in Staffordshire, also by the road-side, is another small low, rather injured by the road, here in slight cutting. This is set down correctly on the map.

A third mound, no doubt also sepulchral, and not noticed in the map, stands in the adjacent village of Edengale, at the meeting of three ways. On it are three or four old trees, and it is not unlikely to have been surmounted by a later cross. None of these mounds could ever be mistaken for a Burh.

NOTES ON COLLARS OF SS.

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

The study of antiquities would be a very dreary vocation if it dealt only with subjects and objects that are thoroughly well understood, and did not urge,—and herein lies the fascination of the pursuit,—to the investigation of questions still unsolved—mysteries, such as Stonehenge, and enigmas, like “cup markings;” perplexities such as are involved in the construction of “banded mail,” or in the origin and meaning of the collar of SS., *par excellence* the “*crux antiquariorum*.”

Perhaps no mediæval decoration has excited so much interest as this celebrated livery collar. There has certainly been no lack of research or, indeed, of controversy, in the matter, from the time of Camden to the present day, and during this period the meaning of the letters has been variously explained as :—St. Simplicius,—Salisbury (Countess of),—Soissons (Martyrs of),—Silentium,—Societas,—Souvenez,—Souverayne,—Seneschallus,—and Sanctus; while one fervid expositor finds the true explanation of the secret in the S-shaped lever on the bit of a horse's bridle.¹ This wild derivation may be at once dismissed.

It would appear that the testimony for the first six explanations is exceedingly dubious, but there is more or less indirect evidence in support of the other three; it is therefore very remarkable, not to say discouraging, that the origin and real meaning of the SS. collar should still remain a mystery. Yet it is perhaps more remarkable still that we should be equally uninformed as to the origin of the two most exalted Orders in Europe—the Garter, and the Golden Fleece.

It may be allowed that there is a good deal to be said in favour of “Seneschallus,” for John of Gaunt was Seneschal, or High Steward of England, and there has fortunately been preserved in the British Museum a drawing by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, from a window of Old St. Paul's, of the arms of “Time honoured

¹ See “Notes and Queries,” vol. ii., p. 195

Lancaster" within a collar of SS. of the early form, namely, a buckling strap with S's upon it at intervals. This is the earliest pictorial example that has been noticed. John of Gaunt died in 1399, and there is presumptive proof that he gave a collar of SS. to his nephew Richard II. A collar of the same kind occurs upon a corbel head of a regal personage, in a doorway in the south aisle of Southwell Minster. It is desirable to mention this example because, although the architecture with which it is connected is ascribed to the beginning of the fifteenth century, the head is apparently of an older date, and may possibly represent Edward III.

But the earliest sculptured example appears to be that represented on the effigy of Sir John Swinford, who died in 1371 (44 Edw. III).¹ Now, if it could be shown that this effigy was sculptured many years after his death, the fact still remains that this knight was entitled to wear a collar of SS., and it consequently follows that this decoration was an established collar of livery when Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, was yet a boy, since he was not born until 1360. This would seem at once to dispose of the favourite conjecture that the collar was first devised by Henry IV, when he was Earl of Derby, in allusion to his motto, "Souverayne."

In support of "Sanctus" there is also something to be urged, for it may be borne in mind that church vestments were not infrequently powdered with S's for Sanctus. For instance, in 1386, Sir John Mautravers bequeathed to the church of Pourstoke, "*j par vestimentorum cum S. literis deaureatis*;" and in 1402, Sir John Depeden bequeathed to his chantries in the church of Helagh, Yorkshire, a complete vestment of silk, "*habens S. literam nigram enbroudez super les orfrays*."²

Ornaments charged with letters conveying religious sentiments, initials of personal names, and mottoes, were common enough in the middle ages, and towards the latter end of the fourteenth century heraldic collars came into fashion in accordance with this feeling. These, in their origin, were merely private family decorations, quite dis-

¹ Escheat, 46 Edw. III. No. 57,

² Testam. Eborac. pp. 175, 295. Surtees Society's Publications.

A magnificent cope at Stonyhurst

College, of the time of Henry VIII, has a border formed of collars of SS. and portcullises. *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvii, p. 186.

inct from collars of orders of knighthood, and were charged with personal devices. Of such kind was the collar of ermines shown on the effigy of John fourth Duke of Brittany, who died in 1399, in allusion to the fabled origin of his arms; the collar of mermaids shown on the brass of Thomas fourth Lord Berkeley, who died in 1392; and perhaps the collar of park palings represented on the effigy of Thomas de Markenfield, who died about 1415.

Of this nature, then, was the origin of the collar of SS.; and it is easy to conceive that the events of that stirring time would rapidly develop the family collar of an august house into a badge of feudal allegiance, to become, eventually, the decoration of a great political party. Whether the letter S. was originally derived from "Seneschallus," or from "Sanctus," we shall probably now never know; the former seems the most likely source, but this point is really of much less interest than the question of the first appearance and use of the collar. Its subsequent employment as the "Livery" of the great Lancastrian party during the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., is now a matter of history which is amply illustrated in almost endless variety by the effigies and brasses of this period.¹ At the head of these examples must be placed those which occur on the tomb and canopy of Henry IV. at Canterbury, in conjunction with the motto, "Souverayne" and "Atemperance," together with the SS. collar exhibited on the effigy of his Queen, Joan of Navarre.

The earliest recorded description of a collar of SS. occurs in a wardrobe account of Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, taken in the 15th of Richard II. (1391-2), in which it is thus rather vaguely described: "Pro 1. coler auri facto pro domino Henrico Lancastrie, Comiti Derb. cum xvij. literis de S. ad modum plumarum cum rotulis et scripturis in eisdem cum signo² in torrecto ejusdem."³

In the statute for the regulations of apparel, passed in the 2nd of Henry IV., it is ordained that—"All the sons of the king, dukes, earls, barons and baronettes, might use the livery of our Lord the King of his collar as well

¹ A list of the effigies and brasses throughout the kingdom, on which the SS. collar is represented, together with notes upon the pendants, and the social positions of the wearers, would be a valuable contribution to the history of the decoration.

² The late Mr. J. G. Nichols, who published some valuable papers on family collars in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vols. xvii., xviii., and xix., suggested that *cygno* was the word here intended.

³ Planché, "Cyclopædia of Costume," p. 127.

a MS., formerly his own, in the library of Ben'et College, Cambridge, seated upon a throne powdered with S's; and a portrait of Henry VI., in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, represents him wearing a golden collar of SS. with a pendent cross.

On the accession of Edward IV. in 1461, the SS. collar was supplanted by the Yorkist collar of suns and roses, which, with the different pendent badges of the rival houses, namely, the white lion of March, the black bull of Clare, and the white boar of Richard III., continued in constant use until the accession of Henry VII., in 1485. The Lancastrian collar was now revived, and we meet with numerous representations of it upon monumental effigies and brasses until the close of the reign of Henry VIII., the ends of the collars being usually fastened by one or two portcullises, with a pendent rose. It is during this period that the SS. collar first appears upon the effigies of legal dignitaries.¹

From documentary evidences of this time we gather that Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, bequeathed his collar of the King's Livery to his cousin of Shrewsbury in 1498.² In 1519 an entry occurs in the King's Book of Payments: "to Sir Richard Wingfield for a Collar of Esses 55 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. at 40s. and £6 for the fashion;"³ and at the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501, Sir Nicholas Vaux wore a collar of SS. weighing eight hundred pounds of nobles.⁴

This was the age of great gold chains and collars, but unfortunately very few of them have come down to the present time. The portraits by Holbein and the painters who immediately succeeded him have made us familiar with the general characteristics of these massive chains, but the collar of SS. is seldom represented save in the portraits of legal dignitaries. But it is very satisfactory to know from the following document⁵ that the collar of SS. worn by the Lord Mayor of London is a genuine decoration of the time of Henry VIII. It is perhaps

¹ In Foss's "Lives of the Judges of England," vol. vii., p. 23, the descents of some of the judicial collars are traced.

² Will of Edward Stafford, "Halsstead's Genealogies," p. 211.

³ "Calendar of State Papers," vol. iii. part ii. p. 1537.

⁴ Fuller's "Worthies," edit. 1811, vol. ii. p. 182.

⁵ Communicated by the obliging courtesy of Sir J. B. Monckton.

the finest of its kind in existence, and its great size and magnificent modern pendent jewel make it a fitting attribute of an ancient and dignified office.

"Martis xxvij^o Octobr a^o R.R. Henr viij xxxvij"

"Att this Co^rte my Lorde Mayer brought in & delyu'yd here in the Co^rte to the hands of M^r Chamb'len the Color of Esses lately gevyn to this Cytie by S^r John Alleyn Knight & Ald^ran to be used alwayes & worne by the lorde Mayer of this Cytie for the tyme beinge together wth an obligac'on to be made by this Cytie to the executo^rs of the seid S^r John Aleyn accordynge to the teno^r of the laste wyll of the said S^r John Aleyn & the same afterwards delyu'yd ageyne to the seid lorde Mayer at the same Co^rte."¹

It is not known under what circumstances Sir John Alleyn became the holder of a collar of SS., but he probably received it at the hands of the King. Clearly he had no power to confer it by will, or otherwise, on the office of Lord Mayor of London, but it may be assumed that the chief magistrate obtained leave to add it to the insignia of the function of which it has since formed so conspicuous an ornament.

An interesting estimate, dated February 23, 1684-5, of articles to be provided for great officers of state at the coronation of James II contains the following entries:—

	oz.	dwt.	gr.	li.	s.	d.
" It ^m One Collar of SS. . . . poiz	19	10	0			
For Silver Gilding and Workmanship	24	18	09			
It ^m Two Collars of SS. . . . poiz	34	07	12			
For Silver and Workmanship	33	11	10			
It ^m Six Collars of SS. . . . poiz	89	15	00			
For Silver and Workmanship	82	08	09" ²			

The above collars were probably for the three Kings of Arms,—the gilt one being for Garter,—and the six Heralds.

In Ireland the collar of SS. forms part of the municipal regalia of Dublin, and was given to the Lord Mayor of that city by Charles II. The Mayor of Cork has a very fine example, with a pendent portcullis, and the Council Book of the corporation contains the following naive entry concerning its acquirement:—

"31st Oct. 1755. That a collar of SS. and gold chains be bought for the Mayor and Sheriffs of this city, to be worn by them in their several offices, for the

¹ Letter Book Q., fo. 148.

² "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," vol. ii, No. 31, p. 222.

honour and dignity of this city, same to be made like the collar and chains worn by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the city of Dublin.”¹

Queen Elizabeth gave a collar of SS. in 1571 to Maurice Roche, Mayor of Cork ; this is still preserved at Ganetstow House.

The SS. collar of Lord Chief Justice Denman was bought in 1850, for £100, by the Corporation of Derby, and has since been worn by the Mayor of that town.

Thus, in latter and degenerate days, has the renowned badge of the Lancastrian livery been purchased with money. Obviously the mere possession of an SS. collar establishes no right to wear such a decoration.

In England, the collar of SS. is worn officially at the present day, with certain differences—such as knots, roses, the rose, shamrock and thistle surmounted by a crown—by the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen’s Bench, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Kings of Arms, the Heralds, the Serjeant-at-Arms, and the Serjeant-Trumpeter.

It will be seen from the accompanying illustrations from full size drawings, that the S’s were fixed, occasionally backwards, upon a strap, at various distances from each other, and therefore in arbitrary number, or strung, or linked together. The letters were made of latten, or brass, as in two examples found in the Thames ;² of silver, like the herald collars as worn at the present day, which, when bestowed by the Sovereign, conferred the degree of

¹ I am indebted to the kind co-operation of Dr. Caulfield for this communication.

² These are now in the British Museum. The one has *ihc* on the body of the letter, and a hole at each end for attachment, and is stamped in very thin metal. It is evidently an ecclesiastical ornament. The other example is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch high and has a stud at the back for attachment. This may well have formed part of a collar of SS.

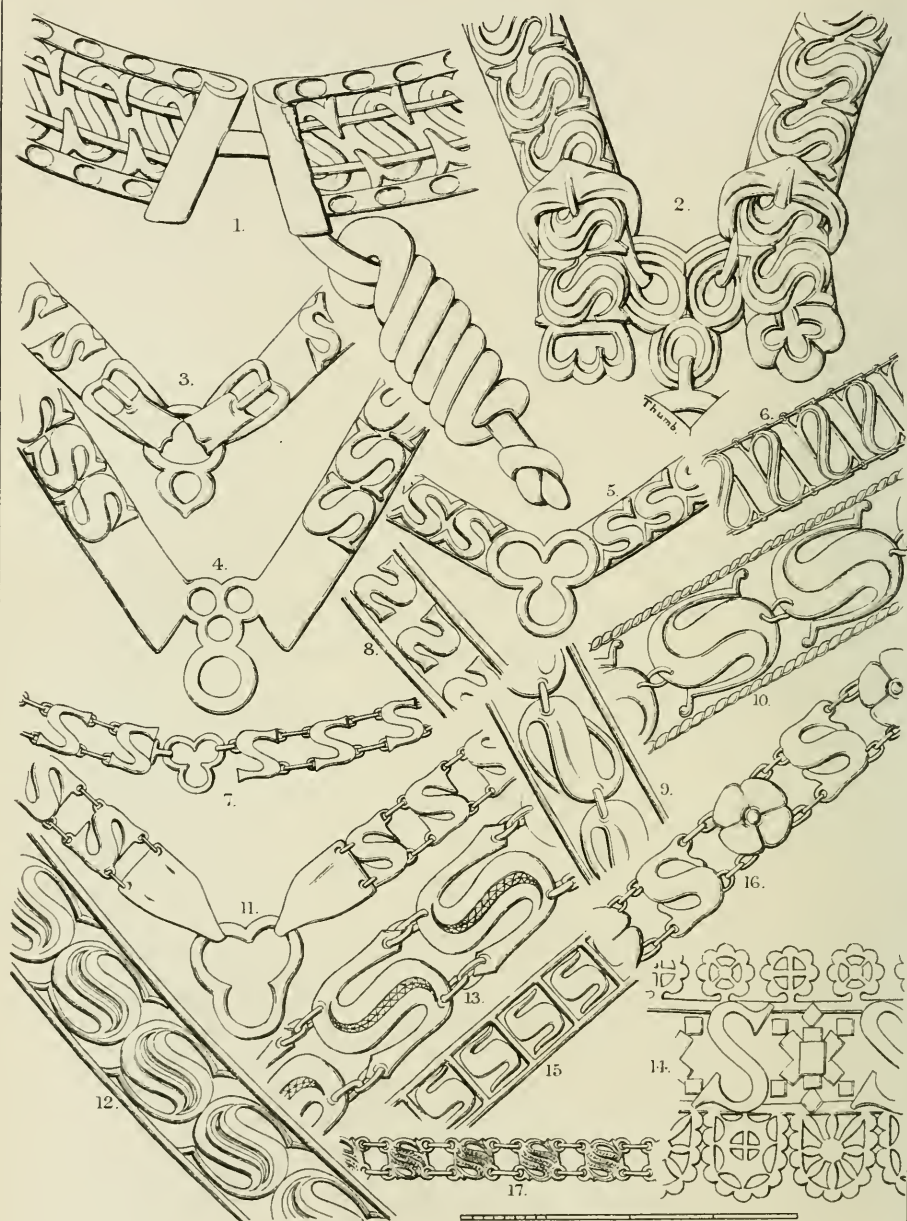
If every person who is represented wearing a collar of SS. in his effigy or brass, actually possessed such a decoration, allowing even for its frequent transference by death to others, there must have been a very large number extant throughout the first half of the fifteenth century. And this is taking no account of the SS. collars worn by the numerous persons who have left no effigies or brasses behind them as evidences of their

privilege.

No doubt many of the examples in gold and silver were melted down in accordance with the changes of fashion or of political feeling, and the accession of the House of York would cause the disappearance of most of the SS. collars worn previous to that date ; but what has become of all the chains of SS. of the time of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. ? Those in stamped leather, or *cuir-bouilli*, which were presumably worn in the earlier times, have naturally perished like the leather swordbelts and baudrics of the Edwardian period ; but the S’s in latten do not fall into any of the above categories. Yet it is somewhat surprising, not only that no instance of a gold or silver S for affixing, or for forming one of a chain of S’s has come down to our time, but that only two separate S’s in bronze have come under the notice of antiquaries.



COLLARS OF SS.



esquire ; or of silver gilt, like the collars of the Kings of Arms, which was, in earlier times, the special attribute of knighthood.

References to Illustrations.

1. Collar of Sir John Swinford, died 1371 ; from his effigy in Spratton Church, Northamptonshire.
2. Collar of Sir John Cressy, died 1444 ; from his effigy in Dodford Church, *ib.* It will be noticed that the tongues of the buckles are thrust through the letter S. A similar arrangement is shown in the collar of Sir Richard Vernon, died 1452, in his effigy in Tong Church, Salop. This seems to imply that the letters were occasionally made of some pliant substance like *enir bouilli*.
3. Collar of Sir John de Wittelbury, died *circa* 1410 ; from his effigy in Marholm Church, *ib.*
4. Collar of Sir Thomas Greene, died 1457.
5. Collar of Phillippa Greene, died 14— ; from their effigies in Greene's Norton Church, *ib.*
6. Collar of Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire ; died 1499 ; from his effigy in Lowick Church, *ib.* This may be taken to represent the collar which he bequeathed to his cousin of Shrewsbury.
7. Collar of Jane Knightley, died after 1537 ; from her effigy in Upton Church, *ib.*
8. Collar of Sir Henry Vere, died 1516 ; from his effigy in Great Addington Church, *ib.*
9. Collar of Chief Justice Sir Robert Brudenel, died 1531 ; from his effigy in Deane Church, *ib.*
10. Collar of Sir Richard Knightley, Gentleman-Usher-Extraordinary to the King, died 1534 ; from his effigy in Fawsley Church, *ib.*
11. Collar of Sir Richard Knightley, died 1537 ; from his effigy in Upton Church, *ib.*
12. Collar of William, Lord Parr, Knight of the Body, died 1546 ; from his effigy in Horton Church, *ib.*
13. Collar of Sir Thomas Andrew, died 1564 ; from his effigy in Charwelton Church, *ib.*
14. Collar of Penelope, Lady Spencer, died 1667 ; from her effigy in Brington Church, *ib.* This is a mere private ornament.
15. Collar of Ralph Hastings (?) died *circa* 1480 ; from his effigy in the habits of a pilgrim in Ashby-de-la-Zouch Church.
16. Collar of Sir Richard Salkeld, died 1501 ; from his effigy in Wetherall Church, near Carlisle.
17. Collar in the possession of Mr. J. Hilton.¹

¹ This collar was exhibited at the monthly meeting of the Archæological Institute, April 6, 1882. It is of silver, the front of the S's being gilt and ornamented with a series of small circles stamped with a punch. Suspended to it is a gilt six-dollar of John George, Duke of Saxony, to which are attached three gilt shillings of Frederick IV of Denmark, each having a thin silver gilt lozenge of the usual Scandinavian type attached to it.

This example is rather puzzling. It has hardly a mediæval character and it

is not a modern collar of a judge, or of a herald. It is probably a fanciful object of the last, or of the early part of the present century. It was bought by Mr. Hilton, with no history attached to it, at a sale in London in the present year, and its exhibition at the Institute suggested to the author of the above "Notes" to thus re-write and add considerably to a short notice on collars of SS. which appeared some years ago in a work by himself, that is not within the reach of the public.

ON EGYPTIAN SEPULCHRAL STATUETTES,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AN EXAMPLE IN THE POSSESSION
OF CAPT. E. HOARE.

By S. BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A.

These figures are found in the tombs, along with the mummies (see Pierret, *Dict. d'Arch. Egypt.*, p. 225) sometimes cast pell-mell into the sarcophagi, at others set upright all round, or planted in the sand; occasionally they have been discovered scattered on the floor; in other instances they are deposited in small wooden boxes. Thousands have been discovered in the sepulchres of Memphis and Thebes, and lately some of remarkable colour and beauty, of intense bright blue porcelain, have been discovered with the mummies of the Deir-el-Bahari. None of these figures have been found in the tombs of the fourth, fifth, or sixth dynasties at Memphis or elsewhere, and the oldest which have been exhumed at Abydos are assigned to the thirteenth dynasty. The materials of which they are made are alabaster, calcareous stone, and wood, but not of porcelain or enamelled earth. They represent the deceased mummied, the hair in the costume of the period, especially with long side lappets, the hands come out of the garments, and are crossed, but only hold vases or bandlets, and never the hoe pickaxe and cord of the basket, or even the *tat* and buckle *ta*; of the nineteenth dynasty some, however, have the usual formula of the sixth chapter of the Ritual which was in use at that early period. The most flourishing period was that of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, when the same materials, with the addition of basalt schists, and other stones in addition to the precited, came into use, and rarely metal also appears, and the most flourishing period continues to the twenty-first dynasty. The porcelain figures of this period are excessively bril-



Egyptian Statuette.

liant, and are distinguished by having inscriptions printed in a darker colour. The sixth chapter of the Ritual is usually found more or less abridged upon these figures, but the stone ones of Amenophis III have a totally different formula, and some others have either sepulchral inscriptions or unusual expressions. The words "*s'hut*," "luminous," are constantly prefixed at this period to the name and titles of the deceased. At the time of the twenty-first and later dynasties the figures often have the dress and costume of the period, and are not mummied. Commencing with the twenty-sixth dynasty the figures assume another type, shown in Capt. Hoare's specimen.

The statuettes of this age are almost always of enameled earth, or porcelain, of a pale green or blue colour, seldom made of wood, and never of stone. They are mummied, stand upright upon a square pedestal, and have a plinth up the back. They are of one colour throughout, and the details are no longer indicated by dark lines, but by hollow or sunk lines; all is engraved. The body of the statuette is certainly moulded, but while the paste was soft, and before baking, a scribe inserted the details with the hand. At the former period seldom more than one or two were found in a tomb; but after the twenty-first dynasty, especially at the time of the twenty-sixth, fifty and a hundred were of common occurrence. None of the age of the twenty-sixth dynasty were found at Abydos. (See Mariette, *Abydos*, pp. 78, 79). These figures evidently come down to the period of the Persian conquest, for the inscription of one, of the Monarch, Nekht-har-hebi, or Nectabes, of the thirtieth dynasty, B.C. 378, with the usual formula, has been found; and this is the last dated figure known, and as it came from Memphis, or rather from Sakkarah, it proves, with the fact of the coffin of this monarch being found at Cairo, and now in the British Museum, that Nekht-har-hebi, or Nectabes, was buried there. It is after this period that the sepulchral figures rapidly went out of use, although a few may have continued to be made under the Ptolemies, and the commencement of the Greek period; no dated ones of this time, however, have been found. Although great diversity exists in the shape and inscription of these figures, they ought as a rule to have had the fifth or sixth

chapter of the Ritual inscribed or engraved upon them. Although the entries, unfortunately wanting of these figures, may have only directed that the chapter should be said over them, many figures are plain and uninscribed, others have only the name and titles of the deceased, sometimes preceded, at a later period, by the expression "*s'hut*," "white," "bright," or "luminous." The inscription, containing the sixth chapter, one of the four formulas with which they are often covered, is generally written or engraved in horizontal lines round the body. The arrangement in vertical lines, as on the present example, is very much rarer.

According to Mariette (*Abydos*, p. 45) they ought on certain formulas pronounced by the deceased to answer his appeal. He reads, "Oh Shabti if we need he is called to work in Karneter," (he answers) "It is I, here I am." The end of the formula is only a development of the same idea. "If the deceased is judged and called," (The shabti answers) "I am him thou callest for these labours. So he has struck (I have struck) the enemy who is found there (Hades), I have struck him, as a person engaged in his duties:" "The shabti then by means of the implements he carries upon him, cultivates the earth with the deceased, and there casts the seeds, where under the concealed effort of nature, food and life spring forth." This formula is inscribed on statuettes said to be as old as the thirteenth dynasty found at Abydos, and is the resumé of the sixth chapter, already mentioned. However, giving this chapter in detail, which appears upon Captain Hoare's figure, it will be necessary to consider some of the others.

First, the inscriptions found on the sepulchral figures of Amenophis III. Second, those probably introduced at the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, and continued till the nineteenth; and third, the fifth chapter of the Ritual rarely placed upon them. The first of the series is a modification of the sixth chapter, and contains part of that belonging probably to an older Ritual than that extant at the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty. This inscription on the figures of Amenophis III is as follows:—"Make the responding figures of the devoted to Osiris, the King Amenophis III act in Hades. Oh

Gods ! who are with the complete lord (Osiris), seated at his word it has been commanded that ye should proclaim his name ye have given to him the things on the altar of the shrine, hear ye all his vows in the boundary of the gap (of the Horizon by which the deceased went to the Sun) he makes the festival, and the *uga*, when he was over the Osiniar King, irrigating the furrows, transporting the sand of the East to the West. The Oriris King has been ordered in the course of every day before Amenophis to receive the cakes." (See *Zeitschrift. fur Ägyptische Sprache*, 1864, pp. 91, 92). There is another formula also found at the time of the eighteenth dynasty, not exactly the sixth chapter, but perhaps introduced instead at the time of that dynasty. It reads, "Shew thy face, regard the disc of the Sun, adore thou in life, thou hast been hailed in Rusta (or place of Fates leading to Hades) thou goest round the abode of Jemie, Thou perambulatest the valley of Rusta above, Thou goest against the secret gate, thou sittest placed in the region of Tasar (a part of Hades) like the great ministers of the Sun." (See *Zeitschrift. fur Ägyptische Sprache*, 1864, p. 104). This formula may have been introduced at the time of the disc worshippers, but it is rare and exceptional. There are two chapters relating to the *Shabti*, the first of which, the fifth, has only once to my knowledge been found inscribed on a figure. It is entitled the chapter of "Avoiding to cause that a person does work in Hades." The chapter itself reads, "I require a quiet and coming forth at the hour, fed or living off the nosecra of agnocephali," or "living off nosecra again" (or turning back). The object therefore of these figures is to spare the defunct the toil and trouble of Hades. The sixth chapter, the one so often found on the figures, bears the title of "The chapter of causing to do work the shabti," or "sepulchral figures in Hades."

I now proceed to consider the formula of the sixth of the Ritual, which is found on Captain Hoare's figure. So many hundreds of this occur that it offers many differences, the principal of which I have already given. (*Zeitschrift. fur Ägyptische Sprache*, 1865, p. 8, and following). "Oh these responding figures, let this Osiris be ready (or judged), for all the labour to be done in

Hades," is one beginning, or, "Oh these responding figures, should there be a call day or night at any time to do the work (it is for the Osirian, deceased) they should strike away the evil as a person who does his duties, Should I call ye, get ready at all times to do what is to be done, there to labour in the fields, to water the furrows, to transport the sand of the West to the East, and vice versâ, let me say in Hades, I am yours." Other formulas give, "Oh these responding figures should the Osirian deceased be required by day or night to do the work to be done in Hades when the enemies are struck down as by a person who does his duty, Should I call upon ye at any moment get ready at once to do what is to be done, there to labour in the fields, to water the furrows, to transport the sand of the West to the East, and vice versâ, I am thou (says the figure) or I the Osiris make my appeal before the company of the Gods of the West. Should I be called by Osiris, or should my name be called, I answer the call the same to-day or for ever." Several allusions to Shabti are thought to have been found in different monuments.

A tablet of wood remarkably fresh, with a hieratic inscription, containing a text relative to these *ushabti*, has been translated by Mons. Maspero,¹ and it evidently came from the Deir-el-Bahari, and is dated on the eighth day of the fourth month of the summer of the fifth year of the monarch, Herhor, of the twenty-first dynasty, and refers to the sepulchral figures made for the mummy of Naskhonsu, daughter of Tenthantahue, one of the queens of the twenty-first line. The *Thari ushabti* are enjoined to make all the prostrations and lamentations for the protection of Naskhonsu yearly, monthly, every decade day, and on epagomena, or intercallery days. It is Amenka who allows to dwell in the seats of the abode of Berber, mentioned also on the leather canopy of the Queen, Hesiemkleb. They are exhorted to make good lamentations for the Queen Naskhonsu. The shabti appear to have been paid for in bronze, linen, bread, cakes, and fish. The shabti were mystically supposed to guide and control the deceased in all his actions, and to protect his mummy.

¹ Maspero, "Rec. de Travaux," iv, 17.

The word *ushabti*, respondent, is the same as applied to the figure, and is also given to the cows as *ushabti*. It evidently means the cows.¹

The present sepulchral figure is evidently for a person named "Pet," or "Petru," son of a female, or born of a woman, named "Hant," or "Htar," and is of the period of the twenty-sixth dynasty, about B.C. 600.

In taking the opportunity of expressing my thanks to Dr. Birch for the trouble he has so kindly taken in elucidating the Egyptian Statuette engraved above, I should also say that it was discovered, with ten or eleven others, in the summer of 1879, in a tomb near Thebes. All these figures were obtained by my relative Captain G. Rochfort, who gave me this example to add to my small collection of Egyptian antiquities. It was exhibited at the monthly meeting of the Institute, December 2nd, 1880.

EDWARD HOARE.

¹ Mariette, "Les Papyrus Egyptiens du Musée de Bouilac," Plate 13.



CRESSET STONES.¹

By the REV. T. LEES, M.A.

A cresset was a cup of earthenware or metal, fastened to the top of a pole, and containing a light, and so forming a portable lantern. When the pole was fixed in the earth, and so became a stationary light, the whole apparatus was styled a *beacon*. In heraldry the beacon was the badge of Henry V.; and appears on the frieze within the chantry over his tomb in Westminster Abbey. The Harleian MS. 104 says, "The cresset, with burning fire was the badge of the Admiralty;" and Mr. J. R. Planché, in explaining this assertion, writes that it was probably "founded on the fact that the badge of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, was a cresset. . . . The cresset of the Hollands, Earls of Kent and Dukes of Exeter, was probably derived from the lordship of Wake, such lights being carried by the watch of the middle ages, and the motto of the Wakes of Somerset being still 'Vigila et ora,' Watch and Pray" ("Pursuivant of Arms," p. 251). The Marquis of Northampton bears for his first crest "on a mount a beacon fired."

But we are concerned at present not with the Heraldic use of the cresset, but with the Ecclesiastical; for cresset stones, so far as any evidence has yet appeared, were used only in churches and monasteries.

Dr. Johnson (vol. i., 4to, 1786) defines a cresset as "a great light set upon a beacon, light-house, or watch-tower;" and gives the derivation from the French "*croisette*, because beacons had crosses antiently on the top." In his anxiety to give a plausible derivation the good doctor has made more than one mistake. The old French for a "little cross" is *croisette* with one *s*. The word *croisette*, with two *s*'s, which he uses, means, "a slip of vine for planting," and is derived from *creocere*, to grow. This idea that "cresset" is connected with the word cross is not borne out so far as my knowledge goes, by any example of a cresset surmounted by a cross. The cup containing the light or fire forms the top of the instrument, and has nothing above it.

These fire cups were themselves the cressets apart from the handles to which they were fixed. So we find in the "Rites of Durham" (Surt. Soc. pp. 2, 3) in the description of the St. Katherine window: "And in the said window was there a frame of iron wherein did stand nine very fine cressets of earthen mettall filled with tallow, which every night was lighted when the day was gone, to give light to the nine altars and St. Cuthbert's Ferriture in that part, and over all the church besides, did burne unto the next morninge that the day was broken."

This application of the word cresset to the cup containing the light

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Carlisle Meeting, August 3rd, 1882.

brings us to the derivation of the word. *Cresset* is the middle English word for a cup or vessel containing light fixed on the top of a pole, and comes to us through the Old French *crasset*, a cresset; *croiset*, *creuset*, a crucet, pot, crucible (with which last word it seems most reasonable to ally it) from the Old Dutch *krayse*, a cup or pot. This account of the derivation I owe to Professor Skeat's most valuable "Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language," and I believe it contains the true lineage of this much disputed word.¹

From the cup, metal pot, or crock, the word cresset was transferred to a cavity hollowed out in a stone, in which a light was burned. Hence the stones containing these cavities are called "Cresset Stones." There were three of these in the Church and Monastery of Durham, and we find them described in the "Rites"; one was in the Church itself, and the two others in the Dormitory. The account of the first runs thus:—

"Also there is standing on the South pillar of the Quire doore of the Lanthorne, in a corner of the same pillar, a foure-squared *STONA*, which hath been finely wrought, in every square a large fine image, whereon did stand a four-squared stone above that, which had twelve cressetts wrought in that stone, which was filled with tallow, and every-night one of them was lighted, when the day was gone, and did burne to give light to the monkes at mid-night, when they came to mattens."

The description of those in the Dorter or Dormitory is as follows:—

"In either end of the same Dorter was a four [fair, *Doe*] square stone, wherein was a dozen cressets wrought in either stone, being ever filled and supplied with the cooke as they needed, to give light to the monks and novices, when they rose to their mattens at midnight, and for their other necessary uses."

From the above extracts we learn that the cressets named in this case were not earthenware or metal cups *standing on*, or *inserted in*, the stones, but the actual hollows themselves "wrought" in the stone. This I trust will prove the fitness of the word which heads this paper to describe these simple *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*. At a meeting of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society held at Furness Abbey, August 7th, 1877, I read a paper on the "Probable Use of Certain Stones found in the Ruins of Calder and Furness." Two of these stones are undoubtedly Cresset stones; and since the appearance of that paper I have received information regarding such stones from various quarters. Sir Henry Dryden has shewn the greatest interest in the matter, and it is at his suggestion, and encouraged by his advice and kindly assistance, that I now venture to present this subject to the notice of the Institute. The following list contains particulars of all the examples yet brought to my notice. The Swedish ones I know are called "Holy Water Stones," or "vats," but this term seems misapplied.

¹ As an illustration of the word "*Cressyt*" in the Promptorium Parvulorum, Mr. Albert Way gives the following note:—"Batulus, a cressed, quoddam vas in quo ponuntur prunc." ORTUS. 'A cressett, batillus, crucibulum, lucubrum'; a cresser, crucibulum, lucubrum.' CATH. ANG. A curious representation of the cresset of the time of Henry III. occurs in one of the subjects from

the Painted Chamber, engraved in the Monum. Vetusta, vol. vi., where Abimelech is portrayed attempting to set fire to the tower of Thebes. Gower relates that in Gideon's little troop every man had

'A potte of erthe, in which he tath

A light brennying in a cresset.'

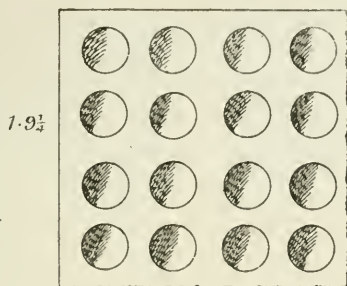
Conf. Am. lib. viii.

This word is derived from the French '*crasset lampe de nuit*.' ROQUEF."

I. *Calder Abbey*.—When our society in 1872 visited Calder Abbey, a stone in the N. Transept of the Church attracted the attention of the members, and various conjectures were hazarded as to its use. (See Plate). One suggested that it was intended to hold censers; but that could hardly be the case, for 16 censers could never be in use in the same church at one time; and in its palmyest days the Abbey would neither require nor possess such a number. A second gentleman, of gastronomical aptitudes, would contend that it was intended for baking College puddings. A third thought that it might have been used for some monastic ball-game resembling bagatelle. Ridiculous as this last idea may seem, I was for a time inclined to think there might be some ground for it—though the game might not be bagatelle, but some form of nine pins, or skittles. For in passing along a country road in the West Riding of Yorkshire (some-time before the Society's visit, but after I myself had first seen the stone) I caught sight of a very similar stone embedded in coal ashes in the yard of a wayside inn. As the place was very near the ancient numery of Kirklees, I at once concluded that the stone had been brought thence; but on making inquiry, I found that it could lay no claim to antiquity, but was used for the game of nine-pins, the wooden pins being placed upright in the holes, and bowled over by a ball. With this experience in my mind, it will not seem after all so ridiculous that I should for a short time have regarded the Calder stone as having been used for a similar purpose. Yet all along I seemed to have a glimmering reminiscence of having read somewhere or other of such a stone; and a subsequent reperusal of "The Rites of Durham" recalled to my notice the passages above quoted of which my memory had retained faint traces. These at once settled in my mind the use for which the Calder stone had been designed, viz., to supply light to the monks in their night services. The stone is a rectangular slab of new red sandstone of which the Abbey itself is built, $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $21\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Though somewhat mutilated, it showed clearly that when perfect it had 16 circular cup-shaped cavities, each $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches deep, scooped out of the plane surface in four rows of four each. Though so long exposed to the weather, this stone still retains fire and soot-stains.

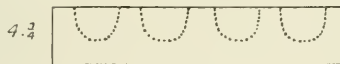
II. *Furness Abbey*.—A stone in the Hospitium at Furness had long provided food for conjecture to visitors. (See Plate). It is (or rather was) a flat block of square red sandstone, 14in. long, 12in. broad, and 5in. thick. The upper surface is surrounded by a bevil $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, and shows five circular cavities, viz.:—One large central one 5in. in diameter, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in depth; two of $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in depth; and two of 3in. diameter, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in depth. The two last-named holes are flat-bottomed, and the three other and larger holes cup-shaped or hemispherical in form. It had been suggested that this had been the capital of a cluster of five pillars, the tops having been inserted in the holes. But this cannot have been the case, the round bottoms of three of the holes and the varied diameters forbid it. For a time I regarded it as having been used as a stand in which to place the ampullae containing the Holy oils for unction of the sick and catechumens, and chrism. These I thought would occupy the hemispherical cavities, and the flat-bottomed ones would be used to hold either the cruets containing wine and water for the ablutions after Mass, or the vessels containing the salt and ashes used in Benedictions. This

CRESSET STONES.

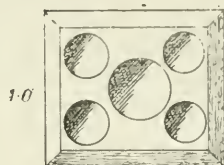


1.9 $\frac{1}{4}$

1.10 $\frac{1}{2}$

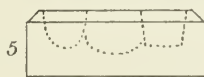


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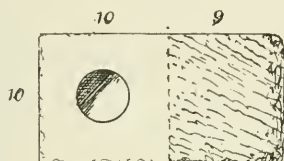
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FURNESS.

CALDER.



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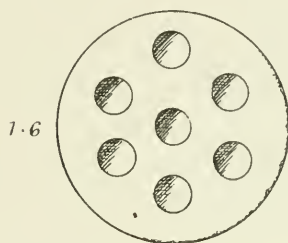
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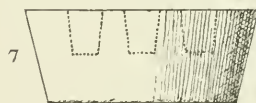


8 $\frac{1}{2}$

DEARHAM.

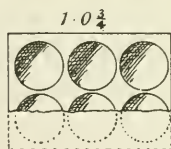


1.6



7

LEWANNICK.

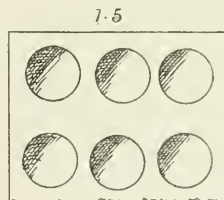


1.0 $\frac{3}{4}$



4.3 $\frac{3}{4}$

YORK.



1.5

1.1



10

STOCKHOLM.



Scale of 0 1 2 Feet.

H.D.



idea the many examples recently discovered of cresset stones compel me now to lay aside; and instead of calling this vessel as I did formerly, an "Oil Stock," I now feel convinced that it is a "Cresset Stone." The flat-bottomed holes, instead of burning tallow, may have been used to hold candles, torches, or lamps, which formed the *portable* lights of the Church.

III. *Wool Church, Dorset*.—At the time I was preparing my paper on the above relics for our Furness meeting in 1877, a friend brought to my notice the account of a stone of similar character, of which a drawing had been exhibited at the Institute's meeting of July 7th, 1865. This example was found in the south wall of a small chapel on the north side of the chancel of Wool Church, Dorset, and had most probably been brought, like many other stones in that fabric, from the neighbouring Cistercian Abbey of Bindon. It is a block of coarse Purbeck marble, 10 inches long, 8 inches broad, and 5 inches high. "On one face there are four cup-shaped cavities, each 3 inches in diameter and 2 inches in depth; the surface of these cups is blackened, as if by unctuous matter burnt in them. It has been supposed that they may have been used as cressets or lamps." (*Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. xxii.) After referring to the stones in Durham Dore, the report goes on to say, "We are, however, indebted, to Canon Rock for the suggestion that the cavities in the stone at Wool are intended to hold the three *ampullae* for the holy oils, and the vessel for the salt used at baptism." It seems to me that the statement of the cups "being blackened as if by unctuous matter burnt in them" is decidedly in favour of its use as a cresset stone, and not an oil stock.

IV. *Lewanick Church, Cornwall*.—During the preparation of my former paper in 1877, I was informed that a flat, round stone, similar in character to the above, had been found near the font of an old Cornish Church. This proved to be at Lewanick, where Mr. Henry Hems of Exeter had discovered a stone, of which he sent me the particulars. (See Plate). An interesting correspondence between Mr. Hems and Mr. Micklethwaite on this "find" will be found in the *Building News* of June 13th, 20th, 27th; and July 4th, 1879. Another letter, signed "M.," appeared on July 18th.

The Lewanick stone is of polished granite, of a much finer and better sort than the immediate neighbourhood provides. It is a truncated cone 18 inches diameter at top and 14 inches at bottom, and 7 inches thick. It contains 7 holes each $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. Two of these holes are flat bottomed like two in the Furness stone. It stands on a base some 14 in. high, and the total height from the ground is but 1 ft. 9 in. As Mr. Hems observes, "it is quite possible that the base had no original affinity with the upper part. The two are not cemented together in any way; the top stone merely stands *in situ* by force of its own weight. It (the circular portion) is just as heavy as I, who am an average strong man, can fairly lift." For a time I thought that this stone was originally intended to hold the vessels for the various ingredients used in the consecration of an altar at the time of their "Benedictions" by the Bishop, and during their subsequent use in the consecration of the altar itself. There may have been other altars consecrated at the same time or afterwards as chantries were founded, and as the stone was portable it might have been carried from altar to altar as need required; and that subsequently it might have been used to hold the vessels for the

Holy Oils at baptism, and so had been placed in its present position near the porch and font. This opinion I now feel, as in the Furness case, compelled to relinquish; and both must be classed as cresset stones.

V. *Carlisle Cathedral*.—During the restoration of the Fraternity here in 1880, Mr. Creed, the clerk of the works, discovered a cresset stone among other relics stored in the room over the chapel of St. Catherine, in the south transept of the Cathedral. Like the fabric itself, this is new red sandstone. What the size or thickness of the stone, or number of cups was, we have no means of judging. It seems, however, to have been rectangular in shape, for a portion of one straight edge remains. It contains the remains of six cups; the circumference of one only being complete, and its base “shaved off,” from the natural splitting of the stone. These cups, though not symmetrically placed, seem all to have been of the same size as the one which is tolerably whole, viz., $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter and 3 in. deep. Soot and fire marks remain in the cups, and there can be no doubt as to the original use of the stone as a cresset stone. Mr. Creed pointed out to me the interesting fact that the hollows are of such a shape as would ensure the entire consumption by the wick of the fat with which they would be filled.

VI. *St. Mary's, Monmouth*.—In the autumn of 1881, a cresset stone was found by the workmen excavating in the interior of St. Mary's Church, Monmouth. Mr. Creed, having seen the Carlisle specimen, at once recognised this as of similar use. Mr. Waugh, an enterprising local antiquary, furnished me with particulars. The grain of the stone, which is a gritty free-stone, is very close, and the fragment remarkably heavy—probably it is a stone of the coal-measures, say Pennant sandstone. This fragmentary block measures 18 in. by 11 in., and contains the remains of six cups, each about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter and 2 in. deep. The bottoms and sides of the cups have dark discolourations as from the action of fire.

VII. *St. Mary's Abbey, York*.—In the museum of the Philosophical Society at York is a stone from the ancient Abbey of St. Mary. When perfect it has been rectangular in shape, $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, and 5 in. thick, and is bevelled round the lower edge. (See Plate). It has contained six cups in two rows of three each. One row is nearly perfect; and the cups are $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter at top, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. at bottom. All the bottoms are flat. The material is light-yellow limestone. The stone is so soft that it discolours the clothes. The holes bear no traces of fire. In the bottom of each is a small puncture as if they had been bored with some instrument like a joiner's brace and bits. These details I owe to Sir H. Dryden; and to a letter addressed to him by the Rev. Geo. Rowe, who kindly supplied rubbings, measures, and sketch for Sir Henry's drawing. Dr. F. R. Fairbank, in a letter to the *Building News* for April 2nd, 1880, first suggested that this was a cresset stone.

VIII. *Llanthony Abbey*.—Mr. C. R. Homer, in a letter to the *Building News*, March 12th, 1880, mentions a stone at Llanthony in Monmouth. It is circular, about 1 ft. in diameter and 6 or 8 in. thick, and contains three hollowed cups.

IX. *Dearham Church, Cumberland*.—This church is now being partially rebuilt. Used as building rubble in the wall on the north side of the chancel arch the Rev. W. S. Calverley has very recently discovered an ancient Norman corbel, 19 in. long, 10 in. broad, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. (See Plate). When inserted in its proper position in the wall it would exhibit

an upper surface of 10 in. square; and the whole would project 10 in. Two of the perpendicular sides are perfectly flat; and the front consists of a fillet one inch broad, beneath which is a shallow cyma recta moulding. Three inches from the front edge of the horizontal upper surface is a cresset, 4 in. in diameter, cup-shaped, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep, which still retains black traces of burning. This cresset-corbels, containing only *one* cup, seems to connect the examples above given with the single cressets mentioned in Sir H. Dryden's *Lamp Niches*.

X. *Sweden. Stockholm Museum*.—I am indebted to Sir H. Dryden for the particulars of four stones in the Stockholm Museum. There they are named "Holy Water Stones," but Sir Henry thinks with me that they are Cresset Stones. (1). The first is from the church of Balla. This is oblong in form, with the corners rounded off. It measures 17 in. by $12\frac{1}{4}$ in.; the base is bevilled off on the four sides, so that the width is 10 in. on the flat bottom. (See Plate). It holds six cups, in two rows of three each, placed symmetrically. The cups are 4 in. diameter and $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. deep, and are round at the bottom. (2). The second is from the Önnarps Church in Skane. This is also oblong in form but apparently more mutilated than the last; 14 in. long, 10 in. broad, and the thickness varies from 6 in. to 4. It has six cups, in two lines of three each; varying from $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter; and from $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. to $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. in depth. The lower edge has been rounded off on all the four sides. (3). This stone is $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, 9 in. broad, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, it holds four deep holes much worn and running together. (4). The last is in good condition, 15 in. long, 14 in. broad, and 6 in. deep; has five saucer-like shallow holes.

XI. *Sweden, other examples*.—Besides the above four stones at Stockholm, there are, I find, letters in the *Building News* of March 5th and April 9th, 1880, from Mr. J. Romilly Allen, which mention more Swedish examples of these interesting relics. (1). One at the church of Strö, in the diocese of Sund, of five holes, forming the cushion cap of a pillar, and somewhat like the Lewanick stone. (2). Another, which was originally in the church of Nöbbelöfs, also in Sund. "It has," says Mr. Allen, "six cups arranged in two rows, and measures 17 in. by 13 in., being supported on a pillar of three feet high."

On what ground these Swedish stones are called "Vigvattens-sten," holy water vessels, I know not. I know of no instance where a holy water stoup is divided into different compartments. Why should it be? One large stoup or basin would serve the purpose far better than a stone block of equal dimensions hollowed out into a series of cups. For what object these stones were used in England has, I trust, been made clear by the extracts from the Durham "Rites;" and the soot and fire-stains on some of them strongly confirm the correctness of the conclusion that these stones have been simply blocks in which lights were burnt for the convenience of the ecclesiastics at the night offices of the church, or for domestic use in their dormitories. How far their use extended to the lay-folk we have at present no means of judging.

It does not seem as if any symbolical meaning were attached to the number of cressets in each stone; for we find these numbers varying, sometimes one, sometimes three, sometimes five; six seems a favourite number; and 16 (in the Calder stone) the highest number yet known. From the "Notes from the Muniments of St. Mary, Magdalen College, Oxford, from the 12th to the 17th century, by W. D. Macray," we learn

that in 1365 "a cresset with 15 holes and four lamps" was maintained in the Church of Chalgrove, Oxon.

The examples brought forward in this paper all belong to mediæval times; but is it not probable that our forefathers of the Middle Ages derived their use of hollowed stones for light-holders from still earlier times? May it not be that the discovery of the use of cresset stones is a step (and a long one) towards the elucidation of the purposes to which those cup-marked stones were put, which have formed so long a puzzle to the pre-historic archæologist?

LAMP NICHES.¹

By SIR HENRY DRYDEN, BART.

(Hon. Mem. Soc. Ant. Scot.)

In several buildings are small niches or receptacles of lamps, and these are connected with cressets, inasmuch as several of them have in the floor or flat bottom single cups or cressets. Some have chimneys or flues which pass upwards—in some cases passing into the chimnies of fire-places. Others have conical hollows in the heads or roofs, which I suppose to have caught the soot and prevented its passing out into the room or church as the case was. The date of each must be decided not by the niche itself but by the structure in which it is.

The earliest niches which I know are those in the crypt at Hexham. These are four in number. In the floor of each is a single cresset, and in the roof of each is a conical hollow (see Plate). They are all rectangular, without any ornament, and are nearly alike except that one is in a party wall and open on both sides. Drawings of them have been kindly supplied me by Mr. Hoëges, the author of the great work on "Hexham Priory," recently published. The one illustrated is 1 ft. 1 in. high, 9½ in. wide, and 8½ in. recessed. The cup is 4½ in. diameter and 3½ deep, and the conical hollow in the head is 5 in. diameter, and 5 in. high.

Probably the next in date is the curious one in a boss at Patrington. A drawing of it and measures have been procured for me by the rector, the Rev. F. Sheppard.

This boss is a cube about 11 ins. square and 1 ft. 5 ins. deep (see Plate). In it is a rectangular chamber. It has no cup in it, and has no chimney or conical hollow, but has a small aperture in the north side and a similar one in the south side, besides the opening in the east side of it to admit the lamp. This boss is next to the east end of the south transept, and the lamp in it shed light on the altar against the east wall. The boss (in this case a cube) is ornamented on the north-west and south with figures in low relief—the virgin, a figure with a sword, and a saint with a book. Probably originally these were painted, but repeated coats of white-wash have annihilated all traces of colour. The angles are fluted projections, with finials. The base is a large rose.

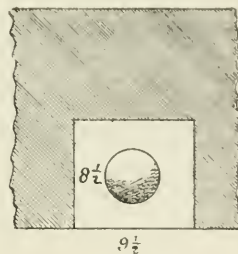
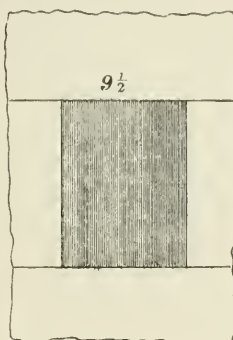
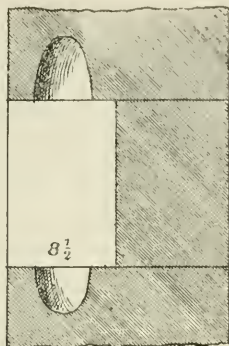
The sacrist must have had a ladder to get to this lamp, and why this curious position was chosen is a question.

Not far from the same date is an arched niche at Dorchester Abbey

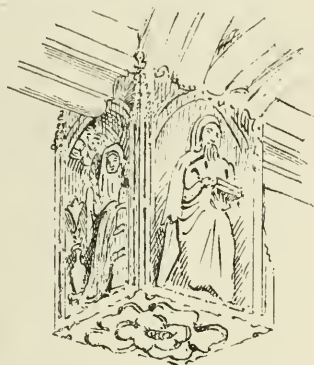
¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Carlisle Meeting, August 3rd, 1882.

LAMP NICHES.

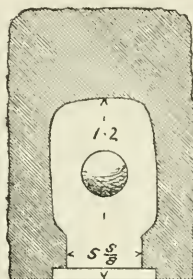
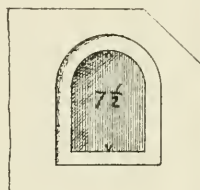
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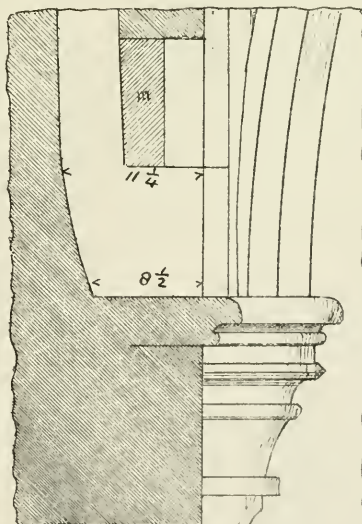
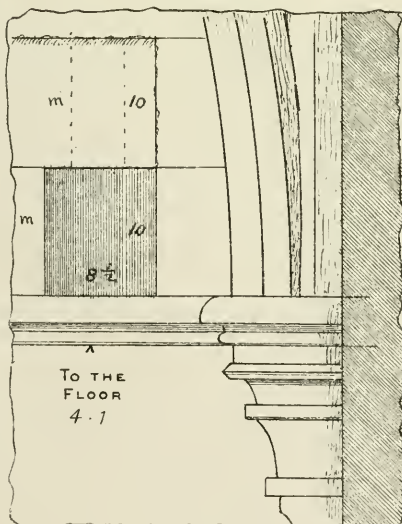
HEXHAM.



PATRINGTON.



WESTMINSTER.



LICHFIELD.

Scale of 0 1 2 Feet

H.D.



Church 2 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, 1 ft. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, and 1 ft. 1 in. recess, in the north wall of the north aisle. This has no cup in its floor. It has a flue passing upwards and outwards with an oval aperture in the exterior wall of $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 6 in. diameter of only 1 ft. 1 in. above the level of the floor of the niche. This arrangement is puzzling, as it appears likely when the wind blew against the wall the smoke would be blown into the church. The position of the exterior aperture, with regard to the niche, shows that it was not glazed and intended to give light on the outside of the aisle.

At Lichfield Cathedral in the west wall of what is now the Consistory court, attached to the south aisle of the choir, is a lamp niche, originally 10 in. high, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ recessed (see Plate.) A flue passes upwards from it to a point several feet above, where it has a vent 1 ft. 10 in. high and 5 in. wide. Above the vent is a projecting stone to shelter the vent. The wall is 3 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. At a time subsequent to the formation of the niche, which apparently was in the 14th century, a recess 3 ft. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide and 1 ft. 8 in. high was rudely cut, including the said lamp niche. The purpose is not evident. A few years ago this cavity was mostly filled up, though the opening into the flue remains.

In the lobby of the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster is a recess evidently of Tudor date, which I suppose to have been made to hold a lamp. It has a four-centred arch, is 1 ft. 7 in. high, 11 in. wide, and $8\frac{3}{4}$ recess. It has no cresset in the floor, or chimney, and in this case probably the lamp was to light the passage. It is not certain that it ever had a flue.

In the room now used for the choir practice in the cloisters at Westminster is an arched niche $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, and $6\frac{3}{4}$ recess. This has in its floor a single cresset, and from the top a flue passes up the wall, but the exit is not now to be made out. It appears to have had a door or grating, which fitted into a rebate. This and such little niches must have been for the preservation of a light, and not for the purpose of lighting the room. Why these niches were preferred to the open room for the station of a light is a question. I can only suggest that a cheap smoky light, merely for the purpose of *preserving* a light, might burn better in a narrow space with a draught across it than in the open room, and be less likely to be blown out. In the building called "The Litlington Tower," now the organist's house, is a niche very similar to that in the choir practice room. The opening is $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $5\frac{5}{8}$ in. wide and the recess 1 ft. 2 in. It is above and on the outside of a fire-place. It has now no cresset in its floor (though it is stated to have had one), but it has a flue passing upwards and having an exit into the chimney of the fire-place. (See Plate.) The lamp niche has a rebate for a door or grate, and has marks of hinges and a bolt. Alongside the jamb of the fire-place is what was a hot-closet, now somewhat mutilated. The fire-place has a very flat four-centred arch under a rectangular moulding.

In the west wall of what was the south aisle of the chapel of the infirmary is a fire-place, much like that last mentioned; and in the side of the fire-place, within the recess, is a niche very similar to that last mentioned, 7 ins. high and $6\frac{1}{4}$ wide, with a rebate as before. The bottom of the niche is 3 ft. above the hearth. This has a flue passing out of the top, but the upper part of the chimney has long been ruined; and the flue is stopped, as well as the main chimney.

It is evident that after the disuse of this chapel a floor was constructed

in, at least, this part of it, and the whole was used for domestic purposes. The fire-place is in the upper room.

In this niche there is no trace of hinges or bolt ; but a shutter might have fitted the rebate and been kept in place by a bar. Possibly the shutter or door might be to check the draught, and might have a small opening in it.

I have been informed that there is another lamp niche in the abbey buildings, but have no particulars of it.

See Notes on the Abbey Buildings of Westminster by J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., in "The Archæological Journal," vol. xxxiii.

It is stated that a lamp-niche with a flue exists in a chapel at Lynn.

What kind of lamps were used in those niches which have no cressets in them ? Amongst Roman and Norman remains in this country are found numerous pottery lamps much resembling old fashioned salt cellars with a cup, a short thick stem and spreading base. These are distinct from the proper Roman pottery lamp like a flattish cup with a spout and fixed cover. I have not met with any so late as most of the niches above mentioned, but nevertheless suppose that lamps of this sort were used in these niches. (See plate of Cressets in the paper by the Rev. T. Lees.)

NOTES ON THE WORSHIP OF CHONSU.¹

By the REV. W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A.

In the well-known *Legend of the Possessed Princess* we read that Rameses xii. was devoted to the worship of Chonsu. The story may be found in a translation by Dr. Birch in the fourth volume of the *Records of the Past*, from a sandstone tablet in the French National Library. It begins by telling us that King Rameses was in Naharana (Mesopotamia) receiving tribute when the Prince of Bakhten presents to him his beautiful daughter. Pharaoh falls in love with her, conducts her to Thebes, where the nuptial ceremonies are performed, confers on her the title of Chief Royal Wife, and gives her the Egyptian name of Raneferoo. Some time after, the Prince of Bakhten sends to tell his august son-in-law that the sister of Raneferoo is ill. Her name has a very Asiatic sound, Bent Rash, "chief's daughter," and probably is only her designation by the messengers, and not really a name like Raneferoo, which signifies in Egyptian "the blessings of Ra," or more literally "Ra of the beautiful ones." Rameses sends his secretary—whose name, by the way, is the only thing in the story which has a fictitious sound, Tahutiemheb, "Thoth in his heart"—to Bakhten, to report on the condition of the princess. He finds her possessed by demons "hostile to contend with," and returns with another embassy to Egypt. Rameses lays the matter before his favourite divinity, Chonsu, called Neferhotep in Uas or Thebes; and the god apparently speaks to another Chonsu, the Giver of Oracles, and permits or desires him to go to Bakhten to save the daughter of the chief. The passage is a very difficult one. I do not undertake to make any remarks on the original; but the translation seems clearly to indicate the existence of two Chonsu's. Slightly varied, it runs as follows:—"Then said His Majesty (Rameses) before Chonsu, in Uas, called Neferhotep, 'My good lord, wouldst thou turn thy face to Chonsu, the maker of oracles, the great god, chaser of possessors, let him go to the land of Bakhten by a very great favour.' Then said His Majesty (Chonsu) 'Give thy protection with him. I let His Majesty go to the land of Bakhten to save the daughter of the prince.'"

Dr. Birch has put marks of quotation before and after the words "Give thy protection with him;" but to make sense they should include all down to the word prince, at least.

The next sentence is, "Chonsu in Uas, called Neferhotep, assented: he gave his divine virtue fourfold to Chonsu the Giver of oracles in Uas: His Majesty (Rameses?) ordered that Chonsu the Giver of oracles should be made to proceed to the great ark," and so on.

It is evident that here we have three majesties. There is the king; there is Chonsu, called Neferhotep; and there is Chonsu, the Giver of

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 6th, 1882.

oracles, who is ordered by his counterpart divinity to go to Bakhtan in an ark.

The rest of the story may be briefly told. The god in his ark is received by the chief with great reverence, and speedily cures the princess. Great sacrifices to the Giver of Oracles ensue, and the god is delayed in Bakhtan, the prince saying in his heart, "I will not let him go to Egypt." After more than three years the prince has a dream, which frightens him. He sees the god, *like a golden hawk*, come out of his ark and fly on high to the land of Egypt. He tells the prophet of Chonsu, who had come with the god that he may return, and "the god Chonsu, the Giver of Oracles in Uas," goes back to the house of Chonsu, called Neferhotep, gives him the presents he has received, and retires in peace.

It is evident, I think, that we have here the god Chonsu himself in his Temple at Thebes, in what visible form I know not, and he gives of his divinity to a hawk, which hawk, the Giver of Oracles, apparently that incarnation or visible form of the god to which people resorted for advice, goes to Bakhtan, while Neferhotep remains at Thebes.

It will have been remarked that there is not a word here about an image of Chonsu. The ancient Egyptians did not worship images, however highly some may have been esteemed and however common they are; but their gods always appeared to them in a living form. Each little city had its sacred animal. The conquest of other cities by one made the sacred animal of the conqueror a universal god, and in process of time the number of the gods thus universally venerated became enormous. It was in proportion directly to the number of cities; and those who have been in Egypt will remember that there are no outlying hamlets, no straggling suburbs in that country, because each city is circumscribed and isolated annually by the inundation.

The relation of the worship of the dynastic gods, the divine ancestors of the kings, Osiris, Isis, Horus and the rest, to that of these local gods is a subject too extensive and difficult for me to do more than mention it now. In a great many towns, scattered over the face of the whole country, there were sacred hawks. I exhibit a wooden figure of a hawk, with a brail or confining band of gold fringe round his wings. He appears to be what we know as a kestrel or windhover, and no bird is more abundant at the present day in Egypt. He hovers, as if hanging from the heavens by a thread. When he became a god, no doubt he was confined in an ark or shrine. Numberless examples of these shrines, some of them carved in granite and of immense size, are still in existence. On great days the god's wings would be tied with a brail to prevent undignified flutterings, and he would be carried in procession that the people might see divinity beaming from his great brown eyes.

Another brown eyed hawk, the peregrine, is also common in Egypt. I knew a collector of bird skins on the Nile who shot twenty, believing them to be different kinds of falcons; but when he brought them home he found they were only peregrines in different stages of plumage. I exhibit a mummied peregrine: the figure being made up into the likeness which is always given of Chonsu in sculptures and on scarabs. It is possible or probable that Horus was represented by a kestrel and Chonsu by a peregrine. The French, with characteristic ignorance of such small details, sum up all these sacred birds as sparrow hawks. I do not

believe there is any evidence that the sparrow hawk was ever worshipped. His cultus, if it existed, must have been rare, since he is not represented on monuments or otherwise. His general form and his yellow eyes would distinguish him from the kestrel or the peregrine at once. The merlin, which greatly resembles the kestrel, but does not hover, may have been among the sacred animals. I have seen statues and small figures which, from the large size of the feet, were more like merlins than kestrels. If the French err in one direction, our English authorities err in another, and a well-known writer,¹ now dead, is at the trouble of inventing a hawk which no one but himself has ever seen, and giving it the name of *Falco Aroeris*. The same writer says "the hawk of Philæ is the same kind (*sic*) as that sacred to Ra, and not, as some have imagined, a different species." The grounds for this very positive, though ungrammatical, assertion are not given: and its fallacy is evident before the distinct statement of Strabo, who probably saw both, and who says the hawk at Philæ was much larger than that he had seen in Lower Egypt, and appeared to be of a different species. In other words a falcon, perhaps a peregrine, perhaps a jer-falcon was worshipped on the holy island and a kestrel in the other places.

Chonsu was specially the god of the moon, and is represented frequently with a crescent on his head. Sometimes he is hawk all over, sometimes he has the body of a man and the head only of the bird. He was very popular in Egypt, no doubt from having been the sacred animal of one of the towns which eventually became incorporated in the gigantic metropolis of Thebes, that namely of Uas, which seems to have been on the eastern bank, and not far from Karnac. He is sometimes said to have been the "third member of the great Theban triad" with Amen Ra, and Maut. To tell the truth, I do not know what is meant by "the great Theban triad." There may have been recognised triads in some parts of Egypt in late times: but I do not know of any. Four gods is the usual number held specially sacred in one temple: and the so called triad of Thebes is constantly varied—in other words, it does not exist. Dr. Birch's list of "triads" in the British Museum "Guide," contains four or five names under each.

The scarab I exhibit is carved in jade and is one of a very limited number of objects in that stone which have been found in Egypt. The name on it is cut as if the lapidary encountered the greatest difficulty. The ancient Egyptians were not skilful in gem cutting. The inscription which is much abbreviated, seems to contain the usual throne name common to Rameses the Second, and Rameses the Twelfth, and the additional sentence "beloved of Chonsu, giver of oracles." Jade may have been among the objects sent by the Asiatic prince to his son-in-law. A different and softer stone of the same "moonlight" colour is often used for representations of Chonsu, the god of the moon.

The Uza, or sacred eye, which accompanies the scarab, is made of steatite covered with a rich green glaze, and inscribed with the name of "Ra-neferoo, the divine wife." It should be observed that a left eye is represented. The right eye was sacred to the sun, the left eye to the moon. Raneferoo, therefore, appears as a votary of Chonsu, equally with her royal husband.

¹ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians" iii., 318.

NOTES ON THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF MILBURN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.¹

By J. G. GOODCHILD.

The village of Milburn adjoins the northern border of Westmoreland, close to the line where the steep edge of the great upland tract culminating in Cross Fell merges into the undulating lowlands of Edenside. Being remote from any of the larger towns, and even yet some few miles off the line of any of the principal highways, Milburn lies out of the track of the general tourist; and consequently the many objects of antiquarian interest that its seclusion has helped to preserve in a form comparatively unmodified, remain as yet very little known.

It has therefore occurred to me that it might be of service to call attention to some of these with the purpose of inducing competent archæologists to visit the place, and to describe these objects in a manner more complete than my own knowledge will warrant me in attempting to do myself.

The great Roman Highway between Carlisle and Stainmoor is, as is well known, joined by another Roman Road somewhere in the neighbourhood of Appleby, coming in southward from the Alston district. From its highest point on Ousby Fell, where it reaches an elevation of 2,200 feet above the level of the sea, this branch of the Roman Road can be easily traced southward almost without interruption for nearly three miles—indeed the pavement was so good, and so easily seen in some places on Ousby Fell, that it was regarded as a convenient stone quarry when the common was enclosed, and part of it was actually taken up to build the walls with. From Bank Hall the road is traceable in the direction of Appleby only by some obscure indications until Lownthwaite Bridge is reached, where some agricultural operations on the Lownthwaite Farm disclosed part of the pavement some few years since. Then it re-appears at Underwood, and thence, so far as I have been able to learn, no certain indications of its course up to its junction with the main highway have yet been discovered. Under these circumstances it may be worth while to record any facts that may serve in any way to indicate the course taken by the remaining part of the road.

On the Ordnance maps the road is marked as extending southwards from Underwood, over Newbiggin Moor, about midway between the village of Milburn and the Earthworks at Loscars; thence, past the Mill, up the rising ground to a point about half-a-mile to the east of the Earthwork near Moorland Head; whence all further indication of its course southward is wanting. But there seems just a possibility that the Roman Road may have taken a somewhat different course after leaving Underwood, for the part of the present road lying between Milburn and Milburn Church, and extending southwards from Mill Lane to Gullom Holme, is called Low Street to this day (there are no

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Carlisle Meeting, August 3rd, 1882.

houses anywhere near); and the southward continuation of the same road, as far as the branch road to Milburn Grange, is also still known as High Street. Low Street and High Street together form part of a nearly straight road leading in the direction of Appleby as far as Long Marton, which, if prolonged a little over a mile, would strike the Stainmoor-Carlisle Road about Castrigg, a mile or thereabouts north of Appleby. Moreover, the name of the village of Milburn might also be taken into account in the same speculation, for if the word *Mil* is, as it is said to be, the Early English name for a Roman Road, it is not unlikely that Milburn may have meant the Borran, or stone-clearing, by the Roman Road. At any rate the suggestion may be worth further consideration on a future occasion. The form of the township of Milburn, like that of the adjoining townships of Kirkland, Ousby, Melmerby, Addingham, Kirkoswald, and others on the Cumberland side, and of Long Marton, Bongate, Warcop, Musgrave, Brough, and others on the Westmoreland side of the county boundary, is also a point worth drawing attention to. My colleague, Mr. Topley, in an article on the Parish Boundaries of the Wealden area (*Trans. Anthropol. Institute*) has shewn that all the earlier colonists of that part of England pitched their settlements near the foot of the Weald Escarpment along lines where they could command a good supply of water; and he has also shewn that they parcelled out the colony in such a way that each community might be furnished with such proportions of wood, arable, meadow, pasture, and common land as would meet the remainder of their respective requirements. Thus the entire area adjoining that Escarpment was divided into long strips extending from the fertile lowlands at its foot up to the summit ridge, and usually some distance down the slope beyond. It is interesting, if it is nothing more, to note that the early settlers of Edenside followed precisely the same course. The Parish of Kirkby Thore, where the Township of Milburn forms the principal part, extends upwards from the Eden, which forms the lower boundary of nearly all the fell-side townships and parishes, over the arable land, meadow, wood, and pasture land of the low ground, straight across the rough grazing land on the steep face of the Escarpment there, and away over the summit ridge, to include a long strip of the moorland down as far as the adjoining county boundary the Teesdale part of Yorkshire.

From this it would seem difficult to escape the conclusion that Milburn, as a township, must date as far back at least as the times when the greater part of Edenside was held by village communities, before the ownership of any great area of the land by individuals had gained a footing there; and that the change from the past state of land tenure to the present must have been a gradual change, and one that has not been materially affected by any seizure and occupation of the land by foreign hordes, since the boundaries of each township were adjusted by the mutual agreement of the early colonists.

Who were those early colonists? Were they really the Celts of Strathclyde? Did they form part of the first great wave of Teutonic immigration composed of the peoples known collectively as the Angles, or, were they not rather some representatives of the later invaders whose Scandinavian affinities have been so completely demonstrated by Mr. Robert Ferguson and others? If a systematic study of the dialects of Edenside and the parts adjoining has any value, there ought not to be

much doubt upon this point. The area including the dialects wherein the Anglian element preponderates at the present day extends southward from the Lowlands of Scotland through Northumberland, northern Durham, and north Cumberland, as far as a line,—vague and unsatisfactory where it traverses the great colliery districts of Durham—but ranging in an east and westerly direction through Weardale Head, south of Alston, up along the watershed of the South Tyne to near Croglin. There the line turns to the south on entering Edenside, and after ranging thence to a point a mile or so to the east of Kirkoswald, follows the Eden northward to somewhere near Wreay, where its precise position is lost, but whence, in a general way it may be said to extend in a westerly direction as far as the Solway. That is to say the lower part of Edenside is occupied by people whose dialect partake more or less of the character of that of the Anglian part of the kingdom; while on the other side of that line, down to north Lancashire, and thence round to the eastern counties, the affinities of the dialects are all more or less decidedly with those of the parts known to have been colonised by one kind or another of Northmen.

Milburn thus lies within the area characterised by the forms of speech of later introduction than the Anglian, and it was probably these later settlers who appropriated the land and parcelled out the townships into the form they retain to the present day.

Vestiges of these early English settlers at Milburn exist in one or two other directions. Milburn Church, like Long Martin Church, already described by Mr. Cory and the Rev. T. Lees, is an aggregation of structures of very different ages, ranging back from the period when the ugly square windows were knocked out of the north wall (at the time when the people got the Bible into their own hands at church and wanted more light to see to read it by), to the period when the wide-jointed masonry of the western part of the edifice and the round-headed doorway at its south-western angle were constructed. Mr. Ferguson tells me that this doorway represents the late Norman period. Masonry similar to that built at the same time as the Norman doorway can be traced along the lower courses of the stonework about half the entire length of the building on the south side; along nearly the entire front at the west end, and about two-thirds of the way along the north side, up to the line where the present chancel has been added on in later times. Mr. Lees has already mentioned the occurrence of a fragment of old stonework rudely carved into a diaper pattern, which has been employed in building up the window at the west end; but the relation of this stone to the surrounding masonry does not afford any clue to the age of the diaper work referred to. Lower down the building, however, and on the south side of the porch at the west end, stones with similar carving are built into and form part of the original Norman masonry. Traces of stones similarly carved can be seen also on the south side of the church on the west side of the Norman doorway before mentioned, and these stones occur in such a position in the Norman masonry as to suggest that they represent the carved work of an older structure again made use of at the time when the existing Norman part of the building was being constructed. This view is considerably strengthened by the occurrence, in the carved stonework of the Norman doorway itself, of two old sundials, which are built in such positions as to be now utterly useless for their original purpose; while, as if to prove that they are of older date than the building where

they now occur one of them is built in upside down. In regard to the dials themselves I hope that Mr. Ferguson, to whom I am indebted for nearly all the information I possess about these and the other antiquities in and around Milburn Church, will examine them himself and describe them at length on some future occasion.

I wish particularly to direct attention to the evidence that these dials and the old diaper work seem to afford in regard to the antiquity of the village of Milburn itself; because, it seems safe to assume that if there was a pre-Norman church there must also have been a pre-Norman village. This village may well have been a place of much more importance than it is now, because, it is said that Mr. Tyson, one of the late incumbents, made a series of trials and excavations outside the limits of the present building, with the result of discovering distinct traces of a much larger edifice than the church is at present. The size and importance of the church in the adjoining village of Long Marton, which Mr. Cory has shewn to have a history similar to what I have supposed to belong to Milburn, seems to lend support to the view that some of these fell-side villages are of great antiquity, and that, in times past, they were places of much more importance than they are at the present day.

On the south side of the porch that forms the present entrance at the west end of Milburn Church there is built in a rudely carved combination of wheel crosses. Canon Knowles considers that this may be dated about the twelfth century. With regard to the age of a much-worn recumbent figure, which seems at one time to have had the hands clasped over the breast, Canon Knowles refers the date to the fifteenth century. In the village there is a kind of tradition that it is effigy of a Knight Templar. It may be worth while to mention that the stone in which it is carved is not the St. Bees sandstone of the neighbourhood, which has furnished the material for all the stonework of the church, but carboniferous sandstone, as if the stone had been carved at a distance and afterwards transported to its present resting place. It is said to have been disinterred some years ago by Mr. Tyson.

On the inside of the church there are two recesses in the south wall; one only a few yards to the east of the point where the church used to be entered through the Norman doorway, and the other close to where a small chapel was annexed in later times in connexion with Howgill Castle. It would almost seem as if the more easterly recess indicates the position of an older chancel that existed at the east end of what is now the south aisle before the present chancel and the Howgill Chapel were added. In connection with this it may be worth while to note that there is a break in the level of the stone paving in the church, ranging along a line joining the junction of the newer masonry with the older on the north and the south sides of the church as if the present chancel and Howgill chapel had been built while the flooring of the older part of the church was concealed from view. At the farm called Kirkhouse, close to the church, is the Tithe Barn, called "tean leath" to this day.

At the entrance to the field called Kirkrains, which forms the approach to the church from Low Street, is the shaft and pedestal of what is said to be an old cross, now too much battered and weather-worn to afford any satisfactory indication of its original form. The base of a similar cross, approached by steps, stands in the middle of the village green, and now serves to support the maypole that was erected there some years ago.

The green itself is oblong in form with its greatest length lying in a north-easterly direction. Houses shut it in nearly all round, except where a narrow road affords an entrance. It is said that, in times past, the villagers used to close all the entrances to the village, and turn out all their cattle there during the winter. One of these approaches, the one leading into Milburn from Blencarn and Newbiggin, is called the Butts, probably because the bank facing towards the village, at the point where the present road bends abruptly to the south, was made use of for archery practice in bygone years.

It is remarkable, considering the physical character of the neighbourhood, and the strong antecedent probability that traces of the old non-Teutonic population of the neighbourhood might be found here, that so few remains of anything like either long or round barrows have yet been detected. A mound of stones like a tumulus occurs on the south side of the bridle road leading from Blencarn to Cross Fell, close to where there is an old lime-kiln by the side of Littledale Beck; but, with almost that sole exception, the wild fell sides of this part present a remarkable contrast, in respect of the number of pre-historic remains, to the great belt of rising ground ranging through from Kirkby Stephen, by Orton and Shap to near Blenco.

It is said that vestiges of old enclosures, of unknown date, may be traced amongst the accumulations of loose rock matter on Middle Tongue, about a mile or so to the south of Cross Fell summit; but these seem to be too ill-defined to be worth more than the mere mention. One such enclosure, however, perhaps better worth further investigation, lies along the Melmerby-Ousby township boundary, about midway between the remarkable hill called Cuns Fell (probably a word of Celtic form) and the limestone scar, known as Melmerby High Scar. Non-Teutonic place names are common thereabouts, as if the older races lingered there later than elsewhere in the neighbourhood; and it might be worth while to institute a closer search than I have been able to make, with a view to discovering some more satisfactory traces of their former existence here.

In conclusion, there is one other fact bearing upon the early history of Milburn that seems worth taking into consideration here. The Roman Road, wherever I have seen it, seems to be well made, and in many respects well adapted for use as a highway between the places it was intended to connect, even at the present day. Yet, although it is true that the modern highways do here and there run over the same lines for a few miles, the two do not, by any means, invariably coincide, even when the object of establishing communication between the same places has been in view. In a great many cases the new road seems to have been laid out without any reference to the older road already existing; and the newer road as often as not runs side by side with the older, as if the road makers were unaware of its very existence. Does this not look as if there came a time after the Roman left the country when nearly all the older population were cleared off, and the entire country lay desolate long enough for the roads to become overgrown and lost sight of? There seems to be a great blank in the history of Edenside at this time; and a blank of such a nature as could hardly have existed if the district had been continuously peopled from Celtic times down to the advent of the Teutonic races.

THE MONUMENTS OF THE SEYMOURS IN GREAT BEDWYN CHURCH, WILTS.¹

By W. BRAILSFORD.

Great Bedwyn is at the present time a little village in the county of Wiltshire. It must formerly have been of larger importance, considering that it sent two members to parliament. Traces of Roman occupation have from time to time been discovered, and a tessellated pavement was one of the antiquities long preserved. A spiked head of a mace made of bronze was found in a well and exhibited some few years since at a meeting of Archaeologists held at Salisbury. The church is now the principal feature in the place, and has unfortunately undergone very extensive restoration. In the churchyard is a stone cross, and though, as usual, the summit has suffered mutilation, the shaft, pedestal, and steps are in good preservation. In the interior of the church there are several interesting monuments, particularly those connected with the great Seymour family. In the north transept a figure in stone of a knight, larger than life, lies under an arch, over which are the remains of a canopy. This effigy is habited in mail armour, the legs are crossed, and the right hand grasps a sword; the left, only partially visible, is covered with a shield; the feet rest on a lion. The figure represents Adam de Stokke, who died 1331, and whose family were the owners of Wulfhall, the principal estate in the village, where the marriage festivities of Henry VIII. with Jane Seymour took place. The effigy of Adam de Stokke is remarkable for its size and good preservation. From the Stokkes the estate passed to the Seymours, or St. Maurs, as originally called, in the reign of Henry V. 1413, when Roger St. Maur of Hatch Beauchamp, married the heiress of the Esturmys. Over against the chancel wall to the left of the entrance is an altar tomb, having eight shields of arms on its sides. Above is one shield.² On the tomb is the recumbent effigy in free stone of Sir John Seymour in complete armour. The head rests on a helmet with painted wings of wood. The hands are gone, and the sollerets which remain are injured. The gorget is of chain mail. The tassets are alternately of plate armour and mail. The former are singular in having serrated edges by way of ornamentation. A sword in sheath lies on the left side of the figure; on the right is a dagger with a knife in its sheath. On the wall is a long inscription as follows:—

“Here lyeth entombed the worthie S^r John Seymour of Wulfhall Knight who by Margerie his wife daughter of S^r Henry Wentworth Knight from whom the now Lord Wentworth is descended had six sonnes and fower daughters to wete John who died unmarried, Edward

¹ Read at the Monthly meeting of the Institute, July 3, 1882.

² The shields over Sir J. Seymour's

monument, though broken, were in existence in 1829.

Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hertforde, Viscount Beauchampe and Baron Seymour uncle to King Edward the Sixt, Governor of his royal person, Protector of all his dominions, and subjects, Lord Treasurer, and Earl Marshall of England which Duke maryed Anne Daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope Knight by Elizabeth his wife daughter of S^r Foulke Burchier Lord Fitzwaryn from whom the modern Earles of Bathe are descended, Sir Henry Seymour Knight who maryed Barbara daughter of Thomas Morgan Esquier, Thomas Lord Sudeley Hight Admirall of Englande who married Katharine Queen of Englande, and widow to King Henry the Eight, One other John and Anthony who died in their infancy, Jane Quene of Englande wife to King Henry the Eight and mother to King Edward the Sixt, Elizabeth first maryed to S^r Henry Ughtred knight after to Gregorie Lord Cromwell and last to John Lord Sainet John of Basinge after Marquesse of Winchester, Margery who dyed in her infancy and Dorothy maryed to S^r Clement Smythe knight. This Knight departed this lyfe at lx yeares of age the xx day of December Anno 1536 and was first buried at Eston Priorie Church amongst divers of his ancestors both Seymours and Stormeyes. Howbeit that church beinge ruined and thereby all theare monuments either whollie spoyled or verie much defaced during the majoritie of Edward Earle of Hertforde sonne to the saide Duke, the said Earle after as well for the dutifull love he beareth to his said Grandfather as for the better continuans of his memory did cause his bodie to be removed and here to be entombd at his owne coste and charge the last day of September Anno 1590 in the xxxii yeare of the moste happy raigne of our gracious soveraigne ladie Queen Elizabeth."

This lengthy inscription is curious, in that it affords a genuine and exhaustive list of the family of Sir John Seymour, and for the record of his second interment. The orthography is likewise noteworthy in many particulars. This may be contrasted with the terms used by Henry VIII. when announcing the death of Queen Jane to Francis I., who had congratulated him on the birth of a son.

"Il a semble bon à la divine providence, de mesler cette ma grande joie avec l'amaritude du trespas de celle qui m'avoit apporté ce bonheur. De la main de votre bon frere.
Henry."

Queen Jane was the eldest of the eight children of Sir John Seymour, and was married to the King on the 20th of May, 1536, the day after the execution of Queen Anne Boleyn. The marriage took place at Wulfhall, the seat of the Seymours, in the parish of Great Bedwyn. The date of the queen's birth is not known.¹ It is most probable that she was born here. The familiar old barn, where some of the marriage festivities were held, and which is mentioned by the Rev. Canon Jackson in the *Wiltshire Magazine* for 1875, was standing up to Midsummer, 1881, but had become quite ruinous, and was unsafe. The mansion in which Sir John Seymour lived is no longer visible; only the laundry, a small house with very huge chimneys, remaining to bespeak its whereabouts. On the wall adjacent to the knight's monument, is a brass of a man in civic habit. He is dressed in a long loose tunic with hanging sleeves, the front edged with fur. He wears no girdle, and carries no arm. The hair is long, and is trimmed round the face. The shoes, hardly in sight, are rounded,

¹ The registers of Births of Great Bedwyn date from 1553. Queen Jane died in October, 1537.

as are those of most civilians of the period. Underneath the figure is the following inscription :—

“Here lyeth the body of John Seymour sone and here of Sr John Seymour knyght and of Margery one of the daughters of Sr Henry Wentworth knyght which decessed y^e xv. day of July the yere of our Lord 1510 on whose soule Jesu have mereye and of your charitie say a pater-noster and an ave.”

This effigy represents the eldest son of Sir John Seymour, mentioned in the long inscription over his father's monument as unmarried. Near to this is an elegiac couplet cut on a scroll of brass.—

“Bellocamp eram Graia genitrix Semerus
Tres habui natos est quibus una Soror.”

Both these memorials were, at one time, fixed on blocks of Purbeck marble¹; they are now let into the chancel wall. The Latin verses are in memory of Edward, Lord Beauchamp, eldest son of Edward, Earl of Hertford and Lady Catharine Grey. He was born in the Tower of London, after the committal of his parents to that fortress; and was, therefore, the direct descendant of Sir John Seymour. He must not be confounded with the Seymour whose name appears on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower. That individual was no relation to the Bedwyn Seymours, but a zealous adherent bearing their name. Other brasses mentioned by Aubrey are not to be found, though there is no record existing of any other relative of the Seymour's having been at any time placed here. Beyond these two memorials may be seen a heavy marble pile, reaching almost to the ceiling, which is crowned by a bust of a lady. At the sides are two gigantic cupids, all unmistakeably of the taste of the early part of the 18th century.²

There is a record on the lower part of this memorial showing that it was erected by Lord Weymouth in 1706 to the memory of Frances Devereux, daughter of Robert, Earl of Essex, and widow of William, Duke of Somerset, died 24 April, 1674, aged 74. This Lord Weymouth was the husband of the Duchess's granddaughter. The funeral of this lady cost £81 16s. 8d., as we learn from the muniments preserved at Longleat, and noted by Canon Jackson in his excellent paper in the *Wiltshire Magazine*. A large pall of velvet, edged with white sarsnett, together with “shields,” “atchievements,” “escutcheons,” “pendants,” and other expensive vanities, were part of the funeral costs.

¹ The figure in brass and the inscription were formerly fixed on slabs of Purbeck marble.

² There is a paper by the Rev. John

Ward, in the sixth volume of the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, on Sir John Seymour's monument.

NOTES ON THE OLD-HUTTON CHALICE AND THE HAMSTERLEY PATEN.¹

By the Rev. H. WHITEHEAD.

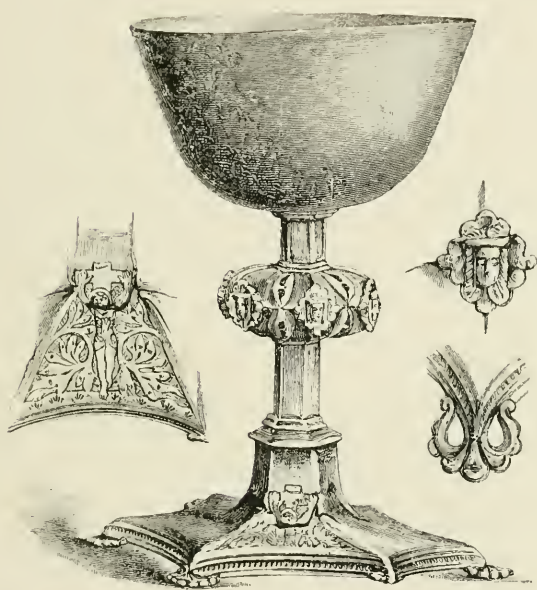
The Old-Hutton chalice, an engraving of which is here given by the kind permission of the editor of the recently published book on *Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle* is already so well known to several members of this Institute, who saw it in the temporary museum at Carlisle, and to others through Miss Goodwin's description of it (*Old Church Plate, Dio. Carl.*, pp. 114-7), that nothing further need be said about it in this paper. The reason for here mentioning it is the circumstance of its exhibition during the visit of the Institute to Carlisle having been the means of bringing to light the paten now submitted to the inspection of the present meeting.

This paten, which belongs to Hamsterley Church, in the diocese of Durham, was sent, soon after the Institute had left Carlisle, by a clergyman who had seen the Old-Hutton chalice in the temporary museum, to a member of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society, with a request that he would give his opinion as to its age and character. It closely resembles the Nettlecombe paten, described by Mr. Octavius Morgan in the *Archæologia*.

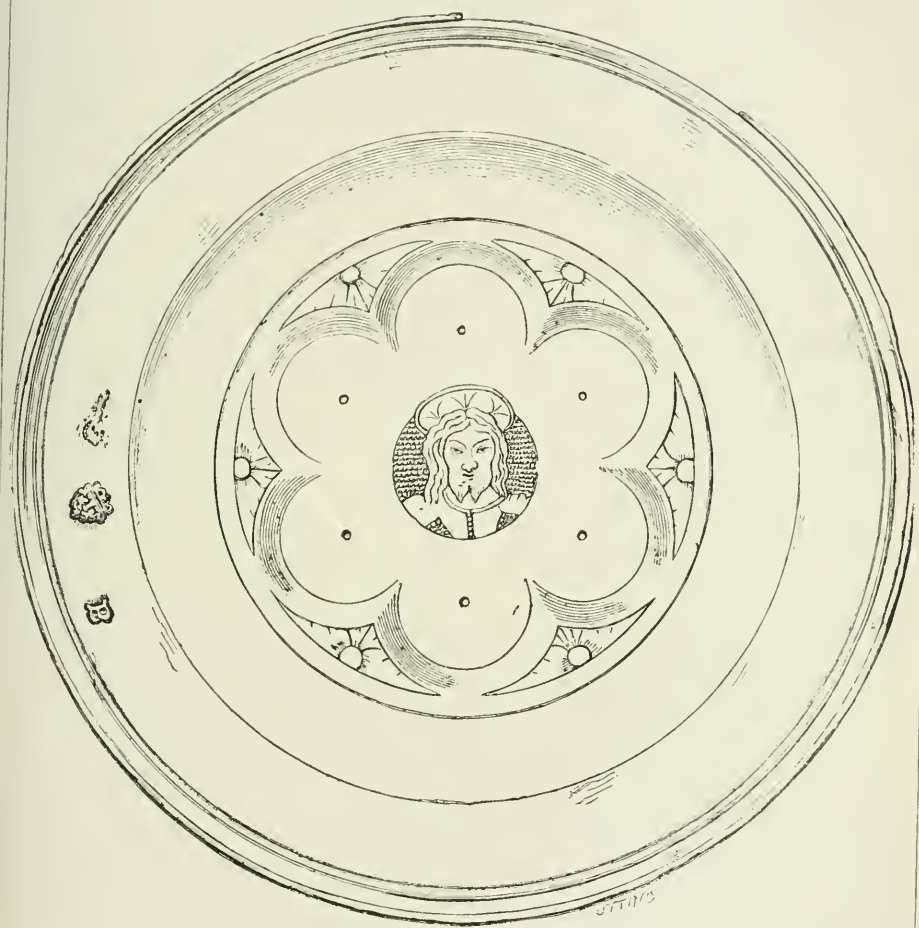
It only differs from the Nettlecombe paten in the following particulars: Its radiating ornament in the spandrels has but three lines instead of ten; its venticule is not enamelled, and the nimbus not cruciform; nothing is let in from the back, and it lacks the sacred monogram. It has three marks: 1. Maker's symbol, defaced; 2. Leopard's head, crowned, in a stamp shaped to the outline of the head; 3. An uncusped Lombardic B, in a stamp following the outline of the letter only on the right hand side. The date letter of the Nettlecombe paten, assigned by Mr. Morgan and Mr. Cripps to Alphabet II, is also a Lombardic B, but with external cusps. To that alphabet, then, assuming it to have been rightly credited with external cusps, the uncusped Lombardic B of the Hamsterley paten does not belong; nor to Alphabet III, which is double-cusped Lombardic; nor to IV, which is a small black letter; nor to VI, which is Roman. It must, therefore, belong to I or V, both of which are simple Lombardic. If it is to be assigned to Alphabet V, its date will be 1519; but if to I, then the date is 1439, and the paten is the oldest known example of hall-marked English plate.

Concerning the Hamsterley paten, Mr. Cripps has been kind enough to send the following observations:—"It is not the B of the Nettlecombe cup and paten which is cusped in the most marked way at the back of the bows of the B. This cusped B we have been used to assign to 1459, more owing to the apparent date of the Nettlecombe articles than for any other reason. I think that the plain B of the Hamsterley object, on

¹ Communicated to the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 2, 1882.



The Old-Hutton Chalice.



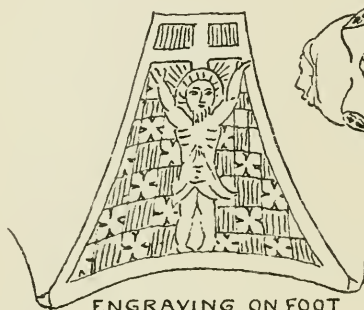
The Hamsterley Paten.

(Real Size.)



SILVER CHALICE.
CIRCA 1460-80.

LITTLE FARRINGTON,
OXON.



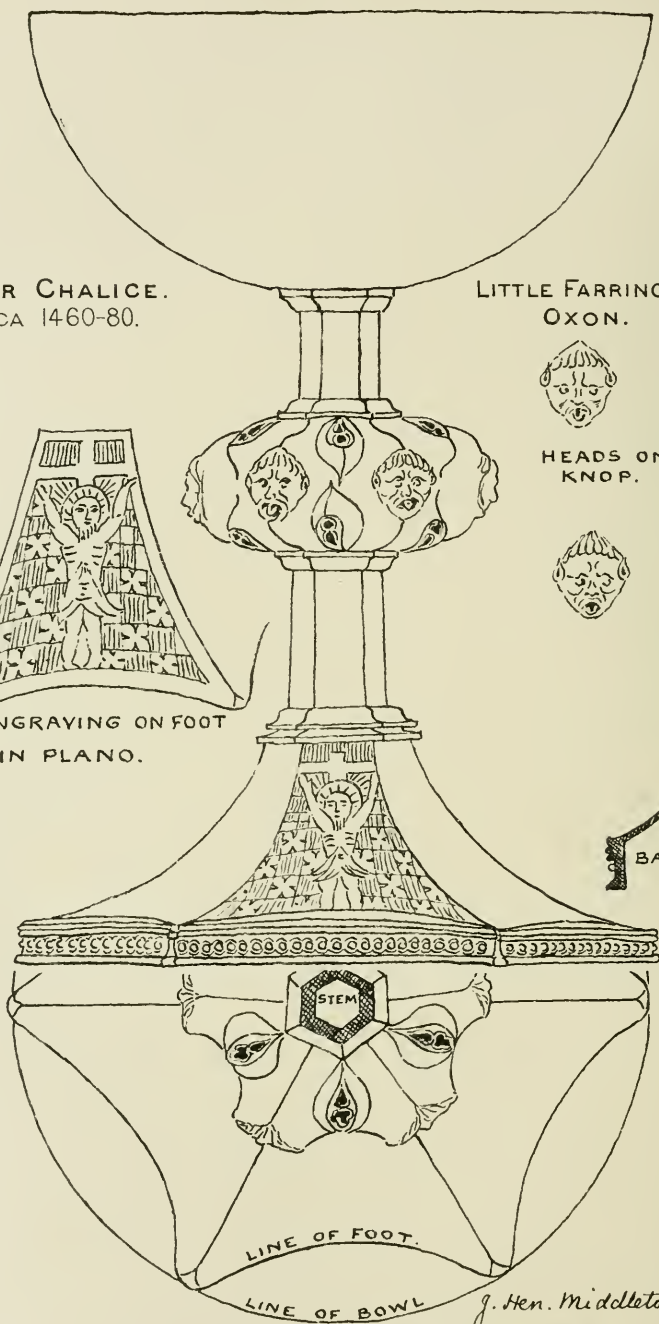
ENGRAVING ON FOOT
IN PLANO.



HEADS ON
KNOP.



BASE



Scale of Inches.

J. Hen. Middleton

the same showing, would really very likely be the most ancient hall-mark known, and stand for 1439. The fashion altogether fits that early year better than 1519, though the leopard's head crowned looks more like 1519 than 1439 I must confess. The difficulty as to early marks is that there are so few known pieces available for comparison, and the marks upon them are so much worn, that any conclusions drawn from minute differences in their appearance are very untrustworthy. I think the approximate date could be settled from the divided beard, &c., and then the hall-mark would enable us to fix the actual year in which this interesting piece was made.

NOTES ON THE LITTLE FARRINGDON CHALICE.¹

By J. H. MIDDLETON, M.A., F.S.A.

At the church of Little Farringdon, Oxon, once a chapelry of Langford in the same county, there is still preserved the very beautiful specimen of a fifteenth century silver chalice here illustrated.

The bowl and the base are both of *hammered* work; the latter is a hexagon in plan, with sides curved inwards. It has a delicate moulding round the lower part of the foot, further ornamented by beading, each bead of which has been produced by the blow of a small circular punch. On one of the compartments of the foot is the usual crucifix, in this case rudely engraved on a diapered ground. The knop and the hexagon stem are of *cast* work, probably executed by the "cire perdue" process. The knop is ornamented with pierced tracery and six grotesque human heads, modelled with great spirit. The hall-mark, which was inside the bowl, is obliterated except the lower part of the leopard's head.

The outline and proportions of this chalice are very graceful, and the work, both hammered and cast, of good and careful execution. I would suggest 1460-1480 as its probable date. The engraved crucifix is very inferior in style. The whole has once been gilt, but little of the gilding now remains.

¹ Communicated to the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 2, 1882.

Original Document.

TESTAMENTUM QUONDAM REVERENDISSIMI PATRIS ET DOMINI GAUINI ARCHIEPISCOPI GLASGUENSIS AC MONASTERII INSULE MISSARUM PERPETUI COMMEN- DATARII.

Communicated by J. BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

Inuentarium Bonorum depositi et debitorum quondam Recolende memorie Reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Gauini miseratione diuina Glasguensis Archiepiscopi.

Inprimis vtensilia et domicilia dicti quondam domini Gauini Glasguensis Archiepiscopi existen, in manibus quondam venerabilis in Christo patris et domini Willelmi Abbatis de Corsraguell Et nunc post obitum ipsius quondam abbatis in manibus nobilis et potentis domini Gilberti comitis de Cassillis estimata et particulariter calculata ad valorem

iiij^c xxxviiij^{lib} viij^s.

Item deliberata dicto quondam abbati per dictum quondam Reverendissimum in deposito in pecunia numerata ij^m iiij^c x^{lib} [2410/]. Quodquidem depositum idem quondam abbas in firma custodia in manibus venerabilis et egregii viri magistri Johannis Colquhone rectoris de Stobo ecclesie metropolitane Glasguensis canonici consignauit prout ante obitum suum premissa publice confessus est et restam ipsius depositi numme dispositam executoribus ipsius Reverendissimi per ipsum Rectorem reddi et deliberari ordinauit.

Summa Inuentarii et depositi ij^m vj^c xlviiij^{lib} viii^s [2748/8s.].

Debita dicto quondam Reverendissimo debentia :—

In primis restans in manibus tenendorum baronie Glasguensis de Croppa anni etc. xlvj citra ij^c marcas receptas per Gubernatorem pro brasio grossuma et multura dicte Baronie,

iiij^c lxxvj^{lib} xiijs iiijd.

Item restans in manibus tenendorum baroniarum de Stobo Eddilstone Askirk et domini de Corstorphyn pro certis terminis terrarum de Nudryfoster Reverendi in Christo patris Johannis episcopi Dunkeldensis patricii Murray de Hangynschaw et Cuthberti Johnson de Lokerbe respectiue firmariorum ecclesiarum de Cambusnethane Sancte Brigide in foresta et ecclesie de Drivisdale Ac etiam in manibus magistrorum et dominorum Archibaldi Menzies Roberti Richartson Nicholai Ruyrfurd Johannis Layng Johannis Cambell et Lamberti Blair respectiue et decanorum Nithisdalie et Amandie, Teuidalie, Kyle, Carrik, Cvnynghame, pro restis procuracionum synodaliu et majorum Testamentorum certorum annorum preteritorum, Magistri Johannis Chesholme et Johannis Jardane de Apilgirth pro certis bollis ordeï custumalis Baroniarum de Eddilstoun et Stobo spoliatis per eundem a tenentibus dietarum Baroniarum ac certorum

aliorum creditorum extenden', per justam estimationem ad summam' v^c lib. [500l.]

Item dominus Jacobus Cottis rector de Carstaris de resta sui vltimi compoti j^c ^{lib} et Remittimus eidem rectori reliquum reste sui compoti dummodo gratanter persoluat dictam summam prenominatam executoribus nostris.

Summa Inuentarii et depositi ac debitorum dicto quondam Reverendissimo debens, ij^m viij^c xv^{lib} xvj^d [3815l 1s 4d.]

Debita aliis debencia :—

In primis Archibaldo Williamsou pro firma hospicii sui in Edinbur^t, xxiiij^{lib}.

Item domino de Craighernard pro firma hospicii sui in Strivelyng, x^{lib}

Item dominis Collegii Justicie Supreme domine nostre Regine, j^c lxxx^{lib}.

Item Johanni Menzies pro recompensatione summe centum lib. per dictum quondam Reverendissimum ab eodem receptis pro assedatione terrarum de Bischopforrest, lx^{lib}.

Item Anis (?) pro fusione et factura duarum campanarum deportatione et erectione earundum Ac pro Bibalibus suis vt patet per contractum inter dictum quondam Reverendissimum et eum initum, j^c lxxxvjlⁱ xiijs.

Item pro Reparacione campanilis, j^c vjlⁱ xiijs iiij^d.

Item Capitulo Glasguensi et vicariis chori eiusdem pro annuali fundacione dicti Reverendissimi juxta consilium et dispositionem venerabilis et egregii viri Magistri Jacobi Houstoun subdecani Glasguensis in quo plurimum confidimus erigendo quemquidem fundacionem prefati capitulum et vicarii chori Glasguensis ipso Reverendissimo viuente super se acceperunt et perimplere annuatim et perficere obligarunt pro quaquidem fundacione sic annuatim perimplenda summam ij^c lxxvj^{lib} xiijs iiij^d Idem Reverendissimus prefato capitulo et vicariis chori promisit et eandem summam eisdem ipso superstite consignavit, ij^c lxxvi^{lib} xiijs iiij^d.

Et similiter consignauit lxxvj^{lib} xiijs iiij^d in manibus dictorum decani et capituli pro sepulcro eneo conficiendo et superponendo sepulchro eiusdem.

Item preposito Glasguensi pro suo feodo certorum terminorum clapsorum, xxij^{lib}.

Item domino de Ferne pro suo feodo, xx^{lib}.

Item domino de Gelstoun, xl^{lib}

Quamquidem summam idem Reverendissimus recepit tempore quo Cancellarie officio fungebatur et consignata fuit in manibus eiusdem per Dominos Consilii ex redemptione terrarum in Gleukenn pertinentium fratri dicti domini de Gelstoun.

Item seruitoribus dicti quondam Reverendissimi pro eorum feodis vt patet per particulas particulariter calculatas et examinatas, v^c lxxxv^{lib} xvj^d.

Item quoad summam xvj mercarum assertatam per Jacobum Watt et Johanne Mason latomos per nos eisdem debitam pro completionem pontis de Inchbelly, quamuis clare constat et patet intuentibus compotum quondam domini Johannis Moreson camerarii nostri pro tempore nos totalem summam eiis per eum nomine nostro promissam et in contractum inter nos et eos inito in compoto eiusdem domini Johannis sibi allocasse, quia in eodem compoto suo fatetur se huiusmodi totalem summam pecunie eiis nomine nostro per eum promissam persoluisse Volumus tamen quod dicti executores nostri prefatam summam xvj mercarum eiis iterum persoluant Aut sece desuper amicabilem componatur, dummodo dicti latomi prefatum

pontem in singulis partibus vbi opus fuerit, Et signanter in lateribus altiorem et substantiorem faciant et reforment prout dictis executoribus et superioribus Testamenti nostri expedire videbitur.

Summa debitorum aliis debentium, j^m vj^e lxxxvij^{lib} viij^s.

Legacia prefati Reverendissimi personis infrascriptis. Et inprimis domino Gubernatori.

Item illustri domino Gubernatori nos humillime et ex intimis commendamus cui legamus ornamenta nostre capelle argentea et dupliciter deaurata subscripta, videlicet crucem, duo candelabra, duas phiolas, vas aque Benedicte cum aspersorio et campana cum eorum capsulis, et hoc in nostri memoriam Sperantes indubie quod idem dominus Gubernator assistat et adiuuet dictos nostros executores et non sinat eosdem a quocumque perturbari molestari aut vexari quatenus hanc nostram vltimam voluntatem debite in singulis perficere et perimplere valeant.

Item nobili et potenti domino Johanni domino de Erskyn in amoris et veteris amicitie signum, nostrum optimum annulum "Iye Tureas" et vnum denarium aureum antiquum Sanctissimi domini nostri pape insigniis inculptum.

Item magistro Jacobo Foulis in nostri memoriam et amoris signum, vnum denarium aureum antiquum inculptum Sancto Spiritu.

Item comitis de Cassillis, j^e marcas.

Reuerendo in Christo patri Willelmo episcopo Lismorensi amplam togam nostram "lie chymeris" of wariant chamlett cum caputio eiusdem et duobus rochetis.

Item venerabili in Christo patri Willelmo abbati de Corsraguell togam nostram nigri panni foderatam cum "Iye mertrikkis" cui etiam legamus "our dobbie ourgylt coupe" and "our dooble ourgilt goblett quhilkis hes na armes on thame, and our best safir ryng."

Item Magistro Alexandro Dunbar decano Morauienti ratione officii executorie, nostram togam Bissinam de satyn foderatam cum mertrikkis cui etiam legamus "our sax siluer peeis and ye covir w^t ye eays, thre siluer trunscheouris and ye secund siluer salt fatt" Et *item* dispositionem librorum nostrorum iuxta discretionem et consilium executorum et superiorum nostrorum fiendum.

Decano Glasguensi vni superiorum testamenti nostri :—

Item decano Glasguensi optimam togam nostram nigri coloris "our best blak chymmeris w^t ye hude" cum vno annulo et "tway of our siluer trunscheouris."

Subdecano Glasguensi alteri superiorum vltime nostre voluntatis :—

Item Magistro Jacobo Houstone subdecano Glasguensi "thre of our siluer trunscheouris" Et hoc quia nouimus quod plurimam curam et ingentes labores super se ad perficiendum et perimplendum erectionem fundacionisstrarum exequiarum et obitus, distributionem pecuniarum pro terris emendis pro dicta nostra fundacione, et emptione honesti sepulchri enei ad superponendum tumulo nostro Ac reparacione et fusione campanilis et campanarum perferre et capere opportuerit Et ad emenda ornamenta pontificalia ecclesie nostre Glasguensis pro quibus emendis consignauimus et deliberauimus certam pecunie summam magistro Georgio Lokert decano ecclesie nostre predictae Et etiam ad mutandam et transferendam huiusmodi pecuniam per nos ad prescripta opera consignata ad quameunque perpetuacionem et pios vsus prout sibi magistro Jacobo videbitur expediens, consumatis prius et perimpletis campanili fundacione

campanis et pontificalibus et sepulchro nostro predictis Quia in prefato Magistro Jacobo ad perimplenda et perficienda premissa singularem confidentiam habemus.

Item Johanni Dunbar de Mochroum ad complementum sue domus j^e marcas, vñacum "our siluer Basyn and the siluer lawar Oure grete covpe and covir of silver, Oure grete salt fatt, ane dusan of siluer spownis and thre siluer Trunselcours."

Item [. . .] Dunbar sorori dicti Johannis Dunbar de Mochroum ad supplemetum dotis eiusdem, ij^e marcas.

Item Thome Kennedy de Bargany "oure siluer wattyr pott quhilk we vse to gar mix our wyne with."

Item duabus sororibus dicti Thome Kennedy nondum maritatis, iiij^e marcas per equales portiones inter easdem diuidendas.

Item sponse Hugonis Kennedie sorori dicti domini de Bargany
xxvj^{lib} xij^s iiij^d.

Item magistro Gilberto Kennedie vicario de Colmonell, xx^{lib} cum vna nigra toga duplicata cum "lye damas."

Item magistro Thome Kennedy, xx^{lib}.

Item domino de Punfrastone intuitu diutini obsequii nobis prestiti ad supportandum suos proles, xl^{lib}.

Item prolibus Archibaldi Dunbar germani nostri, xxvj^{lib} xij^s iiij^d.

Item patricio Dunbar de Cralech, xl^{lib}.

Item patricio Dunbar filio Joannis Dunbar de Knokschenot et Wilhelmo Hamiltone eius leviro, xx marcas per equales partes et portiones.

Item domino Archibaldo Dunbar ij^e ^{lib}; promiso tamen quod non vocet executores nostros pro quacunque alia summa sibi allegata per nos debita Quod si dictos executores nostros in jus vocet, volumus quod dicti executores nostri expensas suas ad defendendos se ab eodem de dictis ij^e libras faciant.

Item sorori nostre, moniali in Northbervik, xx marcas.

Item filie quondam magistri Johannis Dunbar senescalli nostri pro tempore, x marcas.

Item Rectori de Stobo Magistro Johanni Colquhone vnam togam de scarlett duplicatam cum "lye satyn."

Item magistro Roberto Stewart clerico parochiali Glasguensi, xl^{lib}.

Item domino Hugoni Curry commendatario prioratus de Strathphillano vnam togam de chamlett foderatam cum nigris pellibus et alteram de "Lilisworsett" etiam foderatam, v^t our almus ane furrit weluus hude cum duobus rochetis.

Item Duncano Levingstone camerario nostro j^e marcas, proviso quod prius indicat restam Baronie Glasguensis et aliarum baroniarum, aut saltem exactam diligentiam faciat pro hujusmodi restam importandam Ac compotum et solutionem dictarum restarum et sue intromissionis dictis executoribus nostris faciat.

Item magistro Cuthberto Arthure et Johannis Mun' vñenique eorum xl marcas ad orandum pro anima nostra pro spacio duorum annorum, et domino Johanni Forrett pro suo feodo termini Penthecostes instantis et aliis quibuscunque terminis per nos sibi debitis et ad orandum pro anima nostra per spaciū duorum annorum xl^{ta} marcas vñacum "our secund blak chynmeris" cum qua indutus, ferat crucem nostram ante nos in die sepulture nostre.

Item domino Johanni Dunbar rectori de Castelmilk ad orandum pro anima nostra per spaciū vñius anni, x marcas.

Item domino Johanni Dunbar clerico parochiali de Mochroum ad orandum pro anima mea per spacium unius anni, x marcas.

Item domino Thome Coltirrane in quhiterne [Whitherne] ad orandum pro anima mea per spacium vnus anni, x marcas.

Legacia Religiosis:

Item fratribus minoribus de Edinbur^t vj^{lib} xiijs^s iiij^d.

Item fratribus predicatoribus prefati loci de Edinbur^t vj^{lib} xiijs^s iiij^d.

Item fratribus minoribus de Perth, vj^{lib} xiijs^s iiij^d.

Item fratribus predicatoribus ibidem, vj^{lib} xiijs^s iiij^d.

Item fratribus minoribus de Striuelyn^g, vj^{lib} xiijs^s iiij^d.

Item fratribus predicatoribus ibidem, vj^{lib} xiijs^s iiij^d.

Item fratribus minoribus ciuitatis nostre Glasguensis, x^{lib}.

Item fratribus predicatoribus eiusdem, vj^{lib} xiijs^s iiij^d.

Item fratribus minoribus de Air, x^{lib}.

Item fratribus predicatoribus ibidem, vj^{lib} xiijs^s iiij^d.

Item Carmelitis de Irwyn, iij^{lib} vjs^s viij^d.

Item fratribus de Jedbur^t v^{lib}.

Item fratribus de Dunfries, v^{lib}.

Item fratribus de Lanark, xl^s.

Item fratribus de Lynlithquhon, xl^s.

Item pauperibus hospitalis diui Nicholai xx marcas disponendas in lectisterniis vestibus et aliis rebus dietis pauperibus magis necessariis pro tempore iuxta discretionem magistri Roberti Stewart et domini Hugonis Curry prout ipsius melius videbitur expedire.

Item sororibus diue Katherine de Senis prope Edinburgh, xli^{lib}.

Item duabus filiabus Andree Balfoure ciuis Sancti Andree nondum maritatis ad supportacionem dotis earundem, xli^{ma} marcas inter easdem per equales portiones diuidendas.

Item Isabelle Stewart sponse Jacobi Grahame, x marcas.

Legacia librorum.

Item magistro Johanni Gledstanis "Balduin et Paulum de Castro,"

Item Magistro Johanni Dunbar "Bartholinum et panormitanum,"

Residuum vero librorum nostrorum tantum dispositioni decani Morauensis iuxta discretionem et consilium executorum et superiorum nostrorum fiendum legamus.

Residuum vero omnium Bonorum nostrorum legamus executoribus nostris et eorum dispositioni prout ipsis melius expedire videbitur sine quacumque restrictione.

Item volumus autem legamus et ordinamus quod nostri executores respondeant satis ac integre et mature sine deliberacione aut mora seruitoribus familie nostre prenomina^tis de legacia eiis per nos legata de promptioribus pecuniis nostris, funeralibus et pecuniâ pro sepulchro eneo nostro et fundacione nostri obitus prius solutis et consignatis deductis, Et quoad legata aliis prenomina^tis personis et restam legacie nostre si non respondeant dictis nostris executoribus de resta fructuum Archiepiscopatus Glasguensis et monasterii nostre Insule missarum predictorum Referimus defalcacionem et solucionem reste huiusmodi nostre legacie discretioni dictorum executorum nostrorum prout ipsi executores nostri restem huiusmodi Archiepiscopatus et monasterii recipere obtinere et recuperare poterunt.

Necnon et si contingat dictos nostros seruitores aut quoscumque alios legatarios prenomina^tos plus exigere petere vel requirere quam vt

expressatum est in presenti nostro Testamento aut eosdem executores coram quocumque iudice pro aliis maioribus summis et actionibus coram quo cumque iudice convenire aut dictos nostros executores quovismodo molestare in hiis casibus singula per nos eisdem legata renocemus Committentes dictis nostris executoribus jus repetendi huiusmodi legata per eos recepta Et volumus quod legata sic obtenta et repetita disponantur ad alios pios vsus pro salute anime nostre.

Summa Inuentarii depositi et Bonorum dicti olim Reverendissimi patris, debitis per eum aliis debentibus extractis,

ij^m j^c xxvj^{ib} xiiij^s iiij^d. [21267. 13s. 47.]

Confirmantur executores datii dicto olim Reverendissimo ad bona superscripta ac etiam extra presens Inuentarium omissa seu relictia quecumque Magister Robertus Stewart clericus parochialis de Glasgo et Duncanus Levynston coniunctim etc die penultimo Maii Anno Domini j^m v^c xlviiij. [1548.]

As the Institute, at the late Carlisle meeting, made an excursion to Melrose, within the old diocese of Glasgow, some notice of the Archbishop whose will is printed above, will be acceptable. Like that of the illustrious house from which he sprang, the memory of this munificent churchman has been somewhat obscured by the lapse of time. The revival by the Pope a few years ago, of the Archbishopric of Glasgow in the person of an accomplished prelate, the first Catholic Archbishop since the Reformation, has recalled our interest in one, and by no means the least distinguished, of his predecessors—Gavin Dunbar. It has been known for the last forty years or more that his will was in existence in a unique volume embracing only a few years (A.D. 1547-55) of the once extensive consistorial records belonging to Glasgow, now in Her Majesty's General Register House, Edinburgh, and curiously enough, discovered by Mr. Riddell, who also rescued from oblivion the will of another renowned Scotsman, Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. He, less fortunate than Dunbar, only found a foreign grave; "*patriâ suâ exul*," as the pathetic inscription on his brass in the Chapel Royal, Savoy, reminds us.

The Archbishop came of a family that has filled a great position in Scottish history—the Earls of Dunbar or March. He could count among his more immediate forefathers the celebrated Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and his daughter and heiress Black Agnes of Dunbar, from whom he derived his ancestral shield—the three cushions within the royal tressure. His father, Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, was the second of the six sons of Sir Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, Sheriff of Moray, the only son, though not the successor, of James Dunbar last Earl of Moray of that race. The Sheriff's two elder sons married two of the three coheiresses of a kindred stock, daughters of Patrick Dunbar, the last of the barons of Cummock and Mochrum, near relatives of the main stem of March. But the Archbishop was the son of his father's second marriage with Janet Stewart, a daughter of the house of Garlies, now represented by the Earl of Galloway. The Archbishop's elder brother of the half blood, Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, fell with James IV at Flodden. The Archbishop, as is matter of history, was chosen preceptor to the young James V, as being "the most polite and best qualified person of any other in the whole kingdom." And in 1526 he became Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, an office which he held till after the death of James V in 1542. Before the year 1544 he built a "noble

gatehouse" for the episcopal palace of his see, on the front of which a stone bearing the royal arms, with his own and those of his friend Master James Houstoun, sub-dean of the Cathedral, was placed. This stone has survived the total demolition of the palace and gatehouse, and after some vicissitudes, has found a resting place at Mechrum Park, co. Wigton, within a few miles of the Archbishop's birthplace, the old Tower of Mochrum. The Archbishop's will presents features of interest both public and domestic, a few of which may be noticed. He died in April, 1547, one authority says the 16th, Crawford (*Lives of the Officers of State*) says the 30th of the month, and his will was confirmed a year afterwards, on 30th May, 1548.

He leaves to a person named Anis (?) for the founding of two bells, and erection of these, in terms of a contract between them, including "drinkables for the workmen," 196*l.* 13*s.*

For repair of the Campanile, 106*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

There can be no question that this was the western tower of the Cathedral church of Glasgow, which has been always identified with the Archbishop's name, and was so barbarously pulled down upwards of forty years ago, under the plea of restoring the church to its original design, but with the effect of destroying one of its most picturesque features, just as Wyatt the architect did at Salisbury fifty or sixty years before. One of the two bells formerly in this tower still continues to give out its deep notes in the hearing of the citizens of Glasgow, as may be learned by the evidence of the local records; though tradition has assigned it to the gift of a burgess of the city, Marcus Knox, who has taken the place of its real donor.

The private bequests of the Archbishop are many, and the language in which they are couched is highly interesting. To the Earl of Arran, the Lord Governor for the infant Queen, he leaves the silver double-gilt ornaments of his private chapel, and makes a solemn request that he will see his executors are not molested in administration of his will.

To John Lord Erskine, his turquoise ring—"his best" he calls it,—and an old gold penny with the Papal arms. Master James Foulis, the Clerk Register, has a gold penny engraved with the Holy Spirit.

The Abbot of Corsraguel, besides a handsome gown (of which the Archbishop had many) would, if he had lived, have received a double gilt cup, and goblet without armorial bearings, and his best sapphire ring.

Master James Houstoun, the sub-dean of Glasgow, has three silver trenchers, and a touching expression of the debt of gratitude the Archbishop owes him for his care and trouble regarding the above bells and repair of the campanile, and construction of the brazen sepulchre which was erected, it is believed, before the Archbishop's death, in the choir of the cathedral, over his tomb, now totally swept away.

The next legacy testifies to the Archbishop's regard for his birthplace and the head of his house—the young Laird of Mochrum—his grand-nephew of the half blood. He leaves him 100 marks "for the completion of his house," a silver bason and a silver lawar (ewer?) his great cup and cover of silver, his great salt-cellar, a dozen silver spoons, and three silver trenchers.

The buildings, once of very considerable extent, which the Archbishop's legacy helped to finish, are now roofless and in ruins. In all probability they were begun by this young laird's father, Sir John Dunbar, of

Mochrum (the son of the Knight who fell at Flodden), who while himself a young man, died in 1543. They were completed by the legatee, afterwards Sir John, and in three places on the mouldering walls, his own shield, the cushions of Randolph, and that of his wife Elizabeth Muré (of Rowallan), three stars in fess between three garbs, are still visible.

While this later part of the family seat has gone to ruin, the ancient Tower of the Knights of Mochrum still stands proudly under the burden of its five and a half centuries ; and with its vaulted basement, and walls nine feet in thickness, seems to enjoy a green and vigorous old age. Southwards it commands a charming water view—in the foreground and middle distance is its own loch studded with islands clad in heather and wood, on one of which the ruins of an earlier stronghold may be seen—while far to the south-east the Fell of Mochrum rears its bulk in the direction of the Irish sea ; and turning to the north the spectator may see a chain of smaller lochs, encompassed by wild moor and rocky knolls, till the farthest range of vision is bounded by the lofty mountains and deep glens of Kirkeudbright, among which Robert the Bruce was hunted for his life nearly six hundred years ago, by Aymar de Valence and John of Lorne.

The Archbishop also leaves the sister of the Laird of Mochrum 200 marks for a dower, and besides legacies to Kennedies, Dunbars, and other relatives, leaves 20 marks to his own sister, a nun in North Berwick.

He also leaves many sums to various religious orders, the largest, two of £10, being to the Friars Minors of his own city and those of Ayr.

The will shews him to have been a benevolent and kind-hearted man in private life. His public career is enrolled in the annals of his country. Though he met with scanty justice from John Knox, he has been eulogised by a greater scholar than the reformer, the accomplished Buchanan.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 1, 1882.

J. HILTON, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Captain E. HOARE read a paper on "Egyptian Sepulchral Statuettes, or Idol Figures," by Dr. BIRCH, which is printed at page 384. A vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Birch.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Captain E. HOARE.—An Egyptian statuette.

By Mr. H. VAUGHAN.—A photograph of the silver Cassa carried in the procession of Corpus Christi at Genoa, now preserved in the church of St. Lorenzo, in that city. Concerning the interesting history of this work of art Mr. J. G. WALLER was kind enough to make the following observations, for which he was mainly indebted to an account of the Cassa in question by Professor Santo Varni:—

"Until the middle of the sixteenth century the Consecrated Host was carried upon a wooden chest or *chasse*. In 1553 it was resolved to make one of silver of such beauty as to be a paragon. The Magistracy then set about getting the money from Genoese, not only in the city itself, but from those living in Messina, Palermo, Venice, Rome, Naples, Valentia, and in Flanders and Spain.

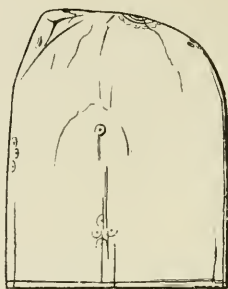
"The first document in relation to it was a payment made to a painter, name unknown, for having executed two copies of a model of the *cassa*, designed by one Francesco Rocco, a Milanese silversmith. One of these was sent to Milan, the other to Florence, in order to get a price for the execution of it. On the 20th December a contract was drawn up in which F. Rocco was to construct it with every perfection and excellence in all the work "a ponsone" to the judgment of four Deputies, to whom was given power as to the measures, for improvement of the design so as to make it, as it might appear to them, the best for ornament, and for the public service, and in honour of the most Holy Sacrament.

"He was to be supplied with the gold and silver necessary, and was to execute it in nine months, without asking recompense until the work satisfied the Deputies, and a sum was agreed upon.

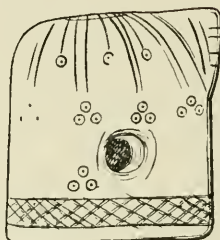
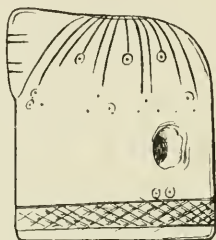
"However, the work seems to have been delayed, and the Deputies were superseded, it being still in hand in June 21, 1559. Then Rocco suddenly left Genoa without giving any hopes of his returning, so then the chief of the city called the heads of the goldsmiths together to estimate Rocco's work, and it appearing he was in debt for silver received they seized his house in Genoa.



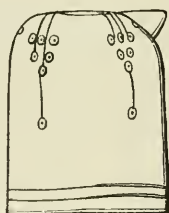
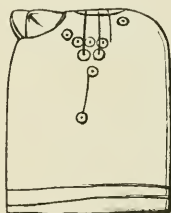
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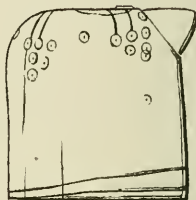
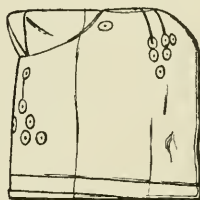
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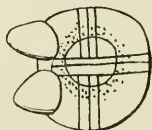
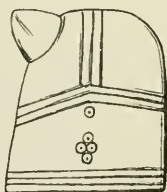
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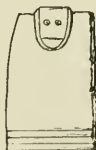
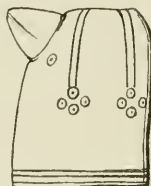
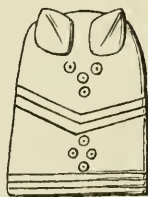
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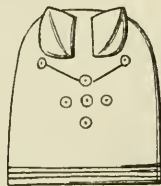
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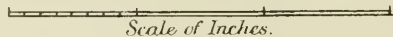
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Scale of Inches.

"Rocco's work consists of three panels with histories, four pieces of the Evangelists, the twelve apostles, &c. ; but he had aid from one Thomas Opluten a Fleming in the making of five apostles. These four Evangelists were, however, wrongly so called, being really the four Doctors of the Latin Church. They adorn the four feet of the tabernacle.

"After Rocco's departure the work was continued by Flemings, viz., Thomas Opluten, Ranier Fuchs, Balthasar Martines, and David Scalgia.

"Then an Italian comes into the work again. This was Agostino Groppe, a Milanese. But he got into trouble for receiving money and not doing what was required for it, and was sent to prison, from which he was released on bail in 1570 ; he then set about the work of the twelve prophets which stand on the upper cornice of the *chasse*, &c. The four Evangelists were to be executed in Antwerp from models sent from Genoa. In 1575 it was determined to substitute for Rocco's tabernacle a little temple, which was consigned to Desiderio Croce, and was completed to satisfaction by his son Ilario in 1576.

"Then comes another addition made of four figures of angels bearing instruments of the Passion, placed on the top of the ark by one Nicholas Olestar. In 1592 the temple was gilded by Master Harry, a Fleming. In 1611 one Luca Vigne, a distinguished goldsmith, was appointed to complete the work ; to him are referred the heads of angels to support the ark, &c. In 1645, 1705, and 1753 certain small additions and repairs were made, and finally in 1857 it was restored by the Bros. Bancalari, under the direction of an eminent antiquary and sculptor of Genoa."

By Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.—A collection of glass figures and objects lately acquired by him in Egypt. In calling attention to these antiquities Mr. Petrie spoke of their great rarity, and pointed out that the blue glass was always dark in colour and backed with white to give greater brilliancy. Specially noteworthy in the collection was a very delicate bronze of Horus with inlaid eyes and necklace of gold, and a finely modelled hawk in stone.

By the Rev. W. J. LORTIE.—Small earthenware vase inscribed with the names and titles of Necho, the Pharaoh who slew Josiah, King of Judah, *circa* 600 B.C. Bracelet of solid gold, twisted : from Sakkara.

By Sir H. E. L. DRYDEN, Bart.—Photograph of a circular draughtsman in Walrus tooth, lately found at Northampton Castle, of the late Norman period, $1\frac{1}{2}$ diam. and $\frac{7}{16}$ thick. On the upper side is sculptured a representation of a winged female figure seated on a throne and holding two children on her knees. Sir H. Dryden likewise exhibited a drawing of an early game-piece, also found at Northampton Castle. (See Plate, No. 5.) In further illustration of this form of chesspiece Mr. C. Seidler was kind enough to exhibit drawings of two other examples (Nos. 6 and 7), found at Nantes. The former is made out of a small leg bone, with the hollow plugged with a piece of bone in the top, as in the Northampton specimen. The latter is a fragment. In the British Museum are four other chessmen of this character, which are here illustrated for comparison. No. 1 is in solid ivory, circular in plan, and has a single projection ; it is, perhaps, Italian work. No. 2 was found at Helpstone, Northamptonshire. It is hollow, plugged at the top, has a single projection, and takes, in plan, the nearly circular form of the bone from which it is made. It has been pierced through for suspension,

and the edges of the holes show evidences of considerable wear. No. 3 was found in Moorfields. It is hollow, plugged at the top, has a divided projection, like ears, and takes the form, in plan, of the irregular oval of the bone. No. 4 was found in London. It generally resembles No. 3, but is more irregular in plan, and of ruder work. All these objects, which are probably of the tenth century, are decorated with circles struck with an instrument. They may be compared with a mitre-shaped example found at Woodperry,¹ Oxon, and with the larger of two early chess-pieces in jet found at Warrington.² They appear to be of an earlier and different type to those chessmen found in the Isle of Lewis,³ which are clearly of the early part of the twelfth century, to that found at Kirkstall⁴, and to the example from Norfolk.⁵

By Mrs. RUDYERD.—An original letter, a holograph, of Elizabeth, "First Daughter of Scotland," Queen of Bohemia, "Queen of Hearts," and "Queen of Nations"—to Sir Benjamin Rudyerd.

"Good Sr Beniamin Rudier, I must interest your help in a business that concerns your sister and my servant Harrington, and which some years agoe I did send to you about, it is to see if you can get her some meanes to subsist in this place where she is, she having spent her portion in my service and I am in a condition you know that I cannot help her as I woulde, I have therefore againe tried my Lord Chamberlaine, and haue also written to my Lord priue Seale to intreat them to helpe her either by getting of her a place or otheruayes as they shall think fitt, I pray be you there remembrancer as I have written to them that I have intreated you to be so, I need not tell you how much reason I haue to doe for her, knowing the obligations I haue to her name and Familie, besides the love I beare her self, I know you are so much her friend as I dout not but you will do the best you can for her, she is verie modest for she wisheth but for five hundred pounds yett if you can gett her more it were better, I leave it to your iudgement the cariage of this business and what you shall do in it I shall esteeme it as done for myself who am glad by this occasion to assure you, that I doe not forgett you, and I am constant in esteeming you, as you desarne, my friend which beleewe me I will never change but am euer

"your assured affectionate
friend

Ph Elizabethh."

"The Shloss this 6 of April 16jv."

"I may lett me know how this business take effect, if you can gett her some little ward of a thousand or five hundred pounds I should take it as extreme well, I speak to you of this because it belongs to your phase."

The foregoing letter is on the first page. On the fourth page, in a later hand, is as follows:—"Elizabeth sister to King Charles 1st married Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine; afterwards chosen King of Bohemia." It is folded three times, forming a packet 7 in. long by 1½ in. wide. At a distance of an inch from each end is a seal in black wax bearing the arms of the Palatinate impaling the royal arms of

¹ Engraved in the *Journal*, iii, 121.

² Engraved in the *Journal*, xiii, 180.

³ Engraved in "Archæologia," vol. xxiv,

and described in a paper of great value by Sir F. Madden.

⁴ Engraved in the *Journal*, vi, 170,

⁵ Described in the *Journal*, ix, 195.

England on a shield surmounted by a crown. The sinister seal is stamped over a narrow lock of the Queen's rich dark brown hair. Between the seals is written in her hand: "To Sr Beniamin Rudier." Perhaps no apology is necessary for thus reproducing a written relic,—different indeed in matter to the delightful letters of her childhood,—of one of the most charming and unfortunate of English princesses, the god-child of the great Elizabeth, the cause of the Thirty Years War, the mother of the fiery Rupert, and, most of all, the ancestress of the present royal family who, through the marriage of her youngest daughter Sophia, "saved us from Popery and wooden shoes."

The above letter has been printed with certain inaccuracies in Granger's Biographical History, v. ii., p. 282, from whence we extract the following note respecting Sir Benjamin Rudyerd:

"Created a Knight by Queen Elizabeth, and Burgess for Wilton in 1640, sat in several Parliaments in the reign of King James I. and King Charles I., an accomplished gentleman and elegant scholar, was a very noted speaker in Parliament, where he pleaded strenuously for the Bishops, many of his speeches, and some poems by him are in print; the latter are in the same volume with the poems of William, Earl of Pembroke; . . . he was the last surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries, which was abolished in 1646. He was recompensed for the loss of his place with a grant of money from Parliament, and a portion of lands out of the Marquis of Worcester's estate was also assigned him by the Parliament: born 1572, obit May 31, 1658, ætat 86. He lies buried in the Church of West Woodhay, Berks, his estate, under a monument erected by his servant, John Grant, with an epitaph made by Sir Benjamin himself in his younger years."

Mrs. RUDYERD also laid before the meeting the embroidered linen cap of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd. This is formed of four segments working to a point at the top, the lower edge being turned up to a depth of two inches, and edged with a crocheted work in gold cord. The segments are each embroidered alike in a flowing pattern with flowers in gold, edged with black chain stitch, and further ornamented with gold spangles with excentric holes, the whole forming a picturesque and characteristic piece of work—often seen in pictures of the time, notably in those by Mytens and Vansomer—of which but few material examples have survived to the present day.

By the Rev. H. J. BIGGE.—An elaborate sixteenth century iron knocker, German work, a latch of the same period, and a casket covered with chased brass plates further decorated with a punctured pattern, a debased representative of the *opvs perpunctum* of earlier times.

July 3, 1882.

The LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

The noble PRESIDENT, in speaking of his absence latterly from the meetings of the Institute, said he had but lately returned from Algeria, and alluded to the great interest of the antiquities of that country, where the Romans had so strongly established a dominion. He had devoted some time to the study of the Roman epigraphy of Algeria, and he hoped to lay some of the results of his observations before the members of the Institute at the forthcoming meeting at Carlisle.

The Rev. W. J. LOFTIE read a paper on "The Hawk Sacred to Chonsu, with special reference to Rameses XII., and Raneferoo his Queen"; this is printed at p. 399.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. LOFTIE, the noble Chairman remarked upon the value of the paper, and expressed his satisfaction that a new light had been thrown upon a very abstruse and curious subject. The veneration for the hawk was very ancient, and even at the present day this bird was seen in a tame state throughout Egypt.

Mr. W. BRAILSFORD read a paper on "The Monuments of the Seymour Family in Great Bedwyn Church, Wilts." This is printed at p. 407.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Brailsford.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on "The Antiquities of Autun," of which we give the following summary:—

The subject is more interesting than many other archaeological investigations, because it is closely connected with an ancient author whom we read in our school-days, Autun being the capital of the *Ædui* so often mentioned by Caesar.

I. The Porte d'Arroux and the Porte St. André are the most distinctive monuments of Autun; no other city can show two such Roman gates as these. The gallery over the main entrances gives them a peculiar lightness and elegance, so that they contrast favourably with the Arch of Titus and that at Orange, in both of which the attic is disproportionately high. The Autun gates probably belong to the Constantine period, not to the Augustan as Mr. Freeman assumes.

II. The Musée Lapidaire contains a long series of Gallo-Roman Divinities; amongst them Epona and the *Deæ Matres* have special attractions for the English antiquary, because the former occurs in the inscriptions of our own country, and we have figures of the latter in the British Museum and in the collection belonging to the Corporation of London.

But the great treasure of the Musée Lapidaire is the famous Christian epitaph whose fragmentary condition and figurative language has given occasion to much controversy amongst the learned. The frequent repetition of the word *ἰχθίς* (fish), with symbolical reference to Our Lord, strikes every reader as the most remarkable feature in this monument. Autun itself supplies some apposite illustrations, as there is an ancient glass vessel in the form of a fish at the Hôtel de Ville, and ichthyomorphic illuminations abound in the Merovingian MSS. preserved in the Library of the Grand Séminaire.

III. The Ceramic Inscriptions found in the neighbourhood are very numerous and important; they also present many *rapprochements* with the Romano-British Antiquities. Many of the potters' names are the same as those found in London itself; moreover, the peculiarities in the forms of letters are identical. A comparison of the Samian ware at Autun with the specimens in our Metropolitan collections tends to show that the latter were not manufactured in Britain, but imported from Gaul. The potters' marks should be studied in connection with the ancient coinage of both countries.

IV. In the Cathedral of Autun we have proofs of Roman influence. Its architects imitated the gates which were before their eyes; thus the frequent use of fluted pilasters and the round arches in the triforium

are easily accounted for. Externally, the sculptures in the tympanum are most worthy of attention. Though the figures exhibit many faults of drawing, the composition, as a whole, impresses the beholder by its variety, naïveté and poetic feeling. The subject is the Last Judgment. On the lintel men and women are represented issuing from tombs, on which Merovingian ornaments are sculptured. Above, Our Lord is seated in the centre of a semicircular space; on his right the elect are ascending into the heavenly Jerusalem; on his left, devils are dragging reprobates into eternal fire. The artist's name is known from the inscription, *Gislebertus fecit*.

Internally, the noblest ornament of the Cathedral is a picture of the Martyrdom of St. Symphorian by Ingres. On his way to execution he is exhorted to heroic constancy by his mother standing on the city-wall.

V. According to the best authorities Bibracte was situated not at Autun, but on Mont Beuvray; this Gallie Oppidum included within its ramparts three plateaux, La Terrasse, Le Parc aux Chevaux, and Le Champlain, separated by three valleys, La Goute Dampierre, L'Ecluse, and La Come Chaudron. In ancient times La Terrasse was the most important locality, as it contained the Temple and the Forum. On the other hand, La Come Chaudron is the most interesting to us on account of M. Bulliot's discoveries, which throw much light on the art of working in metal as practised by the Gauls, and more especially on their processes of enamelling. Mr. Lewis expressed a hope that English Antiquaries might be induced to deviate from the beaten path of tourists, and see for themselves the results of the "*fouilles du Mont Beuvray*."

The noble CHAIRMAN, in offering the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Lewis for his most admirable paper, said it was impossible to over rate its interest, and the acuteness and intelligence with which the author had treated the various points he had discussed. With regard to the Greek inscriptions they were not without parallel. The Greeks were excessively tenacious of their language, and wherever they went they wrote them in their own tongue.

Mr. J. G. WALLER said he visited Autun many years ago with Mr. Roach Smith and, in speaking of the high Roman interest of the place, corroborated all that had been so well said by Mr. Lewis.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE.—1. Jade Scarab bearing inscription in honour of Chonsu, made by Rameses XII. of the twentieth dynasty *circa* 1000 B.C. 2. Uza, or sacred eye, inscribed with the name of Queen Raneferoo, consort of Rameses XII. 3. Uza, sacred eye, in original gold setting, bearing a variation of the throne name of Rameses XII. 4. Case containing wooden hawk. Mummy of Peregrine falcon in the form of Osiris, with the head of Aathor on the breast.

By Mr. W. BRAILSFORD.—Photographs and engravings in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. BUNNELL LEWIS.—Coin, photographs, plans, &c., in illustration of his paper.

By the Rev. S. S. LEWIS.—Coins in illustration of Mr. Lewis's paper.

By the LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.—A flint celt $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; another $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches long; a celt in light basalt $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches long; a stone celt of the same length, much worn at the small end; two flint arrow-

heads; a sling-stone $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; and a bronze socketted celt, with one loop, measuring 2 inches in length. All these objects came from Algeria.

By CAPTAIN E. HOARE.—An Egyptian sepulchral statuette of an hereditary lord and landed proprietor. Concerning this figure, Captain Hoare made the following observations:—

“I have the pleasure of exhibiting another interesting and rare Egyptian sepulchral statuette. It represents the deceased as a mummied figure with the usual crossed hands; the basket is shown slung over the left shoulder; in the left hand is the pickaxe at the right shoulder, and in the right hand the hoe at the left. But the great interest in this example is that it gives not only the name of the individual, but also his rank and status in society. The hieroglyphics in one perpendicular line in front reads thus: ‘Ptah nefer. a repa ha,’ that is, ‘Ptah nefer, hereditary lord, land owner, or proprietor.’ It is owing to the co-operation of Dr. Birch that I am enabled to rescue from oblivion by recording in our *Journal*, the name and titles of a magnate and landed proprietor of ancient Egypt similar to the Lords-Lieutenants of our counties, but with no doubt a much greater extension of territory and who lived near three thousand years past, for such is the age attributed to it by Dr. Birch, or from four to five hundred years older than the specimen I exhibited at the last meeting. It is apparent that the hieroglyphics are not so deeply indented as are generally found on other examples; the green glaze of the porcelain is also faded in consequence of its great age, or perhaps from the effects of the soil in which it lay buried; the moulding also of this little statuette, if closely examined will be found to be very finely executed. I regret that I am unable to give any account of its history or discovery. It was purchased for me, with a few others, some years since, at a sale of Egyptian antiquities, at Sotheby’s, and as far as my recollection enables me to say, it came from the cabinet of a French collector, long resident in Egypt.”

Mr. LORTIE ventured to think that the figure was not older than the example exhibited on a previous occasion by Captain Hoare, but he said this with diffidence. There was an art revival in Egypt at the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty when the earlier titles were reverted to. The titles of the figure in question and the whole style and inscriptions were more like the twenty-sixth dynasty; the writing also was peculiarly neat and not in harmony with what one would have expected to find in the earlier period.

By Mr. H. R. H. GOSSELIN.—Examples of fourteenth century tiles from Bengoe church, Herts., here illustrated. It would appear that one of these tiles exhibits anvils and hammers, though this is not allowed by a practical blacksmith.

By the Rev. H. E. TAVERNER.—Tiles of the same period as the above from Martin Hussingtree Church, Co. Worcester.

By Mr. W. RANSOM.—Photographs of Roman urns, presenting no unusual types, found near Hitchin.

Captain HOARE called attention to the Roman wall discovered about two months ago in making a street called Water Lane leading from the northern end of the Ludgate terminus of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway to the Broadway, St. Pauls. Much of the wall had already been taken down and the remainder would shortly be removed.



FOURTEENTH CENTURY TILES

From St Leonard's Church

BENGEO



5



6



7



H. GOSSELIN, DEL.

G. GOSSELIN, SC.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY TILES.

From St. Leonard's Church.

BENGEO

ANNUAL MEETING AT CARLISLE.

August 1st to August 9th, 1882.

Tuesday, August 1st.

The Mayor of Carlisle (R. S. Ferguson, Esq., F.S.A.), and the Members of the Corporation, preceded by the Sergeants-at-Mace, the Sword Bearer, the Mace Bearer, and the Bailiffs, arrived at the Nisi Prius Court, at 2 p.m., and received the noble President of the Institute, the Bishop of Carlisle the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the High Sheriff of Cumberland (G. Routledge, Esq.), and the following members of the Council, and Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections:—Mr. G. T. Clark, Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., Mr. J. Hilton, the Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, Bart., Mr. S. I. Tucker (*Somerset*), Mr. J. Bain, Mr. J. N. Foster, Mr. J. T. Mickelthwaite, the Rev. H. Addington, the Baron de Cosson, the Rev. Precentor Venables, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., the Rev. F. Spurrell; Mr. J. Evans (President of the Antiquarian Section), Sir C. H. J. Anderson, Bart., the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, Dr. Arthur Mitchell, Mr. E. Peacock, the Rev. Prebendary Searth, the Rev. Canon Simpson; Mr. E. A. Freeman (President of the Historical Section), the Rev. Mandell Creighton, the Very Rev. the Dean of Ely, Mr. R. Ferguson, M.P., Mr. J. Heywood, the Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle, Mr. C. J. Ferguson, and the Rev. J. T. Fowler. In the body of the Court were a large number of members of the Institute, Vice-Presidents of the meeting, and numerous ladies.

The Mayor called upon the Town Clerk, Mr. NAXSON, to read the following address:—

“To the Right Honourable the Lord Talbot de Malahide and the Council and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“We, the Mayor, Alderman, and Citizens of the city of Carlisle, assembled hereby, offer a cordial welcome to the Council and Members of the Institute on the occasion of this, the second visit of the Institute to our ancient city.

“Twenty-three years have now elapsed since the former meeting of the Institute, in the year 1859,—a short period in the existence of nations and corporate bodies, but a long one in the life of an individual or a generation.

“Within that period many who took part in and contributed to the success of the former meeting have passed away, but we rejoice to find that the noble President of the Institute still survives and is able to be present with us to-day.

“Since the former meeting in 1859 considerable changes have taken place in this city, mainly in connection with the great extension and development of the railway system, but also in the opening out of new streets and the erection of new buildings. In the progress of these works many interesting antiquarian discoveries have been made, by which additional light has been thrown on the history of the past, and generally an increased interest has been awakened in all matters connected with antiquarian and archaeological research, the results of which, we trust, may appear in an even more successful meeting than that of 1859.

“Amongst other events which have occurred, we may mention that

the ancient records and muniments of this Corporation have recently been placed at the disposal of the Historical Manuscripts Commission for inspection, and have been examined by one of the most experienced of their officials.

"There are many visitors distinguished for their knowledge of Archaeology with whose presence we are to be favoured with at this meeting, and amongst them we rejoice to recognise—both on account of his own literary eminence and of the great nation he represents—the name of His Excellency the Honourable J. Russell Lowell, the Minister in this country of the United States of America.

"The deep and increasing interest now being taken by our American kinsmen in all matters of historical and antiquarian research connected with the Mother Country, and of which the late lamented Colonel Chester was such a conspicuous example, renders the presence of the Minister of the United States peculiarly appropriate; and we cannot doubt that the interest which Americans now take in the history and antiquities of the Old Country must tend to unite the two nations together, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them.

"We also gladly recognise the presence among us of the distinguished historian of the Norman Conquest, and more recently of the Life and Reign of William, the Red King, who was so intimately connected with the early history of this city.

"We trust that the meeting to be inaugurated to-day may leave its mark upon the annals of the city, and also may not be among the least successful of the meetings of the Institute in forwarding the valuable purposes for which the Institute has been founded.

"Given under our Common Seal at the Guildhall of the said city, the first day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1882.

"R. S. FERGUSON, Mayor."

At the request of the Mayor, Mr. W. Nanson read the following letter from Mr. LOWELL, which had been received that morning:—

"Legation of the United States, London.

"Dear Mr. Howard,—I was just going to write to you when your note was brought to me. I had been looking forward to Naworth and Carlisle with great anticipations, but some official duties which I can't devolve on anybody else keep me in London for the present, and perhaps will not allow me to leave London at all, during the summer at least. I am sure my being with you at Naworth would have been enough to make my expedition delightful, but at the same time I beg you to convey my sincere regrets at an absence (which nothing but imperative circumstances could have caused) to whoever may feel any interest in the matter.—Faithfully yours,

"J. R. LOWELL."

The MAYOR remarked:—"My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, it was not my intention to have said anything on this occasion, but I have a little story to tell you, and as it comes *apropos* to our meeting, I cannot omit it. For some years it has been known to those of us who dabble among the muniments of this city that one of the books—and a very valuable book too, known as 'Order Book B,'—had been missing from the records, and no inquiries that we could make gave us any trace of where the missing book was. That missing book has now, within the last hour,

been restored to the Corporation, and its being restored is the result of the general rake-up for curiosities which is made on the occasion of the visits of this society. The book was in the hands of a gentleman who has held, on more than one occasion, the office which I now occupy. It had been given to him some few years ago, and I think he probably never looked into it until he was considering what he could send to the museum. He then found that he had in his possession this book, which is of very great value to the Corporation in more ways than one; and I am happy to say that the series of the muniments of the Corporation of Carlisle is now complete from the date of the great governing charter of Charles the First. The series is now unbroken, and it is pleasing to think that the recovery of this book, which we had long given up all hopes of regaining, should have been brought about by the visit of the Archaeological Institute. My Lord Talbot, I have now the pleasure of handing to you this address, and I will call on the senior member for Carlisle to say a few words in support of it. I will only add that when the Institute visited Carlisle on the former occasion, my relative, Mr Robert Ferguson, filled the office which I now hold."

MR. R. FERGUSON, M.P., said—"My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, having had the pleasure on the previous occasion of assisting to welcome the Institute here, and having then had the honour of being appointed by the Municipality for the purpose of welcoming the Institute in the same office as my cousin now holds, I have particular pleasure in joining in the welcome on this occasion, after an interval of nearly a quarter of a century. During that long period many of those whom we met on that occasion have passed away from this life; but we still have the pleasure of seeing some well remembered faces, and in particular of seeing the noble President of the Institute still able to discharge his duties with all his old dignity and all his old ability. It must be a great satisfaction to the society at their second coming to find that the seed which they have sown has fallen on good ground, and that, among others, they will be welcomed by a young and vigorous society which has been established in this and the next county. A peculiarly pleasant feature of the meeting will be this, that a special welcome has been extended to the archaeologists across the Border; and I think there is something peculiarly appropriate in their meeting here in this old Border city, around which in former times so many and tough battles took place between us. But our Scotch friends, I think, will now, without any trace of bitterness of feeling, examine the horrible dens in Carlisle Castle, where, without light, and almost without air, their countrymen were confined in the cruel days of old; and without any misgiving they will accept the invitation of Mr. Howard to visit the place where, in ancient times, the old Warden of the Border—a stern but not a cruel man—had a tree on which he used to hang any maulauding Scot he could get hold of. My Lord Talbot de Malahide, as one of the representatives of Carlisle, I have very great pleasure in joining in expressing to yourself and the Society of which you are President our most hearty welcome to our ancient city."

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE replied—"Mr. Mayor, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen: On behalf of the Royal Archaeological Institute, I tender you our best thanks for the very friendly address which you have presented to us, and also for the manner in which it has been supported by my old friend Mr. Ferguson, who gave us so hospitable and kind a

reception nearly a quarter of a century ago. In addresses of this kind there is always a certain sameness; but I think that on the present occasion there are some subjects adverted to which take this address out of the general category. It is pleasing to find that our efforts meet with the sympathy, not only of our countrymen—from whom sympathy is due—but of foreign nations, particularly of our transatlantic neighbours. I have the pleasure of knowing many gentlemen of that nation highly distinguished by their attainments and by their attachment to our studies, and certainly it would have been a matter of great congratulation if we could have been supported on this occasion by that very distinguished author as well as diplomatist, Mr. Lowell. There is another American gentleman with whom I have been acquainted for a great many years, and whom I consider one of my oldest friends. He is a very accomplished man, full of literature, and always anxious to investigate any interesting and little-known point of antiquity. I allude to General Meredith Read, who has filled many important posts in diplomacy. He was Consul-General of America in Paris during the war, and he performed the duty of Minister at Athens for a considerable period. He was in hopes of being here, but I am sorry to say I got a letter from him saying that he found it impossible to be with us, but he has sent as his representative his son, whom we shall welcome to our ranks. I suppose I shall have another opportunity of addressing you, I will therefore say no more now, except to state with how much pleasure we receive this compliment at the hands of my friend the Mayor, who so well becomes the magnificent insignia of his office, and in the name of the Institute I beg to offer him our best thanks."

The Rev. CANON SIMPSON, on being called upon by the Mayor, read the following address of welcome from the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society:—

"To the Right Honourable Lord Talbot de Malahide, the President; and to the Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

"We, the members of the Antiquarian and Archaeological Society of Cumberland and Westmoreland, offer a most hearty welcome to the President and members of the Royal Archaeological Institute on this their second visit to Carlisle and its neighbourhood. Upwards of twenty years have elapsed since the Institute last met in this ancient city. The influence of that visit was not without its results as regards the particular studies, pursuits, and researches to which the members of the Institute devote so much of their time and their talents. The papers read and the discussions upon them, the places visited, and the objects of antiquarian interest brought under notice, promoted and greatly encouraged in this district antiquarian researches and archaeological studies; and there is good reason to believe that the former visit of the Institute to this neighbourhood was one of the chief causes of the formation of our own local Society.

"And as we are ready to acknowledge that we are thus greatly indebted to you for our first existence, so we have to thank you heartily for your kind help in lending to us various woodblocks which have been published in your Journal, when such illustrations related to places and objects existing or found within that area embraced by our local Society. It is therefore fitting and proper that we should rejoice to receive and welcome

you into our own especial field of labour; and, while we are quite certain we shall learn much from your presence amongst us, we beg to assure you that each and all of us shall be most willing and most happy to give you the full benefit of our local knowledge of the objects of antiquarian interest to which your attention may be directed, or by which your curiosity may be attracted.

“When bidding the Royal Archaeological Institute welcome to Cumberland the members of the local Society take the opportunity of expressing their most sincere hope and earnest wish that the Institute may continue to be as successful and useful in the future as it has been in the past; that the present meeting may be alike profitable and pleasant; and that the work in which you and they are engaged may be as much promoted and as much encouraged by this meeting and its proceedings as it was by the previous visit of the Institute at Carlisle in 1859.

“JAMES SIMPSON, LL.D., F.S.A.,
“Chairman of the Council.”

CANON SIMPSON then spoke to the following effect:—“My Lord, I have great pleasure in presenting you, as President of this Institute, with an address from the members of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society. There have no doubt being great changes since you last met in Carlisle. Many who at that time gave you a hearty welcome have gone from amongst us. We ourselves miss many well-known faces from our ranks, but they have left pleasant memories behind them. I, in common with many others, recollect the great kindness we received on that occasion. The members of the Archaeological Institute brought with them what makes men always welcome in Cumberland, good hearts and good heads, and they showed themselves always ready to communicate their knowledge. Next to accuracy of observation and faithfulness of description I think no quality adorns the antiquarian student more than a desire to communicate information to those who are engaged in the same pursuit. I trust we are all anxious to give information to each other, and that we shall seek to help each other as far as we can. I trust the same good feeling will exist now as existed on the occasion of the society's last visit to Carlisle between the visitors and the local Antiquarian Society, and that every member will be ready to do what he can to promote the pleasure of, and give information to those who have come amongst us. I will not allude to details as to the work which has been undertaken since the last visit of the society. Many places have been explored and many subjects have been elucidated; but those who have worked heartily in our society know that although much work has been done still much more remains to be done, and many interesting objects to be exhausted, of which we yet know very little; and in elucidating these objects we shall be glad to have the assistance of the members of the Archaeological Institute. We trust that the work of the society this week and next week will be good and proficient; and we trust that pleasure and profit will be the result of our labours.”

In tendering the warm thanks of the Institute, Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE said he well remembered the former meeting at Carlisle, and particularly Dr. Simpson, who distinguished himself greatly on that occasion by some original enquiries.

The HIGH SHERIFF of Cumberland then welcomed the President and members of the Institute. This was supported by Mr. Ferguson, M.P., in the absence of Mr. G. J. Howard, M.P.

With a few introductory remarks the noble President of the Institute introduced the BISHOP OF CARLISLE as President of the Meeting, who then took the chair and delivered his Inaugural Address.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE said what a great pleasure it was to him to return the thanks of the Institute to the President of the Meeting for his very able and eloquent address. It contained a great deal of valuable information, and directed the attention to many points which would be of much service to study in any art and science, and he hoped the author would allow it to be printed in the *Archæological Journal*.¹ Continuing, Lord TALBOT said how much he felt the kind and cordial manner in which his name had been mentioned and received. He well remembered the former visit of the Institute to Carlisle, and he deeply regretted the loss of many old friends since that time, and specially Mr. Howard, of Greystoke. He desired now to say that he felt it was impossible for him to give the time and attendance which for nearly thirty years he had given to the meetings of the Institute, and though he had no objection to die in harness he could not disguise the fact that age was coming upon him, and that not having the bodily powers which formerly upheld him he felt his deficiency, and considered he was not able properly to undertake the duties of president of the Institute. He desired to retire, while he felt conscious that, as far as his powers had allowed it, he had endeavoured to perform his duty.

MR. FREEMAN said that the words which have just fallen from the noble President of the Institute, had taken himself, and he doubted not very many others, by surprise, and he need not say that that surprise took very deeply the shape of regret. If it really should be that this was the last time that Lord Talbot de Malahide was to preside over a meeting of the *Archæological Institute*, or more strictly speaking, come to introduce the president of the meeting, he was sure that this would be a meeting to which every member of the Institute would look back as the last of a series for which they had very deeply to thank Lord Talbot de Malahide. He had stood by us for a great number of years, and had been a much more diligent attender at the meetings than he had been himself. At every meeting he had been at he had come to admire the unwearied zeal and energy with which Lord Talbot had given himself, year after year, to his duties, and which must have come in the end to be rather wearisome. If they had been wearisome to him they had not been wearisome to us. As he had said, we were taken by surprise at this announcement of Lord Talbot, and he hoped it would not be too late to ask him to reconsider his determination, and not yet deprive us of his headship; but if it must be so, he was sure that every one present, and every other member not present, would join him in expressing deep regret that such should be Lord Talbot's determination, and in giving him our most hearty thanks for the way in which he had led us about through so many parts of England, and for so many years past.

THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE heartily seconded the request that had been made by Mr. Freeman that Lord Talbot should reconsider his determination. He would indeed be sorry that such a determination should be

¹ The Address is printed at p. 215

arrived at in Carlisle because it might be thought that something in that ancient city had frightened Lord Talbot out of his usual courage. He sincerely trusted that he would revoke his resolution.

In thanking Mr. Freeman and the Bishop of Carlisle Lord TALBOT said he had chosen the opportunity of intimating his desire when he had as many of his friends around him as possible. It was never his intention to desert the Institute at a pinch, and he should not do so now. He asked the members to look about them because the time might come, perhaps this time next year, that he would not be able to be with them. The inaugural meeting then broke up.

Complete programmes of the proceedings during the week, hour by hour, together with classified lists of the papers to be read at the Sectional Meetings, were given to each ticket holder; and the Mayor—whose many labours on behalf of this meeting of the Institute cannot be too highly estimated—placed the members and the visitors still further in his debt by the compilation specially for the meeting, and at a time of many civic and other duties, of an illustrated hand-book to the principal places to be visited during the week.

At 4.15 the members met in the Market-place where, from the steps of “Carel Cross,” the MAYOR spoke of the adjoining Town Hall or Guildhall, as it is anciently and more properly called, and of “Redness Hall,” an Edwardian building held of the Corporation by “cullery tenure,” which has now usurped the name of Guildhall. In this picturesque building each of the eight ancient craft guilds of the city, merchants, butchers, shoemakers, tanners, skimmers and glovers, smiths, weavers, and tailors, has a room, from the windows of which, on this occasion, the banners belonging to each were displayed.

From the Market-place the large party went to the Castle, where the MAYOR proceeded to explain the situation of this ancient fortress, which occupies a strong position on a bluff or headland of red sandstone, rising to a height of some 60 feet above the level of the river Eden. He pointed out how the *murus* and the *vallum* of Hadrian's great barrier here separated widely from one another, in order to include between them this strategic position; and he drew attention to the almost obliterated remains of the *vallum* between the castle and the city. He also showed how the castle had been connected with the walls of the city. He indicated where, at one time, outside the castle walls, a noble row of ash trees had flourished, adorning a walk once known as the Ladies Walk in the Castle Orchard, near a part which had acquired some fame as Queen Mary's Tower, but which, he observed, an economical Government went to the trouble of sweeping away without even going to the expense of making a plan. They had also cut down the ash trees, which were some of the finest in the county.

Mr. CLARK now took the party in hand and, after felicitating the Institute on being received by a Mayor of wide archæological attainments, proposed that they should make the most of the gleam of sunshine now appearing, happily remarking that it was no mere fiction of the old border ballad, that

“The sun shines fair on Carlisle wall.”

Standing on the modern bridge over the moat in front of the gatehouse called William de Ireby's tower, Mr. Clark proceeded to say that the barbican of Carlisle castle possessed this peculiarity, that, instead of

being in the middle of the entrance, as at York, Lewes, and other places, it was at the side of the gatehouse; as they went in they would see the corbels which originally carried the roof of the barbican, and also a little door on one side—a sort of sallyport, from which the wall could be raked and the defenders rush out to get rid of any miners who might be attempting to undermine the wall. The barbican was of the Decorated date, and had been added to the rest; what was the date of the gatehouse itself was rather a disputed question. The castle had been built at different times, both Rufus and Henry I having had a good deal to do with it, and it was a nice thing to point out which was the work of Rufus and which of Henry. Proceeding into the outer ward or parade ground, Mr. Ferguson said that this ward was formerly much more picturesque than it was now, being laid in grass, with a moat covering the entrance to the inner bailey. It was called “The Castle Green,” the field outside the walls, which was now sometimes called the Green, being properly the orchard, which was once famous for its roses and apples. Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Clark having described the features of the ward, the party went into the inner ward, where the remains of the fine Edwardian palace, and the position of the apartments where Mary Queen of Scots was confined, were pointed out. Mr. Clark said they had before them a very good but not very large specimen of the rectangular type of Norman keep, which, though common, was not so common as the shell keep. The date of these keeps was often in doubt, but this one, as they knew from the records, was the work either of Rufus or Henry I. Pointing to the entrance, he said there was a recess inside where, there was reason to suppose, the original entrance existed. The well was in the centre of the wall, and inside the well shaft goes up to supply the upper storeys. Generally the wells in these Norman keeps were in the wall, and he saw no reason for supposing that it was a Roman well, as some surmised. When they went inside the keep they would find it had been vaulted in the Decorated period, probably to enable it to carry cannon, and it was a proof of the thickness of the wall that it had been able to resist the thrust of the arches. It was very desirable that the brick vaulting should now be taken out. The broad flat buttresses here were almost always a mark of the Norman keep. The company now divided itself into three—part exploring the dungeons, part the upper rooms of the keep, and some making the tour of the ramparts. For the advantage of the latter Mr. Ferguson, standing at the corner overlooking the Soretries, pointed out the Roman camp at Stanwix, and the line of the *marus* and *callum*, and of the *Stancgate*, or Roman road. He also showed the sites of the batteries, on the occasions of the sieges of Carlisle by Prince Charlie and the Highlanders in 1745, and by the Duke of Cumberland. The dungeons at the base of the keep, lit up with an occasional lamp presented a dismal appearance. On the Bishop of Carlisle asking how many prisoners would be thrust into one of these dens, Mr. Clark answered, laconically, “Any number,” adding that the dungeon had been constructed since the keep itself. “In early times,” he said, significantly, “they had a shorter way of disposing of prisoners; but when they got a man for whom a ransom might be obtained, they would want a place to keep him safely.” On leaving the castle, the party went by way of the old city walls, which Mr. Ferguson explained, do not rest on the soil, but on some four feet of

the rubbish of the old Roman city. On the west walls they were taken to see the old Tithe Barn of the canons of Carlisle. Mr. Ferguson said that the neighbouring sallyport was reputed to have been used in war, and so it might have been in some measure, but he imagined that its principal use was to bring in the produce from the ecclesiastical lands, which lay on that side of Carlisle. The company then went down the sallyport into Backhouses Walk, on the east side of which is a large vault entered through the ancient walls. Mr. Ferguson believed that this vault was the cesspool of the Blackfriars of Carlisle, and in this he was supported by Mr. Micklethwaite. This concluded the perambulation.

At eight p.m. a *Conversazione* was given by the Worshipful the Mayor of Carlisle in the Assembly Rooms at the County Hotel; more than 500 persons accepted the Mayor's invitation.

The Museum was thrown open in the Upper Assembly Room, and in the lower room, at 8.20, Mr. FREEMAN delivered his Opening Address of the Historical Section, "The Place of Carlisle in English History," a truly masterly discourse which was listened to by a brilliant and appreciative audience.

In moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Freeman, the BISHOP of CARLISLE expressed a hope that they would have an opportunity of studying the address in print, for it was difficult to realize at one hearing the wide and accurate knowledge, and the wealth of illustration which it evinced. Yet there was one point they certainly could not forget—that they owed the foundation of the city of Carlisle to William Rufus. He did not intend to be ashamed of the parentage. If William Rufus was their father they were willing to accept him; and considering what had been said about him that night he thought they had not turned out badly.

The MAYOR of CARLISLE, in seconding the motion, said that as editor of the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archaeological Society, he had listened to the paper with the greatest pleasure, because for the last ten years he had had the utmost difficulty in keeping William the Conqueror out of the book. He hoped that after this evening he should be no longer troubled with him.¹

Mr. FREEMAN returned thanks, and the company then adjourned to the upper hall for tea, coffee, and ices, and to inspect the Museum.

Later in the evening, Dr. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE gave a discourse on "The Music of the Borders," charmingly illustrated by glee singing and the quaint music of the Northumbrian pipes.

Wednesday, August 2nd.

At 10 a.m., a party of upwards of 230 went by special train to Lazonby. Carriages were in readiness, and the members proceeded at once to Kirkoswald Church.

Mr. FERGUSON took the party in hand. It appears from his remarks that a church is supposed to have stood here in Saxon times, that the first Norman church was built in 1130, and that at successive periods it was enlarged by the addition of nave aisles, and by the lengthening of the chancel. About 1240, chancel aisles were added, the nave aisles rebuilt, and the church lengthened one bay. Thus the church became a gabled building, having its predecessor buried within it. About 1523, the church was made collegiate, the narrow Norman chancel and its side aisles taken

¹ The address is printed at p. 317.

down, and a wider chancel without aisles, and a clerestory to the nave set up; thus bringing the whole substantially to its present aspect. All these changes were evidenced by the existing remains of the different periods. The belfry stands in a peculiar position, on a hill about 300 yards to the north-east of the church. Immediately at the west-end of the church is a well, fed by a spring issuing from under the church.

Kirkoswald Castle was next visited. Concerning this once splendid type of a border stronghold, of which now only shattered towers and fragments of walls remain, it may be well to mention the following facts gathered from Dr. Taylor's printed account,¹ and the remarks made by himself and Mr. Clark on this occasion. The castle of Kirkoswald is said to have been first founded by Randolph Engayne. By the marriage of his granddaughter, Ada, it passed to Simon Morville; and Hugh de Morville, in the second of John, obtained licence to fortify the castle and enclose the park. From the Morvilles it descended to the Multons, by whom, in the time of Edward II., it was further enlarged and fortified. In 1313, the castle and manor of Kirkoswald, the barony of Gilsland and other vast estates passed, by the marriage of Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas de Multon, to Ralph Dacre of Dacre in Cumberland. It was during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while held by the powerful family of Dacre, that the castle rose to its full magnificence; and about 1500 it received its last improvements from the famous Thomas, Lord Dacre "who encompassed it with a large ditch for better security, and beautified it at a great expense."

On the division of the large possessions of the Dacres between the Dacres of the north and the Dacres of the south, Kirkoswald fell to the latter branch, which shortly terminated in the Fiennes's and Lennards, the last of whom, marrying a natural daughter of Charles II., was created Earl of Sussex, and died in 1715, leaving two daughters. The property was then sold and brought by the Musgraves, who now hold it.

Of the towers now remaining two are square, with good vaulted substructures; the third is a mural tower, set diagonally, and containing a winding staircase giving access to three stories and to garderobes contained within it at each floor level. Doubtless all these towers are of the time of Edward II.

A long drive brought the antiquaries to "Long Meg and her Daughters." The picturesque and wild position of this famous monument—fourth among its fellows in England, and happily protected, even at the present day, by the force of a singular superstition—was rendered still more weird and impressive on this occasion by the boisterous condition of the weather. Misty clouds were drifting to and fro, at times half obscuring his subject, as Professor STEPHENS, of Copenhagen, his back against "Long Meg," spoke, with characteristic energy, upon this monument of the mysterious past, and specially on the "cup markings" upon it. Such markings, he said, were found not only in Britain but in many other countries, and especially in Scandinavia, and he would refer his hearers to the very learned work on the subject by the late Sir J. Simpson. He added that the discoveries which had been made of late in various countries had led to a conclusion, against which, so far as he knew, there was no objection, and which appeared to be entirely trust-

¹ *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, vol. ii., p. 1.

worthy, namely, that these markings were wholly symbols, religious symbols, pointing back to the worship of a God or the Sun. It was, therefore, interesting to see that so far back as our annals could go we found the people bowing down before God Almighty. He remarked in conclusion that these markings go back to the earliest ages—they went back to what we commonly call the Stone Age, the oldest age to which we can go, and extended through the Stone Age, through the Bronze Age, and through the Iron Age. Whatever these tokens might signify they were exceedingly old, and went back to the cradle of the settlement in all the Aryan lands.

On being called upon to speak, Mr. EVANS said it was certain that the presence of this stone circle, where they were assembled, was dependent to a great extent upon there being large stones in the district. In this way we had the great temple of Stonehenge built in the main of great blocks of stone found on the spot. Certainly at Stonehenge a number of stones had been brought from a distance, but the bulk had been found *in situ*. There had been many disputes about these circles, and the subject had given rise to a vast amount of discussion. They had been regarded as burial places, as temples, and as places for holding moots, but he would not detain them by giving any opinion on the subject.

Dr. BRUCE said that these markings were of frequent occurrence in burial places in Northumberland, and were usually found in the presence of a native British camp. He was of opinion that the markings had the same signification as the fir cone ornaments of the Etruscans and the Romans, and he could not help thinking that their design was the principle of vitality—that they pointed to the belief in a resurrection and a rising again. They were seen in India at the present day.

Mr. FERGUSON said that within a short distance of where the party stood—some three or four fields off—a smaller circle of about 11 stones had been found, and in the centre of these there had been discovered a cist, in which was a cinerary urn, full of burnt bones. On the stones forming the cist there were markings precisely similar to those on Long Meg, but much more plain. With reference to the superstition concerning the stones he said that a legend was current that a previous farmer commenced at one time to blast the stones, and brought about that night the most terrible storm that had ever been known in Cumberland. The proprietor, Mr. Sowerby, was, therefore, very jealous of the stones, and any one chipping them or injuring them would probably get into serious trouble.

It may be mentioned that Camden, who made a survey of Cumberland in 1599, mentions two cairns within the great circle of stones; these have disappeared long since.

Brougham Castle was the next point reached, and the party having assembled in the outer ward, Mr. CLARK said that this very curious pile stands on the right bank of the Eamont just at the point where it is joined by the Lowther, so that the combined streams cover the fortress on the north, as do the two waters and the marshy ground between them on the west front. The castle, he said, derived great interest from the fact that it was close to the large rectangular camp which marks the site of the Roman "Brovacum." One of the most curious parts about the castle, he observed, was the gateway, which was composed of two parts—one abutting on the north-east, and the other on the north-west angle of the keep, each with its own defences and gates, the buildings on

the north communicating with both. Above the gate is the inscription "This made Roger." Mr. Clark, however, principally directed the attention of the visitors to the keep, which he said, in its present state, was of unusual height, but the uppermost floor had apparently been added at a more recent period than the base. The walls were eleven feet thick at the base, and at least ten feet at the rampart level. In the angles near the top he pointed out several cruciform loops, much resembling those at Kenilworth, and a mural oratory. On entering the keep the attention of the visitors was directed to the traces of an arcade with slender piers and trefoiled arches, of a character not usually found in a Norman keep. Altogether, he said, the keep was very curious, and would well repay a careful examination. On being asked several questions as to the existence of dungeons, Mr. Clark observed that it must be said, to the credit of the Norman barons, that they were not in the habit of making subterranean dungeons. He supposed a man shut up in a dungeon above ground had not so much reason to complain.¹

In his printed account of Brougham castle Mr. Clark says that it is evident that the original fortress was a late Norman keep, which must have been placed within an *enceinte* pretty closely corresponding to that now seen, and which skirts the edge of the ditch. Of this supposed original *enceinte* wall, as well as of the domestic buildings and gatehouse, which must have been present in some form or other within it, there remain no very certain traces. The keep, probably, and the ditches, were the work of Robert de Vipont, very early in the thirteenth century. In the Decorated period the castle underwent great alterations. The keep was raised a story and an oratory included in the new work. The basement was vaulted, the first floor arcaded, and the forebuilding altered as to admit of an entrance on that floor. All the rest of the castle, gatehouses, domestic buildings, and the whole of the *enceinte* would belong to one general period, and are probably the work of Roger de Clifford, the first of his race who held this property, and the husband of Isabel de Vipont, its heiress, in the reign of Edward I.

From hence the journey was continued to Brougham Hall. By the kindness of Lord Brougham and Vaux an opportunity was given of seeing the armour and antiquities in the hall as well as the chapel, which contains much ancient woodwork brought from abroad. But time pressed and most of the party went direct to Eamont Bridge, where luncheon was arranged in the Tennis Court, hard by the Crown Hotel. After luncheon, "King Arthur's Round Table" in the immediate vicinity was visited. This curious earthwork is thus described by Canon Greenwell and Dr. Rolleston in "British Barrows," p. 301: "It consists of a circular mound about 300 feet in diameter, within which is a broad platform, and beyond it a ditch enclosing a flat space 175 feet in diameter. It is now partly destroyed by a road, which cuts off a portion of it, but was complete a hundred years ago, when it had two entrances opposite each other. Three similar constructions (one perfect, the others more or less destroyed), almost identical in shape with Arthur's Round Table, still exist at Thornborough, near Tanfield, in the North Riding of Yorkshire; and two more are to be seen on Hutton Moor, near Ripon, not many

¹ An account of Brougham Castle by Mr. Clark, with a plan, is in the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmore-

land Antiquarian and Archæological Society, vol. vi., p. 15; also in the *Builder*, July 17th, 1877.

miles from those at Thornborough. Canon SIMPSON said it had been suggested that the place was a "hoam gang," that was to say a place for duels and similar exercises. He did not think it was large enough for horse duels, but it was large enough for a duel between two men. If they noticed the position of the ground outside the ditch they would see that the place could not have been meant for defence. It had been dug through not long since, but nothing was found in the shape of human remains, and nothing had been discovered to show that it had been a place of burial. Of course on such "hoam gangs" duels might be fought, not necessarily to the death; it would be mainly used for military exercises and contentions between one and another. It was certainly too small for military tournaments and exhibitions.

A walk of half a mile brought the party to Mayborough. This is a circular piece of ground about 100 yards in diameter, surrounded on all sides, except at the entrance on the east by a vallum from 15 to 20 feet high, formed of water pebbles from the Eden. In the centre is a monolith 12 feet high. There were once two others at the entrance. On reaching the monolith Canon SIMPSON said that originally there were three stones where the single one now stood, besides two others at the entrance to the circle. The person who occupied the place about 100 years ago came to the conclusion to destroy the stones, and he employed two men upon the work of destruction, both of whom it appeared came subsequently to an untimely end! With respect to the use of the place he really did not know what to say. There had been so many theories or opinions expressed by various authors that one hardly dared to venture to take up any of them. It would be very easy to say that it was a place of worship where their ancestors met to offer their services to the Gods, or to one God, as the case might be, before they went down to the "Round Table" to hold an assembly to determine their laws, but he did not quite hold that. He was not at all ashamed to think that it had been simply a burial place, though no bones had been found. As regarded the name he thought speculation would find a wide field, but he should not be surprised if it ended in the conclusion that the name meant a large building, or a large burgh or burg. They knew heaps of ruins called burgs, and the name Mayburgh, or Mayborough, might have been a corruption for a large one, a large building or temple which existed here.

Mr. EVANS said he was glad to hear that the monolith or single stone was only one of a group of three which originally stood in this place. It seemed probable if that were the case this was one of these dolmens or stone structures, standing out from the ground with a large stone capping it. It was a universal rule that such erections had been of a sepulchral character. In some cases, as in Denmark, they found that an earthen mound for a burial place was constructed of a circle of stones of moderate size, which served to keep the mound in position when it was made. Here they had it as a large annular cairn constructed of pebbles. The cause of that was that it was found as easy to collect the pebbles as to dig the soil for the purpose. It was not improbable that there were other buildings, and it was likely that there were other cairns that had been erected subsequent to the setting up of the central mound or dolmen and the circle which accompanied it.

It may be mentioned that a portion of a broken unfinished celt had been found in the entrance to Mayborough. This solitary evidence has

been thought to lead towards the inference that this circular enclosure protected a settlement of Neolithic men.

Yanworth Hall was the next point. This very complete and picturesque example of a Border Hall-house, or Peel-house, consists of a tower, or pele, of the early part of the fourteenth century, a hall of later date, and other domestic buildings, including a postern, porter's lodge, and guard chambers.

Dr. TAYLOR gave a detailed and interesting discourse upon the hall, describing and pointing out its various features. It appears that the manor was in the hands of the Threlkelds from the time of Edward I. to that of Henry VIII., and the continuous habitation of this fortified house during that long period sufficiently accounted for the many successive architectural changes and additions which it displays. From the Threlkelds it passed by marriage to the Dudleys, and subsequently by sale in 1654 to Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, in the possession of whose descendants it now remains.

Time did not allow of visiting Lowther and the carriages accordingly proceeded to Penrith. After a hasty glance at the sad remains of the castle—formerly a quadrangle with a tower at each angle—built by Neville, Earl of Westmoreland in the time of Richard II., and “slighted” in the civil wars, a special train conveyed the party to Carlisle.

The Antiquarian Section opened at 8.30 p.m. in the Lower Assembly Room at the County Hotel. Mr. JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., occupied the chair as President, and gave his Opening Address to a large audience.

Since the last meeting of the Institute in Carlisle, in 1859, there had (he said) been a great and most important change regarding our views of archæology in general. There could be no doubt whatever that at the present time archæology was regarded more as being of the nature of a science, and that the advances which had been made in other branches of science had told, either directly or indirectly, on the advancement of archæology. The great naturalist, Mr. Darwin, whose loss they all deplored, had pointed out new methods in the realm of science, and more especially in the realm of natural science; and they, who followed another branch of science, that of archæology, would do well to imitate, not only his methods, but his caution. They would find, and had found—and no one had illustrated the matter better than Colonel Lane Fox, now General Pitt Rivers—that there was to be traced in all objects of human use a certain amount of evolution. They might trace back the most complicated to the most primitive and simple implements; and they must all feel that whatever they found and whatever they had was in some sense the direct descendant of something that had gone before. It was more-over in that year, 1859, that the discoveries of flint implements in the Valley of the Somme, at Abbeville and Amiens, were first brought under the notice of the British public; and it was difficult to describe the effect which those discoveries had had on the archæology of this country. In a similar manner, only a short time previously, important discoveries were made in the lake dwellings in Switzerland: and it was from the burnt remains of those pile villages and the relics preserved beneath the waters of the lakes that we could form the best idea we could possibly have of the manners and mode of life of the men of a time when, in the first place, only stone was known, and more recently, when bronze had come into use,

and lastly, when iron was just being employed. Another great archaeological discovery was that of the important cemetery of Hallstatt, where upwards of a thousand graves were examined between 1847 and 1864. There, also, one of the most interesting chapters in human history was fully illustrated, for we not only found graves containing swords and other arms made of bronze, but we had the transitional forms in which the use of bronze passed over into that of iron, thus affording a remarkable confirmation of the succession of the one age to the other; in fact, the earliest iron weapons were not made in the fashion in which it was most convenient to forge them in iron, but were servile imitations of the instruments cast in bronze. After speaking of the services rendered to archaeology by Canon Greenwell, Dr. Bruce, and other northern antiquaries, Mr. Evans proceeded to direct attention to some of the antiquities of this part of Britain. Up to the present no implements of the Palæolithic period had been found so far north in England; and the views of Professor Boyd Dawkins, that their absence was due to the presence of glaciers, might probably be considered as well founded. We knew that in the south of England those instruments were deposited in beds which were formed after the last great submergence of this country, and the deposition of those glacial beds which were known as the boulder clay, and it was impossible to say in how short a time after that period the land became again susceptible of maintaining animal life, and the first man made his appearance in Britain, he was going to say, "on this side of the channel;" but there was good reason for believing that at that period this country was still united to the continent and that what we now know as the channel did not exist. No doubt the scarcity of flint in the north had a great deal to do with the absence of implements made of that material. Where flint was scarce, such implements would be of greater value, and consequently, when they had been well used, and were getting inefficient for their purpose, they would be re-touched and worn out to the hilt rather than be thrown away. It was, however, possible that there might be gravels along the valley of the Eden in which drift implements might eventually be found, for in countries where flint was scarce, implements of a very rude form, and made of some hard siliceous rocks, had been in use. But if any were to be found in the valley of the Eden, it would probably not be in the gravel at the bottom of the valley, but in that some 60 or even 100 feet above the existing river. He believed there was gravel in the neighbourhood of Birdoswald and Irthington where they might hope that future investigation would lead to the discovery of some implements of this kind. But flint was not entirely absent in the district; occasionally it had been found in barrows. Canon Greenwell, for instance, had found some well-shaped flint knives at Castlecarrock, but they might have belonged to the Bronze Age, for it must never be forgotten that the use of stone survived in the age of that useful metal, bronze. In the museum upstairs was a remarkably fine dagger or spear head found at Windermere. It resembled those found in the south of England and in some of the Yorkshire barrows; and whether it was brought from the south into this part, or whether it was made of native flint, was a very interesting question. When he spoke of native flint, he did not mean that they had any flint in position in this neighbourhood, but there might have been chalk flints in the drifts transported from a distance. At Gretna Green arrow-heads had been found, and others in various parts of Dumfriesshire. But the

implements of most common occurrence here were those large celts or hatchets, the greater part of them made of felstone, and some of them of a shape which was almost peculiar to Cumberland. It was a remarkable fact, as mentioned by Mr. Ferguson, that of the three known examples of celts which had been found attached to their original handles, two were from this district, one from Solway Moss, and the others from Ehenside Tarn, as described by Mr. R. D. Darbishire in the *Archæologia*. It was somewhat remarkable that stones for sharpening celts had also been found here; one, near Lazonby, had something like seventy grooves in it. The perforated hammers and heavy axes were very common here. In old times they were regarded as being thunderbolts, and it was an interesting fact that in 1766, a Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Lyttleton, communicated a paper to the Society of Antiquaries, in which, speaking of celts found at Spurnstone, and in Westmoreland, he repudiated the thunderbolt theory, and stated that he had not the least doubt they were stone implements fabricated by a barbarous people in early times before the use of iron or other metals was known. They would thus see that their episcopal chair, then as now, was occupied by one of the most enlightened antiquaries of the day. Speaking of the Bronze Age, Mr. Evans mentioned relics found at Wigton, Longtown, Irthington, Bewcastle, and Naworth. Of megalithic monuments, Long Meg and her Daughters was one of the most remarkable in this country, and there were others in the district. It was doubtful how late the use of bronze survived in the north. No doubt it lasted longer here than in the south, inasmuch as the knowledge of working iron would probably be derived from the Gauls on the continent, and would spread but slowly northwards. Of the late-Celtic period—dating say, from four centuries B.C. to shortly after Cæsar's invasion—some few relics had been found; and one remarkably fine specimen, a torque or necklace, evidently belonging to a period later than that of bronze, though not, strictly speaking, to the Roman period, was in the museum upstairs. A remarkable sword had been found at Embleton; it was in a sheath ornamented with enamel of various colours. Its date was probably not far from that of the Roman invasion of this country, and the enamelling corroborated what the Roman historians told us of the skill of the Britons in that art. No coins of the ancient Britons had been found here, though one inscribed *BODVOC* had been dug up near Dumfries. As they knew, Roman remains of all kinds had been found in profusion, but he need not enlarge upon them in the presence of Dr. Bruce. The mixture of races and peoples—Batavians, Gauls, Dalmatians, Moors and Spaniards, who garrisoned the Roman Wall, was well illustrated by the inscriptions still preserved. These also bore testimony to the prevalence of various religions. Only lately they had a Punic inscription found at South Shields, and another inscription had been found describing the influence of a Syrian goddess. Coming to speak of more modern times, Mr. Evans said it was interesting to know that coins of Edward the Elder and Athelstan had been found in Carlisle. It was, however, curious that there were no Saxon coins bearing the name of the town as their place of mintage; neither were there any coins of Rufus. It was stated that a coin of Henry I. and one of Stephen had been struck here, but that was doubtful. Henry, Earl of Northumberland, appeared to have had power to coin in his own right about 1150; but the principal coins of Carlisle that came down to us were those of Henry II., Richard I., and John, all

of whom minted here. In the year 1208, King John summoned all his "moneys" to London, and among them was a moneyer from Carlisle. It was in part from the evidence afforded by this mint that the history of the short-cross coinage had been determined, and it had been proved that Richard and John continued to strike coins with the name of their father, Henry. Much of the credit of this discovery was due to a northern antiquary, Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe. After Henry III., Carlisle ceased to be one of the mints of the north; but there was a mint at Durham and another at Newcastle, where a good deal of money was struck. During the siege of Carlisle, however, three-shilling pieces and one-shilling pieces were struck. The sixteenth century tokens which were issued in other parts of the country were scarce in the north, but some of Cockermonth existed.

In conclusion, Mr. Evans said a few words on monuments such as were generally in churches, and regretted that the restorers of our churches should so much neglect them. There seemed a disposition to preserve the more ancient monuments, but to leave to their fate those relating to any subsequent period. He was compelled to ask why the history of the last two or three centuries should suffer at the hands of our church restorers at the present day. He was not aware that our predecessors had done anything to offend, unless possibly in being Protestant. He looked to the architects, and to those who were interested in the churches, to preserve for the future all funereal inscriptions and monuments, of whatever date, without which it would, in future ages, be impossible properly to reconstitute the history of the past.

On the motion of LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Evans.

The noble President of the Institute then read a paper on "The Antiquities of Algeria," which is printed at page 227.

A vote of thanks having been passed to Lord Talbot, the BISHOP of CARLISLE announced, that in consequence of domestic sorrow and the exigencies of his duties at Westminster, Mr. Beresford Hope regretted greatly that he would be unable to take his place at the meeting as President of the Architectural Section; the meeting then came to an end.

Thursday, August 3rd.

At 10 a.m., the General Annual Meeting of the members of the Institute was held in the lower Assembly Room, the LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE in the chair.

MR. HARTSHORNE read the Balance Sheet for the past year (printed at p. 307). He then read the following:—

"REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1881-2.

"In bringing before the Members of the Institute the thirty-ninth Report, the Council desires to refer to the meeting of the Institute in Bedfordshire. That meeting, though comparatively a small one, was of a most cordial character. A country entirely new to the members of the Institute was traversed, and buildings of the highest archæological importance, notably the churches of Stukeley, Wing, Eaton Bray, St. Alban's, Felmersham and Elstow, were successively visited; but it may not be denied that the interest excited by the present condition of some

of these and many other buildings in the district was strongly tempered by sentiments of deep regret. In no case could it be truly said that the restorer had done his best—in many instances, he had certainly done his worst. A whole chapter had been lately wiped out of the history of St. Alban's; the legible story of Elstow had become a confused delusion; Dunstable was denuded, and the stones of Eddesborough and Felmersham cried out.

"But the Council thankfully recognises that a better spirit is at hand. It welcomes the formation of special societies for the intelligent protection of the country's heirlooms, its architectural and monumental history—societies which, alas! were not brought into being forty years ago; and it believes that the energies and influence of the Institute cannot be better spent than in encouraging societies which have for their object the proper continuance, and not the re-writing, of this important part of the country's history.

"The Council feels that it is encouraging to antiquaries that the question of the Bill for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, after the unfavourable reception which it has received for a number of Sessions, has now received the attention of the Government.

"With regard to the advisability of the proposed transference of all Parish Registers to a Central Office there is difference of opinion, for although, on the one hand, the documents if so removed might run less risk of injury, and be more convenient for the purposes of some students, on the other hand the documents themselves would lose by being taken from their native places; and, further, the existence of the Parish Register on its own ground has much to do with the formation of a class of local antiquaries to whom this Institute has ever been much indebted, and whose interests should not be overlooked.

"The Council would refer with satisfaction to the successful issue of the arrangements that have been made for new rooms for the Institute in Oxford Mansion, which they believe the members will find in every way suitable for the requirements of the Institute, its valuable library, and the monthly meetings. The Council has also to thank the authors for their valuable contributions, by which the high character of the *Journal* continues to be sustained.

"With much sorrow the Council records the death, soon after the last Annual Meeting and at which he was present, of the Rev. C. W. Bingham. Endowed with a most genial and sunny disposition, he was endeared to a large circle of friends, who will long cherish the memory of an English gentleman of the best kind, a worthy scion of the ancient family established since 1250 at Bingham's Melcombe.

"Mr. Anthony Salvin, of the Salvins of Croxdale, has left many a mark of his taste and genius, for who so well as he grasped the feeling of the castle builders of the Edwardian period! His long and active professional life began in 1826 and was only ended by his death, truly in harness, at the age of 82.

"Mr. H. MacLauchlan has passed away at the age of 90. The surveys of the Watling Street and the Roman Wall are alike the evidences of his diligence, patience, and skill, and of the munificence of a princely patron of the Institute.

"Mr. A. W. Morant has departed in the prime of life. That he worked well in Norfolk is sufficiently testified by his papers in the

transactions of the Norfolk Archæological Society. His power for work was remarkable, for in the active position of engineer to the borough of Leeds he found time to complete 'Papworth's Armorial,' to edit a new and enlarged edition of 'Whittaker's Craven,' and to bring out a considerable number of papers in the Journals of the numerous antiquarian societies of which he was a member.

"Sir W. H. Drake, a vice-president and long a valued member of the Council; the Earl of Gainsborough; Mr. H. Henfry; Mr. J. Peckover; the Rev. Canon Pearson; the Rev. W. Thornton; and last, not least esteemed, Mr. Henry Hill, have gone from among us since the last Annual Meeting.

"The Members of the Council to retire by rotation are as follows:—Vice-President, Colonel Pinney, and the following Members of the Council: Mr. J. Hilton, Lord Henry Scott, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, the Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum, and Mr. S. I. Tucker (*Somerset*.)

"The Council would recommend the appointment of Mr. M. H. Bloxam as Vice-President in the place of Colonel Pinney, and the re-election of the latter, Mr. J. Hilton, the Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, and Mr. S. I. Tucker on the Council.

"It would further recommend the election of Mr. J. H. Middleton and the Rev. W. Henley Jervis (the retiring auditor) to the vacant seats on the Council.

"It would also recommend the election of Mr. H. R. H. Gosselin as Auditor in the room of Mr. Jervis."

In moving the adoption of the Report, the noble CHAIRMAN alluded with much feeling to the losses which the Institute has sustained since the last meeting. With regard to the Bill for the Protection of Ancient Monuments it was satisfactory as far as it went, but it did not, as he had stated in the House of Lords, go far enough, still we might be thankful for small mercies; it was at least a step in the right direction. As to the question of Parish Registers it was a difficult one. In Ireland a measure had been introduced whereby the original registers were removed to a central office and copies retained by the parish; he thought the reverse of this plan should be adopted. During the visit of the Institute to Northampton in 1878 a gentleman had shown him a leaf out of a register which had been given him by an incumbent; certainly the sooner that sort of thing was stopped the better. The adoption of the Report was seconded by the Rev. F. SPURRELL, and carried unanimously.

Mr. EVANS proposed that in future all life compositions should be funded. This was seconded by Mr. HILTON, and carried.

Mr. BAYLIS made some general observations upon the financial condition of the Institute, and Mr. GOSTENHOFFER proposed, and Mr. BAYLIS seconded a motion that in future the Balance Sheet should be issued in a fly-sheet before the Annual Meeting. This was carried, and the Balance Sheet was passed.

Mr. HARTSHORNE then read some correspondence he had had respecting a meeting of the Institute at Salisbury in 1883. A cordial offer of support had been received from the Mayor and Corporation of that city, and letters from the Rev. A. C. Smith and Mr. J. Nightingale were laid before the meeting. The noble Chairman, Sir Charles Anderson, Sir Talbot Baker, Precentor Venables and others took part in a general discussion

on this subject. Finally, on the motion of Precentor VENABLES, seconded by Mr. BAIN, the matter was referred to the consideration of the Council in London.

The following new member was then elected: R. W. Taylor, Esq., proposed by Mr. Spurrell, seconded by Mr. Evans.

A hearty vote of thanks to the noble Chairman, proposed by Mr. Baylis and seconded by Mr. Foster, concluded the meeting.

At 11 a.m. the members were received by the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle in the restored Fraternity. On taking the chair, and opening the Architectural Section, in the absence of Mr. Beresford Hope, the DEAN expressed a welcome to the members and their friends within the walls, and on that spot which represented through all changes, and through so many centuries, the two main ideas of Christian civilisation—the idea of Christian worship and thought and study as represented by the Church itself on the one hand, and the idea of what he would presume to call Christian communism or Christian socialism on the other, as represented by this noble community room, and the other adjacent buildings of the ecclesiastical body. In reference to the buildings themselves the Dean said that the Chapter had preferred to occupy the position of hearers and place themselves at the disposal of those who had made these buildings their special study; but if time permitted one of their number would offer a few remarks upon the restoration of the Fraternity at the hands of the late Mr. G. E. Street, whose lamented removal rested to-day upon the hearts of a great many of those present as it did upon his own. After alluding to the absence of Mr. Hope, the Dean expressed his regret that the state of the work at the Deanery had hitherto prevented him from throwing it open, but he hoped that by Sunday the work would be so far forward that he would be able to show small parties over the house in the afternoon. The Dean concluded by asking Mr. Freeman to make some observations upon the Cathedral.

Mr. FREEMAN at once led the way to the cloister garth where, after remarking that this was not his section—that he belonged to the following of William the Red and not to the following of Bishop Æthelwulf, he dealt with the Castle rather than the Cathedral—spoke to the following effect: That suppose a wise man, learned in the history of buildings and in history generally, but knowing nothing of this particular place, were suddenly to drop from the clouds on this spot, how much would he be able to find out for himself without any man or book to guide him? Such a man, thus set down, would be able to find out a good deal about the history of the place in a very short space of time. He might not know the name of the place, or the name of the founders and builders; but he would be able to know what country he was in, what kind of place he was in, and pretty nearly what were the dates of the different things that he saw. When he lifted his eyes to the windows in the upper part of the tower, he would say at once, “I am in England,” for he would know that windows like those Perpendicular ones could not be found anywhere but in England. Then he would know at once that he was under the shadow of a great church, and it would not take him very long to find out the character of that great church. The first question he would ask was—“This is something more than a parish church; it has buildings about it. What is it? Is it a regular or is it a secular church?” He would soon see that it was a regular church.

He would note the surrounding buildings, and, above all, this Fraternity or refectory, parallel with the nave, and he would know that this building, parallel with the nave of a church, must be a refectory, and nothing else. Again, if he had been dropped down at Furness and Calder abbeys before he came to Carlisle, he would easily see that it was not a Cistercian church, because, apart from it being in a town, the refectory of Cistercian churches was not parallel to the nave. Then he would have to doubt a little. He might think it was a church of Benedictines; he could not tell by the light of nature that it was a church of Austin canons. A further question he would ask was, "Is this simply a conventual church, or is it something more—is it the church of a Bishop?" There seemed to have been no episcopal palace or anything else to tell the inquirer that it was the see of a Bishop. Some local antiquary should be able to tell them whether there was ever an episcopal palace in Carlisle, as there commonly was in episcopal cities, and if not, how there never came to be one. Was the lack connected with the long vacancy of the see after the first bishop, or was it, that when bishops had got feudalized and turned into barons, they did not care to have a house in the city? As to the history of the building, the inquirer would see that we had here a Norman minster of moderate size, of which there are still fragments in the two transepts and what remained of the nave. He would also see that the nave must formerly have been much longer, but he would need local information as to the circumstances in which it came to be shortened. Then he would guess that this nave had been the parish church, as was so common a custom with the Austin canons, though this feature would at once distinguish this church from any old standing cathedral church in England proper, except Lincoln. At Lincoln, the division came about through the first Bishop setting up his throne in an existing church, exactly as the Bishop of Newcastle was doing at this very moment, so that the parishioners, who kept the nave as their parish church, did not lose their right by the setting up of the Bishop's throne. The arrangement was a very common one, though it had puzzled many people, as judges and counsel had been puzzled by the precisely similar Arundel case. The inquirer would further see that here he had a comparatively small church of the twelfth century, and that a vast and magnificent choir of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had displaced the eastern limb of the Norman church, and had displaced it in a very remarkable way. He would see that the under row of windows was of the thirteenth century and the upper row of the fourteenth, and he would also see that some one in late times had gone and destroyed the history of the place by sticking in that great doorway where no great doorway ought to be. It was a remarkable example of the way in which the history and memorials of the past were being wiped out day by day to bring in the pretty things of the present. Here was the refectory, there was the walk in the cloister, and there was the dormitory. There was a little door in the transept, but no grand door, because there was no grand entrance. Why had the church not been left to tell its own story, to tell every man that the dormitory had come up against the church? Why were not the signs of the dormitory left, instead of giving us that new masonry? The new doorway might be a fine thing of its kind, but why not leave, if only for visitors like themselves, those fragments of history which they came from place to place to make out? It was disappointing

when they came to a place to find that some ingenious man had done his best to wipe out its history ; to find that there had been a perfectly wanton sacrifice of the building to make the thing pretty. A doorway was wanted no doubt, but why not put it somewhere else and not destroy the history ?

At this point Mr. Freeman went inside, and went on with his description in the nave. No one, he said, ought to come inside a building until he had examined the outside, adding that the outside of the city of Carlisle—its walls and its site—was perhaps better worth seeing than the inside. They saw a fragment of the nave of the Austin priory, forming anciently, and until recently, the parish church. From hence they would see the character of the church ; it was neither very early nor very late Norman ; and if it was the work of Bishop Æthelwulf, he should be well pleased, as he was a sort of friend of his. They would see the nave had gone a long way further to the west. Now, casting their eyes to the east, they would see still remaining a Norman arch over the opening from the transept into the south aisle of the choir. They would see also, on the north side, another Norman arch, which was partly destroyed, and the rest of it was blocked up, as it did not lead from anything into anything. They saw the north wall of the choir came against it. When the choir was added, it was designed of a much greater width and height than the original building, and it was thus thrust altogether to the north, without any reference whatever to the original Norman church. Commonly the middle of the nave and the middle of the choir coincided, or nearly so ; but in this case the middle line of the nave was very much to the south of the middle line of the choir. Perhaps those who built this grand choir intended some time or other to pull down the nave and rebuild it to match ; or, which was most likely, they thought nothing about the nave. Going inside the choir, Mr. Freeman pointed out the evidences of the way in which the choir had been built to the north, regardless of the original Norman building. Turning to the south side, he commented on the very beautiful thirteenth century work, the pillars, arches, and aisle windows, and on the fourteenth century windows in the clerestory above. The east window was the grandest of its kind in England, and, he supposed, in the world. There was as big a window in one of the churches at Perugia, which in some points reminded him of this ; but here they had the finest piece of tracery to be seen anywhere ; next to it came the abbey church at Selby, which however was smaller. In this choir might be seen one distinctive English peculiarity, the absence of a vault in so great a church. The English tradition of making a wooden roof an ornamental feature was here to be seen on the greatest scale. But even in England it was very rare in a church of this rank to see a wooden roof designed from the beginning. Mr. Freeman next drew attention to the series of lancet windows in the aisles, remarking that the range was rather more perfect than it ought to be. One or two Perpendicular windows had been taken out, and lancets put in. It was a very curious thing that, whenever there was a piece of history in a building marking its age, there was sure to come a wise modern architect, some man of taste, with his head full of his own ideas, who felt himself as much above history as the King of the Romans did above grammar. This modern architect came and said, "I am the only person who am upon a level with the original architect ; I am the only person who knows what he would have done."

So all later work must be swept away. The wise man of taste must wipe out the whole story and bring everything back to what he supposed it would have been in his pet century. This wiping out of history was called by the strangely sarcastic name of "restoration." Restoration commonly meant destroying all traces of the past, and building up according to the fancy of some architect to whose tender mercies the building may have been handed over. So it was here. These windows were not the original thirteenth century windows—they were windows of the nineteenth century, stuck in to the wiping out of history. Mr. Freeman expressed some doubt as to the propriety of fencing off the choir from the nave, remarking that he was tossed to and fro on the subject, between needs of the past and the present, since at Carlisle so little of the nave remained that it was necessary to use the choir as the church till somebody should rebuild the nave. He hoped that, if ever the nave was re-built to the west, they would not attempt to make the new part like the old part; they should not build it in the twelfth century style, but in that of the nineteenth, if there were one. And such a style might be called into being; but if we could take up and develop the style which prevailed at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, when the native English style began to decline, that would be better still.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON gave a description of the old glass in the upper part of the east window. This represents a Doom with Our Lord sitting in judgment, the procession of the Blessed to the palace of heaven, the place of banishment for the wicked, and the resurrection. In one of the quatrefoils, just above the mullions, is a figure surrounded by a heraldic border of castles and leopards' faces, alternating,—a border of Castile and Leon. This points to John of Gaunt, who was governor of Carlisle from 1380 to 1384, and who impaled Castile and Leon in right of his wife. Mr. Ferguson then read the following notes which Mr. Bloxam had contributed on the monumental effigies in the Cathedral.

"1. In the south aisle is the recumbent effigy of a bishop. His face is close shaven; on his head is worn the *mitra pretiosa* with pendent infulæ behind. The amice is worn about the neck. On the body appears, first, the skirts of the alb, then the extremities of the stole, then the tunic, over that the dalmatic, over all the chesible, with the rationale in front of the breast. The maniple hangs down from the left arm; the right hand is gone, but was upheld in the act of benediction. The pastoral staff, enveloped in a veil, appears on the left side, but the crook is gone; the left hand is also gone. The shoes or sandals are pointed, and the feet rest against a sculptured bracket. The head reposes on a square cushion. Above is a canopy, partly destroyed. This effigy appears to be of the middle of the fifteenth century, circa 1469. It is generally assigned to Welton, who died 1362.

"2. There is, on the floor, the inlaid brass effigy of a bishop, wearing the *mitra pretiosa*, and vested in the amice, alb, stole, tunic, dalmatic and chesible, and maniple. In the left hand the pastoral staff is held; in the right hand is a book. This is engraved in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. ii, pl. cxvi.; and in Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, vol. ii., p. 602. It is the effigy of Bishop Richard Bell, who died 1496; his name is on it.

"3. Under an arch in the north aisle is a recumbent effigy of a bishop of the thirteenth century. He is represented bearded, with the

mitra pretiosa on his head, the amice about his neck, and in the alb, tunic and dalmatic, over which is worn the chesible, which is long, with the rationale in front of the breast. The right hand, now gone, was in the act of benediction. The pastoral staff is on the left of the body. Above the head is an Early English canopy, now much mutilated. This is said to be Bishop de Everdon, who died 1254 or 1255.

"There is also a small quadrangular brass, of very late date, to Bishop Henry Robinson, who died in 1616. A duplicate is in Queen College, Oxford. It is engraved in Jefferson's *Carlisle*, p. 180."

The Rev. J. T. FOWLER proceeded to describe the carvings on the capitals of the pillars of the choir representing the occupations in the twelve months of the year.

The party moved on to the west door near which is the stone inscribed with runes. Professor STEPHENS, who was called upon by the Dean, said he had described the inscription very fully in the second volume of his work. It was very short and simple, the translation being, "Dolfin wrote these runes," or "Dolfin carved these letters on this stone." It was a simple scribble of the builder, or the architect, or some of the workmen. The name Dolfin was a very common one, but it might be that of the governor of Carlisle whom Rufus drove out. These scribbles—some of a more formal and official character—were frequently found, and they might be called "church scribbles." In a similar way we found inscriptions which had been written on the wet clay of bricks with the finger or a stick, the brick being afterwards hardened by burning.

Returning to the Fraternity, Mr. C. J. FERGUSON showed by plans what was known of the original arrangements of the Cathedral and the adjacent buildings, and afterwards described the painted ceiling in the Deanery.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE followed with some remarks. He said no doubt the parish church was very much older than the Cathedral, and he confessed he was sorry that, after all these centuries, the parish church had been turned out. He then sketched in an interesting manner the history of the buildings. Mr. Freeman had rightly said that the interest of these structures centred in the indications they afforded of the changes which had taken place according to the wants and circumstances of successive ages. That being so, he did not see why the nineteenth century deans and canons should not alter to suit their wants. Some alterations were mere fancies, and he deprecated the removal of the Perpendicular windows as much as Mr. Freeman could do; but other alterations were legitimate, among which he considered the insertion of the south door in the transept, which was really needed. Mr. Micklethwaite then pointed out the position of the conventual buildings, and the meeting gradually broke up.

At 2 p.m., the Historical Section met in the Upper Assembly Room, Mr. FREEMAN in the chair.

The Rev. Precentor VENABLES read a paper on "Cumberland Church Dedications," which embraced the dedications of churches in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire-over-Sands—forming the present diocese. He said there were several out of the way churches which appeared to have no dedications, or if they were dedicated, the names were lost.

Some discussion ensued on the paper, and Mr. PEACOCK said that most dedications could be found by looking up old wills; for a person, when he made his will, invariably named the church in which he wished to

ouried, and also called it by its dedication. He had, more than once, recovered a lost dedication in that way. Mr. W. Jackson protested, as a local antiquary, against the removal of wills to London.

Mr. JACKSON then read a paper on "The Countess of Pembroke," and the section dispersed.

In the Lower Assembly Room at 2 p.m. the Antiquarian Section met, Mr. EVANS in the chair. The Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY read a joint paper by Dr. Parker and himself on "Gosforth Cross." In the course of the discussion which ensued, Professor Stephens said the cross was unique in all his experience; its probable date was the seventh century.

The Rev. T. LEES read a paper on "Cresset Stones" (printed at p. 390), and followed this up by reading a paper by Sir Henry Dryden on "Lamp Niches" (printed at p. 396).

Dr. TAYLOR then read a paper on "Legends and Inscriptions over Doorways of old houses in Cumberland," and the section broke up.

At 3.15 a large party left in carriages from Court Square for Dalston Hall. Here the members were taken in hand by Mr. C. J. FERGUSON, who gave a good description of this highly interesting "Hall House." As usual with border fortresses it consists of a Pele dating in this case early in the fifteenth century, and around which later buildings have clustered. Of these later works those to the extreme west are evidently the work of Sir John Dalston in the time of Henry VIII, while the central portion of the buildings must have been put up by another Sir John Dalston early in the seventeenth century. Mr. Ferguson described with much clearness of detail the additions of still later times, many of which possess high artistic merit, and throw, as he justly remarked, great light on the development of domestic architecture in these parts of the country.

The journey was continued to Rose Castle, where the party were most cordially received at tea on the lawn in this lovely spot by the Bishop of Carlisle and Mrs. Goodwin. Mr. C. J. FERGUSON gave a short and clear account of this historic fortress. Here, as usual, the Pele, built originally at the end of the thirteenth century, forms the kernel of the buildings. Mr. Ferguson said that Bishop Halton's works of this period were destroyed by Robert Bruce in 1322, and that before 1336 a more spacious mansion arose at the bidding of Bishop Kirby, who in this latter year obtained license to crenellate his mansion of "Roos." Further additions were made by Bishop Welton, who in 1356 obtained another license to crenellate. Few evidences of these works now remain, but their extent can be traced. The great hall, council chamber, chapel, constable's tower, kitchen, and offices appear to have been the extent of the castle in the fourteenth century, and comprised the inner bailey. Around the outer bailey a second wall was drawn with mural towers at the salient points, the approach being then, as now, through the gatehouse, in which the great sculptured rose was inserted nearly a century later. The whole was further protected by a moat supplied by a spring in the rising ground on the south. In the fifteenth century the Pele which Bruce had ruined was restored by Bishop Strickland, whose name it has since borne. Later in the century Bishop Bell built a tower on the north front, and in the sixteenth century Bishop Kyte built a tower on the west side, and probably much besides. So good a stronghold had Rose become in Elizabeth's time that Bishop Meye was turned out of it by the Warden of the Marches, who then occupied it against the Scots. In 1645 Rose

was held for the Royalists by Mr. Lowther, constable of the castle. It was taken by the Parliamentarians, and became for some time a prison for the Royalists. In 1648, when it was garrisoned by Royalists, it was taken by storm and burnt. It was shortly after sold, and was turned into a private residence. On the Restoration, Bishop Sterne rebuilt some portions of the castle, but so unskilfully that, on the translation of Sterne to York, his successor, Bishop Rainbow, brought an action against him for dilapidations, and gained his case. For the use of this lawsuit a plan of the castle was taken in 1671, which still exists, and is, from its minuteness, a most interesting document. Bishop Rainbow rebuilt the chapel, and his successor, Bishop Smith, bountifully restored other parts under the advice of the Rev. Thomas Machell, rector of Kirkby Thore, and collector of the "Machell Manuscripts," who appears to have been the first to introduce classic architecture into these parts. Under Bishop Percy the castle was brought into its present form after the designs of Rickman, certainly one of the first to re-introduce Gothic into Cumberland.

A question having arisen as to the origin of the name "Rose" or "La Rose," Mr. R. S. FERGUSON expressed his belief that the name was derived from the emblem of the Virgin Mary, to whom Carlisle cathedral was dedicated. Referring to a point raised by Mr. Freeman, he stated that, after the division, in the reign of Henry III., of the ecclesiastical property between the Bishopric and the Priory, the Bishop of Carlisle never had a residence in the city: Linstock, which fell to the Bishop on the division, was found to be dangerously near the marauding Scots, so that the prelates thought it desirable to have Carlisle between them and their northern neighbours, and settled at "La Rose."

Copies of "Letters from Belvedere," from Mr. Hartshorne's collection of family documents, dated respectively June 8th, and July 9th, 1719, were distributed among the visitors to Rose. In making the subjoined extracts from the correspondence between William Bradford, the bishop's secretary and son, and Samuel Kerrich, it may be convenient to recall that when William Nicolson, bishop of this diocese was translated to Derry in 1718 he was succeeded by Samuel Bradford, prebendary of Westminster, rector of Bow, and master of Benet College Cambridge.

The new prelate "Kissed the King's hand for Carlisle," and was consecrated on Whitsunday at Lambeth. In the following year he made his way to his new home, then lately restored by Bishop Rainbow and the bountiful Bishop Smith after the burning of 1648.

As fresh and naive records of ecclesiastical life in a historic Border Castle, some extracts from the letters of "Charles Easy," to "Octavio," may perhaps be fittingly introduced here.

"Carlile June 8th 1719.

"Dear Sam

"By ys time I fear you have begun to think yt *my Friendship has not lately admitted of any great increase*. But I assure you my silence for so long a time proceeds from no other yn ye great hurry I have been in ever since my arrival at ys place ; nor do I yet see an end of it ; for now yt we begin to be a little settled in our Lodgings in ye City, we are setting out to morrow on my Lds visitation wel will take up a fortnight at different times before it is finished ; & at our return from yt we are again to remove to my Lds Palace at Rose Castle, 5 miles from ye City to reside there ye summer. You will expect no doubt yt I should give

you an account of Carlisle ; but I have not yet been able to get well enough acquainted with ye town or its Inhabitants to write an history of it. At present therefore you must be contented to be told yt it is a very pleasant place when you come to it, but very difficult of access thro' ye vast number of stones in ye roads. The inhabitants seem very obliging free people ; we have excellent French wine and very cheap, & good brandy. My Lds Palace is a sweet retired place, good gardens & a river running at ye bottom of ym and a due distance from ye city. There being a Garrison in ye town we have ye happiness always to have some officers here, who are very good company. The Clergy are generally speaking but mean, ye Ladys really very genteel and well behaved. I'll assure you we have Balls and Assemblys very frequently. His Majy : before he went to Holld : was graciously pleas'd to enlarge my Father's Commendam for ye Living of Bow for 2 years longer. In ye meantime I am, Dear Sam, with ye truest affection & sincerely yors

Wm Bradford.

"Last Saturday was sevennight ye 30th of May between 11 & 12 at night, we had a shake of an earthquake here very sensible. Had you any such?"

"Belvedere July 9th 1719.

"Dear Octavio,

"You will I dare say be surpris'd to see a letter dated from an unknown place ; but you will sound ye meaning when you see Ch: Easy at ye bottom. We have no further news from our Neighbours in Scotland. And now for an account of Carlisle. It is a very pleasant small City, a great deal of good company in & about it. Several Ladys of good fortune & very polite ; insomuch yt we have frequently Balls, Assemblies, Visiting days, public Tea-tables, Scandal, &c. There being a Garrison in ye town they are never without some Officers and Soldiers, tho' at present they have only a Regiment of Invalids ye Dragoons being ordered Westwards. The Officers are generally honest and well bred men, and add much to ye Mirth of ye place. Indeed all ye Gentlemen of ye Country are very free and generous to Strangers, and make us very welcome. French Wine and Brandy we have plenty and cheap. 6 miles from Carlisle stands Rose-castle, or in my language Belvedere. A good old house, large pleasant gardens, with a river at ye bottom of ym. In short a sweet country retirement, fit for Study and sports. To give you a short account of our manner of life here. We rise about 6, breakfast and study till 11, dress & to prayers in our chappel, walk in ye gardens, dine chat and drink tea, read an hour or two, at 4 to chappel, after yt walk, or ride, or visit a neighbour & drink a glass of ale, or fish or some such Country amusement till 8, then sup, to prayers at 9 a la mode de Benet, then to bed those yt please. We have a pretty large family. My Lds Steward, his Wife, a Son, (who was an Oxonian) live with us ; and we have at present our Domestic Chaplayn, an Oxonian. These are very good humour'd honest young Gentlemen, & my chief Companions. After my Ld is gone up to bed we generally go into ye Butlers room & there over a bottle of ale tell old storys, toast our Mistresses, & chat till about 11. On Saturday sevennight or sooner, I expect our other Domestick Chaplayn from Camb : our friend Mr. Denne, who has accepted of my Lds title & invitation to spend ye vacation at Belvedere,

to my no small pleasure. We keep 2 publick days in a week Mondays & Thursdays, when we expect company to dinner & seldom are disappointed. Thus we live, & now to tell you how we Love. I confess I have not been idle since I came into ye country.”

A general inspection of the castle and grounds having been made, the members again reached Carlisle at 7 p.m.

At eight p.m., in consequence of the number of papers on the list, the Antiquarian Section met simultaneously in the Upper and in the Lower Assembly Rooms. In the former Mr. R. S. FERGUSON occupied the chair and, before a large audience, read a paper of great interest on “The Charters, Guilds, and Bye-Laws of Carlisle,” following with a paper on a noble volume entitled “The Carlisle Dormont Book.”

The history of this fine book is pretty clear. Purchased prior to 1561, it was the Register Governor or Dormont Book of the commonwealth and of the inhabitants of Carlisle, and contains the constitutions or by-laws agreed upon in that year for the government of the city, signed by the Mayor and Bailiffs, and by four men from each occupation or guild. The city seal was also appended thereto. For nigh a century afterwards it was used for no further purpose than to contain the form of the oaths to be taken by the city officials. But during the time of the Protector it was reversed, and used as a register of deeds of title to property which had been taken from the bishop and from the dean and Chapter. The corporation, after the Restoration, found two other uses for it, viz., a register of the declarations taken against the Solemn League and Covenant, and a register of indentures of apprenticeship. The various purposes for which the book has been used are all now obsolete. It has large store of blank papers yet, but its work is done, though its value as a record increases year by year.

Mr. W. NANSON read a valuable paper on “Carlisle Cullery Tenure,” and Mr. PEACOCK read a paper on the curious and little known subject of “Church Ales.” Hearty votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Nanson and Mr. Peacock, and the meeting then came to an end.

In the Lower Assembly Room Mr. EVANS occupied the chair. Here was also a large attendance. The Rev. Prebendary SCARTH read a paper on “The Discoveries at Bath,” and was succeeded by Mr. MICKLETHWAITE with a paper on “The Crypts at Ripon and Hexham” (printed at p. 347). After a long and interesting discussion on the latter paper, votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Scarth and Mr. Micklethwaite, and the meeting dispersed.

Friday, August 4.

At 10.30 a.m. a large party left Carlisle by special train for Gilsland. From hence the members proceeded in carriages to the Roman camp at Birdoswald (Amboglanna). At this, the largest camp on the Wall, Dr. BRUCE took charge of the party, and, proceeding to the double gate on the eastern side, spoke as follows:—“We know that Agricola came in the year 80, and that before he had advanced into Caledonia he left several bands of troops located in strong posts, from which they were never driven. I fancy that Birdoswald was one of Agricola’s camps. The position was a remarkably strong one, and it was well defended. In the year 120 Hadrian came to this country, and finding it in great disorder and requiring his personal attention he built a wall, and he seems to have made use of such of Agricola’s stationary camps as

suited his purpose in laying the line of his wall. This wall consisted of two parts. One was a stone wall eight feet thick, and how high we cannot tell—probably about 16 or 17 feet. On the north side of this wall there was a ditch or fosse, the material taken out of which often forms an additional rampart. As we go along the road to-day we shall see the fosse frequently. On the south side of the stone wall from Newcastle to within a short distance of the termination of the western end at Drumburgh there is an additional fortification, the Vallum, consisting of three earthen ramparts with a fosse between the first and second of them. Between the two walls runs the military road by which supplies were carried; portions of this road are quite distinct and perfect at the present day. To the east of us we have it for ten miles together. Another feature of the wall is the accommodation made for the garrisons. In all probability it took 15,000 troops to garrison the wall. At the average distance of four miles there was a station such as this on which we are standing. Besides the stationary camps there were a series of buildings, called mile castles, about 60 feet square. Between these mile castles there were three or four turrets about ten feet square, the walls of which were about three feet thick. I call them stone sentry boxes. A very important feature of the stations is the gateways. We have here a remarkably good example, and they were all built on the same principle. This gateway is a double one; they were usually about eleven feet wide and arched over. On each side of the gateway was a guard chamber, such as the two here, which have been filled up. The gateways were arched over both on their inner and outer margins. We frequently see marks of the pivot holes of the gate. There were pivot holes at the bottom and at the upper part, so that in order to put a gate in its place they had to lift it up through the upper hole and let the gate down into the bottom one. This station was the largest on the wall and consisted of five acres and a half. The one next in size is at Chesters, on the North Tyne. Both of these camps had the peculiarity of having two gates on the eastern and western sides. Usually in every other instance the Romans had four gateways, at north, south, east, and west, and roads going from one to the other about 18 feet wide. Minor streets in the camp were very narrow, scarcely enough to allow for passing; the object being to show as little face to the enemy as possible. The other gateway in this rampart has tumbled in, the ground having given way; it was a single one. This camp was occupied by the first cohort of the Dacians—the wall having been garrisoned throughout by auxiliary troops under Roman officers. We are bringing troops from India. Apparently we are taking a lesson from the Roman book. They never put two nationalities together. They had upon the wall, Spaniards, Gauls, Dutchmen, Belgians, Moors, Syrians, Dacians. The Dacians were unwilling to submit to the Roman subjection. What did Hadrian do but bring a number of these discontented Dacians to this station. The Romans had no objection to the Dacians breaking the heads of the Caledonians. Then they took the discontented Britons to conquer the discontented Dacians. You see a series of serrated hills over there to the east. These are called the ‘Nine Nicks of Thirlwall,’ the wall having been *thirled* or pierced there first of all. For ten miles the wall goes over a basaltic dyke; and this dyke being steep towards the north, gives additional defence against the Caledonians. The wall

coming from the Nine Nicks crosses the Irthing, and then comes up a steep ascent. Always in the vicinity of a Roman camp were suburban buildings, for in addition to the troops there were camp followers, and they required accommodation. On this eastern side we have extensive remains of suburban buildings. Generally the Prefect or commander of the cohort had a villa outside the walls, because in times of peace and quietness he did not like to be cramped up in the camp."

After inspecting the eastern gateway the party moved to the hypocaust. In answer to a question Dr. Bruce said that as they went westward they would see the vallum on the left hand. The vallum and the wall did not run parallel. The wall caught rising eminences, and the vallum ran more in straight lines, and usually by the tail of a hill. Sometimes the wall and vallum were a quarter of a mile apart, and sometimes as close together as possible. The question bore on who built the wall. The vallum going along the tail of a hill, leaving great elevations to the north of it, would give a great advantage to the Caledonians; and that was one reason why they fancied the two works were the work of one engineer. With regard to the hypocaust some of the better buildings of the camp were warmed by this means. In all the Roman camps they had hanging floors; and they had a furnace at one extremity which warmed the air and this heated air was carried underneath the floors and up the sides of the house, so that a small quantity of heat produced great effects, and it had this special advantage, if the furnace were ever so hot it did not immediately affect the temperature of the room; or if the servants neglected to keep the fires up it was a long time before the cold was experienced. The heat would be kept constantly uniform and would be greatly economised. There was no doubt that the Romans used coal. They found coal and coal ashes in their stations. Two or three years ago Mr. Clayton came upon a large heap of coal—about a cartload; but it had disappeared. Tourists and others were anxious to have a piece of Roman coal and the cartload was now reduced to about a shuttlefull. With respect to the well, which was then inspected, Dr. Bruce said the Romans were particularly careful to be in the vicinity of good water. He did not think they were fond of having a well in the stations. There was a well in the camp at Maryport, but they usually had the water outside. In this instance there was a well in the middle. The last time the Institute was at the camp they found there was a tank there. The water was brought from a considerable distance by means of a conduit under ground and arrangements were made for filtering the water. Remains of charcoal were found and it was believed that the water before being used passed through sides made up of gravel and of charcoal. Continuing, Dr. Bruce said the Romans built the wall on the north of rivers. The object of this was to secure the fertile land of the valleys, and further, when driven from the wall, to have an additional barrier in the river. A question was put as to the shape of the stones, and Dr. Bruce said the Romans no doubt made the Britons work at the wall. The stones were usually eight or ten inches square in the front and almost always cut across the line of stratification, so as to stand the weather. He had seen them two feet long, so as to get a good grip of the wall, and they were always wedge-shaped, tapering smaller at the inner end than at the outer, the mortar being harder than the stones. There were no tiles used in the wall.

Passing to the southern gateway, Dr. Bruce described it in similar

terms to those in which he explained the remains of the eastern gateway. He pointed to the remains of a circular vault next to the western guard chamber, which he thought must have been used for drying wheat. In this country the corn did not ripen quickly, and they required to dry it. He drew attention to the corners of the camp, and said they were always rounded. The reason of this was that the Romans when they came to build the wall first of all made themselves secure within good stone ramparts, and they built a camp independently of the wall, and adopted the plan of rounded corners. The remains of the north gateway were in the road. Before leaving the south gate he read a passage from the late Lord Carlisle's *Diary in Turkish Waters* in which, speaking of a view at the supposed site of Troy, he says that the best notion he could give of it to a Cumberland borderer was by telling him that it resembled the view just outside the camp at Birdoswald. From the steep cliff overhanging the Irthing, the point alluded to, a view of great beauty revealed itself. Dr. Bruce subsequently pointed out some Roman masonry inside the camp, which apparently belonged to a building of importance, and, with much applause, concluded his very lucid and interesting remarks by quoting the following lines by Sir Walter Scott, written to Miss Carpenter from the vicinity of Amboglanna :

“Take these flowers which, purple waving,
On the ruined rampart grew,
Where, the sons of freedom braving,
Rome's Imperial standard flew.
Warriors from the breach of danger
Pluck no longer laurels there ;
But they yield the passing stranger
Wild flower wreaths for Beauty's hair.”

The carriages were resumed, and the road, which now ran for some distance alongside of the wall—here in a very perfect state, presently mounted upon it, so that the antiquaries, with a magnificent prospect in front of them, had the wall under their feet, the ditch on the north and the vallum on the south side. Leaving the wall and descending the hill at Banks Brow the party arrived at Lanercost Priory, and had luncheon in the Dacre Hall.

Mr. C. J. FERGUSON here took the direction of affairs, and gave a sketch of the history of this house of Austin Canons, from which it appeared that it was founded and endowed by Robert de Vallibus in 1169, and further endowed by the Multons, his successors in the barony of Gilsland. From the scanty history concerning the place we gather that Edward I and his queen were here in 1280, in which year the conventual buildings suffered at the hands of the Scots ; that Edward I. was at Lanercost in 1306, and was detained here in 1307 by the state of his health ; that Robert the Bruce came in 1311 with a great army and stayed for three days, when he incarcerated most of the canons ; that David of Scotland came in 1346 and reduced the place “in nihilum” ; and that it was constantly harried by the Scots during the remainder of the century, so that the unhappy prior and his brethren, their lands, and buildings were in a very sorry plight in 1409, as appears from documentary evidence preserved at York. From this time to its dissolution in 1536, the history of the priory and its occupants is a blank. It was granted, in the last

named year, to Thomas Dacre of Lanercost, who, in the customary manner, converted some of the conventual buildings into a dwelling-house. In later times the church and other buildings fell into great dilapidation, from which, in our own day, they have been partially and judiciously rescued. Mr. Ferguson gave a general description of the outside of the priory, and, on taking the party inside the church, handed them over to Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, who said that the key to the form of a church was almost always more easily got inside than outside. When they had once mastered how a church grew they could almost at once walk to the place where the earliest work was. This was a church of regular canons, like that at Carlisle, but it differed in one respect, which was characteristic of the order. Here they had a church with only one aisle. The explanation of this was that the regular canons always founded their churches where parish churches already existed. If they had not done so here this church would not have been at present in existence as it was. When the canons built it it was built on the parish church lines, though much larger than the parish church. The twelfth century parish church was built in different forms. He would only speak of one of these forms. That was a church in the form of a cross, but without aisles. The canons built on this model, or at least began to build so. They first built a choir without aisles and a transept; and when they had built that much they would build a cloister and the buildings round it to live in. The next thing they built was the nave. By the time they got to building the nave the larger parish churches began to have aisles, and the canons thought they must have aisles too, and they accordingly made such additions, but the existence of the cloister prevented an aisle being added on that side. When built the nave was assigned to the parish, and was cut off by solid screens from the eastern part of the church. But the canons had certain rights there, notably the right of procession, and there were doors for the procession to go through. A door, now built up opposite the present organ, would bring the canons into the parish church; and another close to it, but in the transept wall, was their entrance into their own part.

The party proceeded to the choir now without a roof, and Mr. MICKLETHWAITE again addressed them. He said he had not much to say except to call their attention to the way in which, having freed themselves from the difficulty in the position of the cloister, the canons adopted double aisles and symmetrical arrangement. He could not give a reason for the pillars being longer on one side than another. As they came into the choir they came through a doorway rather Early English than Transitional. There, he believed, was one of the doorways between the parish church and the collegiate church. On the other side they saw the door by which the canons came in. He pointed to a Transitional door, which he thought probably entered a little sacristy, and close to it there was a patch in the wall, which he thought was the way up to the old dormitory.¹

Mr. TUCKER (*Somerset*) made some observations on the heraldry of the Dacre tombs in the chancel; and the members shortly after went on to Naworth Castle, where they they were received by Miss Howard and

¹ A very complete amount of the architectural history of Lanercost Priory, by Mr. C. J. Ferguson, will be found in the

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, vol. i., p. 95.

Miss Cecilia Howard, in the unavoidable and much regretted absence of Mr. Howard at Westminster.

After a few preliminary observations in the courtyard, Mr. C. J. FERGUSON read some extracts from a paper by himself,¹ from which we gather that licence to crenellate the castle was granted to Ranulph de Dacre in the 9th of Edward III. (1335). This is the earliest documentary information; but it would appear from architectural evidence that Ranulph de Dacre found a Pele of a somewhat earlier date, which formed here, as in so many other border fortresses, the nucleus of the greater castle which he then caused to arise. Thus, the Dacre tower was formed with the Pele as its substructure, the walls of the bailey, the gateway on the south, and certain offices. The castle was repaired and considerably added to by Thomas Lord Dacre, of Flodden fame, towards the end of the fifteenth century, and probably to the time of this extensive castle builder the remarkably constructed "Howard Tower" may be assigned. Thomas Lord Dacre, however, left the castle, as he found it, a feudal fortress. It subsequently fell into neglect, and in the 31st of Elizabeth (1589) is described in an inquisition as "in very great decay in all parts." This state of affairs was fully remedied by Lord William Howard in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was changed from an Edwardian fortress to a Jacobean house. At the latter end of the century, the first Earl of Carlisle effected many repairs; and the destruction caused by the lamentable fire of 1844 brought about a remodelling at the hands of an acknowledged master in the science of castle building. The judicious additions and alterations that are being carried out at the present day under the direction of cultivated taste will form much interesting study for future antiquaries.

The party, divided into three sections, went successively over the castle and its precincts; after which Miss Howard was kind enough to offer tea to the members in the great hall. Carlisle was again reached at 6 p.m., by special train from Naworth Station.

At 8 p.m. the Very Rev. the Dean and the Chapter of Carlisle gave a *conversazione* in the Fraternity. In this noble hall more than 300 guests were assembled. Some choice antiquities were exhibited, among which were many of the chapter muniments, two copes, one of the fifteenth century, the other of the sixteenth, "the horns of the altar," under which name a pair of walrus tusks figure in the inventories, the cartulary of Holm Cultram, and the endowment charter of the Cathedral of 1541. Light refreshments were offered, and a selection of charming vocal music brought this most agreeable reunion to a close.

Saturday, August 5.

At 10.30 the members went by rail from Carlisle to Hexham. Here they were met by Mr. C. C. HODGES, who in the most obliging manner took charge of the party and conducted it to the abbey, passing on the way the royal grammar school, founded in 1599 by charter of Elizabeth. Proceeding to the cloister garth Mr. Hodges gave a *resumé* of the principal historical events connected with the monastic buildings, explaining as he went along the features of interest in the adjacent ruins. With regard to the antiquity of the site, he said it could be traced back with tolerable certainty to the period of the Roman occupation. About 674 St. Wilfrid

¹ *Ib.*, vol. iv., p. 486.

obtained from Etheldrida, wife of King Egfrid, King of Northumbria, and daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles, her marriage dowry, consisting of lands in the neighbourhood, and with this endowment he founded a Saxon cathedral, which was destroyed by the Danes in 875, and the only traces of which were an ancient crypt below the present church. The bishopric of Hexham terminated in 822. A second church was founded on the site of St. Wilfrid's by Thomas II., Archbishop of York, for canons regular of St. Austin, early in the 12th century, its first prior being Askitilling. Passing round to the site of the nave, now known locally as the Campy Hill, Mr. Hodges pointed out a base of one of the pillars, which, he said, was unique as to the section of its moulding, so far as he knew, in this country. The priory was in its palmy days before 1296, and there are indications that about that time the building of the nave had been commenced. The Scots, however, visited Hexham early in that year, burnt the houses, turned out the canons, and destroyed the monastery, locked up the doors of the school to which they set fire, cruelly roasting to death 200 boys and completely gutted the town. The nunnery of Lambley and the monastery of Corbridge were burnt down at the same time. The canons had to leave Hexham, and they could not return for a great many years, one reason being that there was nothing to return to. Their cattle were all gone and their monastic buildings were in ruins. The Scots returned in the following year, and in 1311 Robert the Bruce visited Hexham on several occasions. There were successive raids of the Scots in succeeding years, and there was no possible opportunity of renewing the buildings between 1296 and 1318. In 1346 King David stayed at Hexham for three days, and was afterwards defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross. After that the priory had a little rest, but its palmy days were towards the close of the 13th century. The nave does not appear to have been built before 1296. Mr. Hodges is of opinion that while the work was commenced about that time it was never actually completed. At all events, there are no traces of stones having been thrown down; there are no stone chippings visible; and there was only one moulded stone found. The church enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary, the boundaries of the sanctuary being indicated by four crosses erected on the north, south, east, and west sides of the town. On the north side the cross stood in the river, and at the present time there is, about two miles from Hexham, on the Cross Bank, a piece of a sanctuary cross. The cross on the south side probably stood on the Gallows Bank. The spot where it stood on the east side is definitely known, and a portion of the cross is to be seen in Hexham Workhouse. On the west side of the town there is a place called "Maiden Cross," where the fourth cross is supposed to have stood. On gaining the sanctuary an offender was protected until such time as he was able to make an expiation of his offence which the state of the law then required. Mr. Hodges observed, in the course of his interesting remarks, that almost every document connected with the church had been destroyed, and that there was not a single line of writing to show when the existing church was built. Prior Richard, one of the chroniclers of Hexham, said a great deal about the Saxon church, but neither he nor his successor John said a single word about the church which must have been in existence or in course of erection when they wrote. The party then left the site of the nave and entered the church

by the door of the south transept. Passing along to the north transept, Mr. Hodges described by means of a ground plan the general outline of the buildings. Entering the choir, he pointed out, on the north side of where the high altar had stood, the Frid or Frith-stool—a stone chair in which offenders flying from justice sought refuge. He referred in strong terms to the destructive “restoration” of recent years, remarking that he looked upon such a restoration as mischievous stupidity or downright wickedness. They might at least be thankful that the outside of the building was comparatively uninjured. The present rector (the Rev. Canon Barker) had the greatest veneration for the church, and he would not allow one stone of it to be touched unnecessarily. They could, therefore, at all events, feel now that the Abbey Church of Hexham was in good hands, and that there was no further danger of destructive “restoration.” Returning to the transepts, Mr. Hodges pointed out and described a large Roman slab which was recently found in the slype when the excavations were being made with the object of discovering a crypt which was supposed to exist under that portion of the church. He preferred the view that the stone was removed from the Roman cemetery at Hexham and built into the church, to the contention of some that it was removed originally from the Roman Station at Corbridge. The slab is a very large one, and it would have entailed a considerable amount of labour to convey it to Hexham. The stone from which the slab was hewn is to be found on the north side of the Tyne, about two miles from Hexham. The carving on the stone and the inscription are in excellent preservation, the former depicting a Roman standard bearer on horseback carrying aloft his ensign and riding over a prostrate foe, and the latter indicating that the monument was to the memory of a Roman soldier.¹

The members now adjourned to luncheon at the Town Hall, at which Mr. Hartshorne proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hodges for his able discourse, and the church was then revisited and generally inspected, the crypt and other vaulted portions being subsequently seen. The Baron de Cosson called attention to a Salade of about 1480, with a reinforcing piece in front, erroneously said to have belonged to a Fenwick who was killed when wearing it at Marston Moor. Mr. Tucker (*Somerset*) made some comments on the heraldic paintings of the vestry screen, and, before leaving, speaking on behalf of archaeologists generally, Mr. Peacock took occasion to express his indignation and sorrow at the ignorance which had characterised the “restoration” of this noble church.

The Moot Hall, in its origin apparently a Pele, but concerning which there are no records whatever, was now visited, and the bulk of the members returned by rail to Carlisle at 6 p.m. Some of the party alighted *en route* at Wetheral station and visited the grounds at Corby, others going to the cells of St. Constantine, and Wetheral church which contains the monument of Mrs. Howard. This is a most tender and beautiful conception by Nollekens “of her who approached near to perfection.” It is justly considered the sculptor’s masterpiece and amply shields him, if any protection were necessary, from the malignities of his biographer Smith.

On Sunday, the Mayor and Corporation assembled at 10.30 at the

¹ See p. 358.

Town Hall and went in state to the Cathedral accompanied by the noble President of the Institute and a large number of the members, and preceded into the choir by the mace bearer, sergeants at mace, and "the sword of us, our heirs, and successors," in accordance with the Great Governing Charter of Charles I. The Right Rev. the Bishop of Carlisle preached from I Cor. x, 6. In the afternoon the Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle preached from Rev. xxi, 5.

Monday, August 7.

At 10.30 a.m. the Members left Carlisle for Bardon Mill. From hence carriages conveyed the large party to Milestone Lane, where the uninscribed Roman milestone, the only example in Britain in its original position, was seen, and a view obtained of the camp at Chesterholm (Vindolana). Continuing up the steep hill to the military road, made after '45, the carriages were abandoned, and the hill was climbed to Housesteads (Borcovicus) the most perfect station on the Wall, which goes away right and left in a state of great completeness. The carriages went on to Hotbank farm. While the members were making the best of the sandwiches they had brought with them, and the "Roman water" on the spot, they became aware, through Mr. Ferguson, that Mr. Clayton, of Chesters, had provided for them in this remote and solitary region a luncheon of a better kind at Hotbank. No time was therefore lost by Dr. Bruce in beginning his description. In the course of his observations the learned historian of the Wall said that in the central part of the line of fortification the wall availed itself of a basaltic dyke which ran for about ten miles, beginning at Sewingshields and going on to Wall-town. The wall was carried along this dyke. Most people fancied that the wall was a line of defence to keep the Caledonians out of the country. It was nothing of the sort. It was a line of military operation, a line in which the Romans might shelter themselves until they found a favourable opportunity of operating northwards. About the time of Julius Cæsar Eastern superstitions were introduced into Rome, and especially the worship of Mithras, a sun god. There was a temple of Mithras in front of them partly subterranean and partly made up. A farmer who was making some excavations unearthed the god, and several altars were found and removed to Newcastle. There was a quarry at Barcombe Hill which they saw opposite, and it was quite certain that it was used by the Romans for the wall. In excavations that were made, a bronze purse was found containing Roman coins. It had probably been hidden by a Roman in some time of trouble. Dr. Bruce then conducted the party to the various gates and guardhouses in succession, and at the southern one he pointed out the house of a mosstrooper or "Busy Gap rogue." He shewed the principal streets of the camp, and from the north-east angle he pointed out the amphitheatre in which, he observed, the Romans used to make the Britons and Caledonians fight in order to see who were the bravest. He also called attention to the fact that the Romans, in the decadence of their power, had partially built up the gateways.

We gather from Mr. Ferguson's Handbook that Borcovicus was about 205 yards from east to west by 120 yards from north to south. It has a gate on each side; the line from the east to the west gate, the Prætorian Street, bisects the camp, that from the north to the south gate, the Via Principalis, leaves about one third of the camp to the east. All the other

streets, which are very narrow, run parallel to these principal lines and the camp is thus cut up into parallelograms. The gates of the camp are all double, and the pivot holes still show traces of iron. The angles between the camp wall and the great wall show the former to have been anterior to the latter. After inspecting the fine remains of the north gate the antiquaries walked along the top of the wall for upwards of a mile, on the verge of the basaltic ridge, having magnificent views of the Northumberland Lakes, Broomlee, Greenlee, Crag Lough, and Grindon, with distant prospects of Crossfell, Skiddaw, Saddleback, and the range of the Cheviots, the whole forming, together with the wonderful associations of the spot and a bright and cloudless day, a scene not easily to be effaced from the mind. Passing a mile castle, the wall descended to a nameless gap, then over Cuddy's Crag and down again to the Rapshaw Gap, and crossing a considerable eminence Hotbank farm was finally reached. Here the members were received by Mr. George Clayton in the regrettable absence of his venerable uncle Mr. Clayton of Chesters, to whom Roman archaeologists are so deeply indebted, and profusely entertained at luncheon in a tent thus far away from the usual haunts of man. In offering the warm thanks of the Institute to Mr. Clayton the Bishop of Carlisle well said, with reference to the sumptuary rules of the Institute which Mr. Clayton had so hospitably disregarded, that no rule was a rule until it had been broken, and that such a departure could not have been made under more exceptional and auspicious circumstances.

The carriages were now resumed for Greenhead station, and the road running parallel to the wall, views were obtained of the Cawburn mile castle, the camp at Little Chesters (*Æsica*), and of the Nine Nicks of Thirlwall. Carlisle was reached at 5.40.

The Antiquarian Section met in the Upper Assembly Room at eight p.m., the Rev. F. SPURRELL in the chair. Mr. W. JACKSON read a paper on "Walls Castle." The Rev. A. G. LOFTIE read a paper, by Mr. J. G. Goodchild, on "The Archæology of Milburn, Westmoreland, and its neighbourhood;"¹ this was followed by a paper by Miss POWLEY on "Old Names," which provoked an interesting discussion in which Mr. Peacock, Mr. W. Nanson, Mr. Atkinson, the Rev. W. Rawnsley and others took part.

Mr. J. HEYWOOD read a paper (Historical Section) on the "Transference of Alsace to France in the seventeenth century," and votes of thanks to the authors brought the meeting to an end.

In the Lower Assembly Room Mr. R. S. FERGUSON occupied the chair. The Rev. G. ROME HALL read a paper (Antiquarian Section) on "Ancient Remains in Geltsdale, Cumberland." Mr. S. I. TUCKER (*Somerset*) followed with a paper (Historical Section) on "The Earls and Dukes of Cumberland, and the Earls of Carlisle." Mr. ROME HALL then read a paper on "Recent Explorations in Romano-British towns in North Tynedale," and after votes of thanks had been passed the meeting came to a close.

Tuesday, August 8.

At 10 a.m. about 150 members went by special train to Melrose. On the arrival of the party one section went to Abbotsford, where the members were most kindly received by Mr. Maxwell-Scott, who pointed

¹ Printed at p. 402.

out the numerous personal relics of Sir Walter Scott, the extensive library, and the very interesting collection of armour and weapons. In the meantime the rest of the antiquaries inspected Melrose Abbey, under the guidance of Mr. A. KERR, who read a paper giving a careful account of this famous Cistercian house, the earliest of its kind in Scotland. An abbey is supposed to have been first founded at Melrose in the sixth century; it was re-founded, according to the *Chronicon de Mailros*, by David I. in 1136. This building was destroyed by Edward II. in 1322, and no indications of it now remain. The abbey was rebuilt, but partially burnt by Richard II. in 1385; in short the English kings did in Scotland exactly what Scotch kings did beyond their borders; they wreaked their vengeance upon the ecclesiastical foundations. Thus it is at Melrose that, thanks to the two weakest of the Plantagenets, we have a great deal of work of the early, and a great deal of work of the latter part of the fourteenth century. Both kinds, perhaps more especially the former, are extremely dignified and beautiful. The work of the earlier period is best seen inside, where the fine proportions of the arcades, the admirable carved work in the capitals, including the well-known late Edwardian "horned flower," and the noble simplicity of the north transept cannot fail to particularly arrest the attention. The works of the Perpendicular period are strongly evident outside. The early tracery remains, for instance, in the southernmost two-light window on the east side of the south transept. From this point, going eastward, the different methods employed in inserting the Perpendicular tracery is very interesting and instructive. Probably the view from the south-east showing the rich gable of the south transept, "buttress and buttress alternately," the long line of windows lighting the eight chapels, and the panelled gable of the east end, culminating with the coronation of the Blessed Virgin, is unsurpassed of its kind in either kingdom. But who shall describe in dull prose a place where so many stones bear the impress of genius, and whose beauties have been celebrated in deathless verse! It need only be added that Melrose Abbey was destroyed by the Earl of Hertford in 1545, and that its ruins served the wonted purpose of a stone quarry. In 1618 the western portion of the nave was barrel vaulted with the old vaulting ribs turned face inwards, and converted into a parish church, for which it was used until it was finally abandoned in 1810.¹

The party from Abbotsford having returned, Mr. MICKLETHWAITE gave a general description of the abbey. The rest of the members then visited Abbotsford, and on their return the whole party adjourned to luncheon in the Town Hall.

At 3.30 the members drove to Dryburgh Abbey, where Mr. KERR was again an obliging *cicerone*. Founded by Hugh de Morville in the time of David I. the buildings were first occupied in 1150. They suffered, like Melrose, from the devastations of the English under Edward II. and Richard II., and, among other "Exploits don upon the Scots," was finally devastated in 1544 and 1545. The architectural styles are more decidedly marked here than at Melrose. The remains of the buildings

¹ It appears from a drawing in the possession of Mr. Hartshorne made in 1780 by Mary, daughter of Edmund Keene, Bishop of Ely (1771-1781), that

Melrose Abbey presents now the same appearance from the south-east as it did 100 years ago.

upon the east side of the cloister court are Transition Norman; the choir and north transept, and the gable of the south transept of the church Early English, and the nave Early Decorated. The circular arch is retained in all the principal doorways and smaller openings in accordance with Scotch traditions. The grave of Sir Walter Scott is in "St. Mary's Aisle."

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE then shortly described the plan and the uses of the buildings. He said that although Dryburgh was not a Cistercian house, it really gave a better idea of the Cistercian type of building than did Melrose, which was rebuilt in late times with singularly uncistercian magnificence. Dryburgh was a house of canons, not of monks, and it belonged to the Premonstratensians, or White Canons, who by their strictness and severity corresponded very closely with the Cistercians among the monks. The disposition of the buildings could be traced all round the cloister, and they are very perfect on the east side. Next to the church was the sacristy, and then the chapter house, which was in very good condition, and south of that the common house, a most interesting apartment, showing how the original and rather gloomy twelfth century vault had been altered in the fourteenth century into a very handsome and well lighted room. On the south side was the frater, which had cellarage under it, as was usual in canons' houses, and near the frater door were the remains of the lavatory, at which the canons washed before dinner and supper. The western range of buildings was the *Cellarium*, and the lower part of it had been used for stores. The tales about dungeons there were all nonsense. The prison for offenders of the order would be in the infirmary, and, if the canons had secular jurisdiction, the prison connected with it would be in or near the gatehouse.

Crossing the suspension bridge over the Tweed the carriages were again regained, and, driving to St. Boswells, the party took the train and reached Carlisle at 9 p.m.

Wednesday, August 9.

At 10.30 a.m. the general concluding meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms, the Bishop of Carlisle in the chair. In taking his place the Right Rev. CHAIRMAN said—"This is the final meeting of the Archaeological Institute, and before we separate there are certain things to be done which are not only necessary, but which, I hope, will also be very agreeable. It is not for me to say much about the subject—that will be done better, I have no doubt, by other gentlemen presently; but as you did me the honour of making me the president of this meeting I think I may just say this, that I congratulate you upon what I think I may describe as having been a very successful week. I have attended one or two meetings of this Institute before, and though 'comparisons are odious,' I think I may say that this bears a very favourable comparison with any other meeting that I myself have ever witnessed. The one great fear we always have with regard to gatherings of this nature, in the north of England, is that which is due to the weather. That being the case, there being this uncertainty, I think it is a matter of great congratulation that we have had such a glorious and bright week. But the brightness of the weather would not be sufficient by itself. We have also had a great deal of brightness within. Our excursions into the country—at least those which I have been able to attend, and can therefore speak

to—have been of a very bright and satisfactory character ; they have been numerously attended ; everybody seemed to be in good temper, everybody seemed to be pleased, and I hope that those who tried to do so have obtained a great deal of valuable instruction. In fact, so far as I can look on things as an outside observer, there is nothing left to be desired in the circumstances of the Carlisle meeting. I was not here twenty-three years ago ; therefore I cannot make any comparison, and I do not wish to make any comparison, between that meeting and this, but I believe this one has been much more numerously attended, and I trust Carlisle has not fallen off during these twenty-three years in any essential particular ; on the other hand, I trust it has improved, and if any of us should live twenty-three years longer, and the Archæological Institute should do us the honour of visiting Carlisle again, I hope that we shall find opportunity for still further improvement, and that this meeting, brilliant as it has been, may fail in comparison with the meeting of twenty-three years hence. I shall call upon Sir Charles Anderson to move the first resolution.”

Sir CHARLES ANDERSON, in the absence of Lord Talbot de Malahide, who had returned to London to resume his Parliamentary duties, proposed that they gave a hearty vote of thanks to the Right Rev. the President of this meeting for his kindness and for the admirable manner in which he had performed his duties as chairman and president during the whole of this meeting. “For myself,” said Sir Charles, “I cannot but feel most grateful for the kindness and hospitality shown to me at Rose Castle, and I am quite sure that all those I see present hold the same sentiments of grateful feeling towards his lordship for the admirable manner in which he has performed the duties of president. Although I have not attended all the meetings that have taken place since I became a member of the Institute in 1846, I have attended many of them, and I agree with the Bishop that there has not been a more successful meeting than this one at Carlisle. We have had the advantage of fine weather, and we have had the opportunity of examining that wonderful relic of antiquity, the Roman Wall, and I am sure we are also deeply indebted to Dr. Bruce for the admirable way in which he descanted upon and explained that extraordinary work ; we are all thankful for the instruction which he has given us. I will not detain you with many more words, further than this, that I will say of our president, that besides the activity, kindness, and judgment which he has shown, we are indebted to him for the most admirable discourse I ever heard which he delivered in the Cathedral on Sunday last. I regret extremely that there has been as yet no idea of its being printed, because I think it was so useful and so admirable in every way, that it is worthy of being read, not only here, but all over the country.”

The vote was carried with much enthusiasm.

Mr. TUCKER (*Somerset*), in moving the next resolution, said he had attended a great many meetings of the Institute, and he could most truly say that he had never been at any meeting where they had seen so much of special interest to themselves, and where everybody connected with the meeting had more ably performed his part. A very proper tribute of praise had been accorded to the Bishop of Carlisle for his excellent presidentship of the meeting. From his opening address they all had reason to expect exactly what they had got—he had shown himself in every

sense a most happy and most appropriate president. There were others who had also done their part, and done it equally well, in receiving the Institute and preparing for the meeting; and amongst these, none more particularly deserved their thanks than the Mayor of Carlisle. They had, of course, in their annual meetings had much experience of mayors, and they had always found them hospitable, as was the wont of mayors; but in Mr. Ferguson they had met with an exceptional mayor, and one who was not only able to do his duties as mayor, but who was himself a well-known and able antiquary, and who, from day to day, and almost from object to object, had been able to assist them in their researches. As regarded the objects they had seen, there was no part of England they could have gone to where there was so much of the deepest interest to archæologists. The Roman Wall alone, which was of such singular importance, and which had been so ably described, would of itself have justified the selection of Carlisle for a second visit. To himself it had this special interest, that he believed the first person who surveyed the Roman Wall in detail, and published extensively upon it, was his predecessor in office, Mr. John Warburton, Somerset Herald, whose *Vallum Romanum* was for a considerable period the text-book to that remarkable monument. He had referred to the pleasure and gratification they had had. But these meetings presented another side to his mind, and no doubt to that of others. He referred to the regret they felt at leaving, which was a sort of burial of recently-formed friendships, for a time at least, it might be for another twenty-three years; and this meeting enabled them to write and offer a sort of epitaph to those who had played their part so well in their little day. He thought no one deserved such an epitaph more than their friend Mr. Ferguson; and, unlike most epitaphs, it would be all true, for they could not say too much in his praise. He asked them to give a hearty vote of thanks to the Mayor, coupled with the Corporation of Carlisle.

The vote was carried with hearty acclamation.

The MAYOR said, "I am very much indebted to my friend, Mr. Tucker, for the kind way in which he has spoken of the services that I have been able to render to the Institute during this visit to Carlisle, and to you all for the kind way in which you have received his remarks. I think I am somewhat of an impostor. I have received more credit for the management than was due to me. Perhaps that was owing to the fact that I carried my own trumpeter round about with me. But I have been ably assisted in every way. I have had the benefit of the experience of Mr. Hartshorne, who came twice to Carlisle and went over the excursions; I have also been most ably seconded by Mr. W. Nanson, and the whole of the railway arrangements managed by him have been admirable. Mr. Crowder, the other local secretary, gave me valuable assistance, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Lees, and the secretaries of sections and those who laboured to get together the museum which is about to be dispersed. I will not detain you any longer, but will simply thank you most heartily on behalf of the Corporation and myself."

Mr. BAYLIS, Q.C., in moving the next resolution, "That the cordial thanks of the Institute are due and are hereby given to the Very Rev. the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle for their very kind and friendly reception, and for the special opportunities they had afforded of inspecting the Cathedral, the Deanery, and other buildings within the precincts," alluded

specially to the reception of the Institute at the Fraternity, and the able sermon by the Dean on Sunday afternoon.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded by the meeting, and in the absence of the Dean and Chapter, who were conducting the morning services in the Cathedral, the Very Rev. Chairman thanked the meeting on their behalf, and stated, as representing them, that he knew they had had the greatest pleasure in receiving the Institute. He was sure everybody must have been delighted with the reception which the Dean and Chapter gave on Friday evening. He thought that nothing could have been more striking than the appearance of their noble room so occupied on that occasion. This, he believed, was the first time that any such entertainment had been given by the Dean and Chapter to any large body of their neighbours; but it should be remembered that this was the first time that it had been possible, for it was the first time on which they had a room wherein they could receive their friends in their corporate capacity. And now that they had made so hospitable a beginning, he trusted—without committing the Dean and Chapter, which he had no right to do—that this admirable commencement would be followed up, and that now they had got the means of entertaining their neighbours, they would show what he was sure was in their hearts—a kind and brotherly feeling to all who were brought into contact with them.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, in proposing the next resolution, said that they had had one of the most successful meetings on record, and that was due in a very large extent to the capital preparation which had been made for them by the local society, which, as they knew, stood so high among country societies. He had the greatest pleasure in proposing, "That a vote of thanks be given to the local committee, especially to Mr. W. Nanson, Mr. Whitehead, and Mr. Lees, and to all those who have acted as guides in our excursions, particularly Dr. Bruce, Mr. C. J. Ferguson, Mr. C. C. Hodges and Mr. A. Kerr, who with their local knowledge have done the Institute great service." Nor should they pass over the contributors to the Museum. He gladly took the opportunity of saying that, in bringing out their catalogue of church plate, the local society had rendered a most important contribution to the archæology of post-Reformation church plate; indeed the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society's catalogue should be in the hands of every antiquary.

The vote was cordially passed, and acknowledged by Mr. NANSON, who took occasion to say that they had listened with peculiar interest to Mr. Micklethwaite's admirable exposition of the arrangements of the conventual buildings which were annexed to the abbeys and priories they had visited. The Rev. T. LEES and Mr. C. J. FERGUSON also responded.

The Rev. Prebendary SCARTH moved a cordial vote of thanks to the gentlemen who had so kindly thrown open their houses and antiquities to the Institute during the week, especially mentioning the Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Lonsdale, Lord Brougham, Mr. Howard of Naworth, Mr. John Clayton, and Mr. Erskine Scott of Abbotsford. He was present at the meeting in Carlisle twenty-three years ago, but the present meeting had surpassed it, not only in attendance, but in objects of interest, and certainly in the arrangements. He concluded by referring to the private hospitality that had been extended in which he himself had participated at Castlesteads. The vote was seconded by Mr. HILTON, acknowledged by the Right Rev. CHAIRMAN, and the Carlisle Meeting then came to an end.

EXCURSION TO BURGH-BY-SANDS AND HOLM CULTRAM.—A wish having been expressed by some of the members to see Burgh-by-Sands and its fortified church, and the Abbey of Holm Cultram, a small party went thither in carriages in the forenoon. Mr. C. J. Ferguson and the Mayor were again the friendly and efficient guides to these spots, famous alike for their historical and architectural interest. At the former place the great Plantagenet breathed his last, notwithstanding (or was it in consequence of) the electuaries and strange medicines administered to his war-worn frame by Master Nicholas de Tyngewyk.¹ At the latter the interest of the Transitional nave of a once noble fame is enhanced by the fact that it owed its preservation in 1538 to the pathetic appeal of the inhabitants, who described it as their only place of refuge from their implacable enemies the Scots.

The Museum.

This was formed in the Upper Assembly Room of the County Hotel, under the direction of Mr. R. S. Ferguson and the Rev. T. Lees. It would be a difficult matter to give, in a short space, a notice of the large number of antiquities and objects of art that were here accumulated, but the more important objects may be mentioned. Of stone implements the collection, as might be expected, was not large, but Mr. Atkinson sent a remarkably fine dagger, and a stone celt from Winderwath. Several examples of perforated hammers and axes, which are not uncommon in this district, were also exhibited. Sir F. Graham exhibited several celts in stone and bronze, and Mr. Fisher contributed a gold torque found in Carlisle. Of Roman antiquities there was, of course, a fine collection. Chief among these must be placed a superb gilt bronze figure of the Emperor Commodus as Hercules, lent by Mr. Howard of Naworth, and believed to have been found near the Roman Wall. Sir F. Graham sent a number of objects in bronze, and Mr. Blair contributed bronze rings with gems, fibulae, and the fine onyx cameo, representing a bear, found at South Shields. Mr. Court sent a beautiful bronze acanthus leaf terminating in a winged griffin, and many other Roman antiquities came from the collections of Mr. Carrick, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Cumpston, Mr. Bandle, and from the Carlisle Museum. Mr. A. Evans exhibited a remarkable collection of gems from Dalmatia and the east coast of the Adriatic. An object of the highest rarity—the central figure in wood from the “Rood, Mary and John,”—came from the chapel at Cartmel Fell. The Corporations of Appleby and Kendal exhibited their municipal insignia; the Corporation of Carlisle sent the great silver gilt mace, three silver maces, “the sword of us, our heirs, and successors,” in its scabbard decorated with the single and mysterious letter S, the iron skeletons of three ancient maces, the “loving cup,” and the unique globular silver racing bells. The craft guilds of Carlisle exhibited their regalia, conspicuous among which was the silver salver representing Neptune drawn by tritons, a precious object certainly, though hardly from the hand of Cellini. But the great feature of the Museum was the collection of church plate. With the approbation of the Bishop of Carlisle, the churches of the diocese had been ransacked with the result of bringing together the finest collection ever made of post-Reformation church plate. Among these objects were included many vessels in pewter,

¹ See Bill of Medicines, *Journal*, xiv, 267.

which the most zealous Puritan could hardly call "decent communion cups," and an exquisite "monument of superstition," the "massing chalice" from Old Hutton Church. Of secular plate there was an excellent and large display, and, to mention only one class, the contributions of the Rev. J. Arlosh, Mrs. Duffield, Mr. Blundell, Mrs. Hartshorne, Mr. MacInnes, Mr. Ainsworth, and others, formed a complete representative history of the various and varying fashions of English silver spoons. The collection of pictures was of considerable interest. Mr. Howard of Greystoke sent a portrait of Erasmus by Holbein; an exquisite head of an ecclesiastic (Thomas of Canterbury, so called), by Van Eyck, cut from a larger picture when, by order of Henry VIII, all memorials of Becket were destroyed, and an interesting portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, in her youthful days, by Jean de Cour. Lord Muncaster exhibited the portrait of Skelton the "fool of Muncaster," in his checkered suit of "motley," and a curious picture representing the presentation by Henry VI of the "Luck of Muncaster." The Rev. J. Arlosh lent a collection of snuff boxes; the Rev. T. Lees exhibited a great variety of knitting sheaths, interesting from the survival of archaic types in their ornamentations; and Mr. Ready showed a number of rings of various periods. Conspicuous among the examples of embroidery and needlework was a splendid funeral pall (?) of dark blue velvet, embroidered in silver, exhibited by Mr. Howard of Greystoke; quilts and hangings, belonging to the Rev. R. C. Pattenson; and several examples of seventeenth century samplers, lent by Mrs. Duffield. Of MSS. and books there was a large collection. The Rev. Father Giles exhibited a noble fourteenth century missal of Salisbury use, formerly belonging to Caldbeck church, Cumberland, with the service for St. Kentigern inserted in later times. Sir F. Graham sent "*Le Geste de Sir Johan Mandeville*," and the valuable *Commonplace Book of Milton*. Mr. Howard of Naworth exhibited a fine genealogy of the Howard family. Mr. Dore lent his interesting collection of bibles; and the Rev. J. T. Fowler exhibited a Coverdale bible of 1535. Of arms and weapons there was a good collection. Sir R. Brisco sent a gigantic mantrap; and Mr. Carrick contributed three prodigious iron padlocks, with which the English, Scotch, and Irish gates of Carlisle were made fast and "Scotchmen and foreigners" kept out of the great Border city in the brave days of old.

We are not altogether without hope that this instructive exhibition of Border antiquities, of which the above notes are but a short summary, may be eventually completely chronicled by the accomplished local antiquary under whose auspices it was brought together.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Carlisle Meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—The Bishop of Carlisle, 10*l.*; The High Sheriff of Cumberland (G. Routledge, Esq.), 10*l.*; The Lord Muncaster, 10*l.*; G. J. Howard, M.P., 10*l.*; The Mayor of Carlisle (R. S. Ferguson, Esq.), 10*l.*; E. B. W. Palme, 10*l.*; E. Behrens, 10*l.*; Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, 10*l.*; W. H. Porter, 5*l.* 5*s.*; Mrs. Poeklington Senhouse, 5*l.*; J. G. Mounsey, 5*l.*; H. Mackenzie, 5*l.*; H. C. Howard, 5*l.*; J. A. Fell, 5*l.*; Col. Salkeld, 5*l.*; R. Ferguson, M.P., 5*l.*; Mrs. Dykes, 5*l.*; C. J. Ferguson, 3*l.* 3*s.*; E. T. Tyson, 3*l.* 3*s.*; J. Hilton, 3*l.* 3*s.* B. Scott, 3*l.*; E. C. Clarke, 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; C. Fetherstonhaugh, 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. B. Gordon,

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Notices of Archaeological Publications.

OLD CHURCH PLATE IN THE DIOCESE OF CARLISLE. (Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society's Transactions). Thurnam and Sons, Carlisle.

This excellent book must be welcomed as well for its own sake as for what it may lead to by its example. Already has the Kent Archaeological Society issued a circular to every incumbent in that important home county as the first step towards issuing a similar volume to that which is now under notice, and it may be confidently expected that at no distant day other county archaeological societies will follow the lead given by the united Cumberland and Westmoreland Society, under the able guidance of Mr. R. S. Ferguson. It is hardly to be supposed that every county will be able to find such an expert, as well as enthusiastic, trio of labourers as Miss Goodwin, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, and Rev. H. Whitehead; but it is clear that every rural-deanery, with the help of Mr. Cripps's book, can render a good account of its possessions in the way of ancient church-plate; and one that will be of very considerable and general interest. The Cumberland Fells have produced many an interesting piece, but possibly not more than other wealthier districts will prove to possess on careful examination; and we echo the opinion expressed by the three Archdeacons of Kent in commending the enquiry to their clergy, that the work will be valuable and interesting.

Of the nineteen rural-deaneries in the Diocese of Carlisle Miss Goodwin has undertaken no less than four; Mr. R. S. Ferguson three, besides a share of two others; and Rev. H. Whitehead also three; but all the associated authors have supplied exhaustive accounts of the districts they have enquired into.

It will be of interest to note the chief objects of importance that have come to light. Of pre-reformation plate Miss Goodwin was fortunate enough to discover a chalice, much resembling the well-known Nettlecombe example, at Old-Hutton. Then come some very rude and curious Elizabethan cups from various villages in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, so rude as to resemble blacksmith's work rather than silversmith's, and bearing marks that probably indicate that they were made in the border city itself. There are the usual proportion of Elizabethan cups of London make bearing the invariable band of foliage around the bowl; and it is worthy of remark that a large number of them are of 1571, the very year of stringent visitation articles on the subject of communion vessels by Archbishop Grindal, of York.

A little later on, we come to more than one example of the tall-standing cup that, once gracing some lord's table, has been devoted by him to the service of the church. One such is at Appleby, another at Holm Cultram, a third at Westward, and a fourth at Ambleside. The cut of the hand-



The Ambleside Cup and Cover

some cup at Ambleside, here given, is a fine example of the class. Many are known to exist in other parts of the country. Mr. Cripps notes similar pieces at Bodmin, at Odcombe in Somersetshire, at Linton in Kent, and other places. That gentleman is also of opinion that many of them were destined originally for church-plate, and were not taken from the sideboard of the lord or squire; founding his belief on the fact that in some cases the hall marks are of the same year as the presentation of the pieces to their respective parishes.

After this, we come to other, less important but still interesting, specimens, many of them of the Queen Anne period; and of these, outlines in lithography have been freely given, which will highly interest the student of old plate.

Lastly, we are glad to observe that the ancient pewter vessels of the diocese have received, as they deserve, not less careful notice than the silver plate; and that their marks have been as carefully recorded. It is a melancholy sight to see, in the windows of London silversmiths, of late years, scores of vessels which should never have been parted with, and which surely would never have been parted with, had their interest and value been understood. If we turn over the pages of our county archaeological societies' transactions we shall find village churches, their windows, doors, arcades, screens, porches, painted glass and bells, all lovingly dwelt on, but hardly ever a line devoted to the ancient communion plate. It is not of any less interest than the other points, which have probably attracted more notice only because they have been better understood. It will, henceforth, be treasured and valued as it deserves, thanks to the thoroughness and ability with which Mr. Ferguson and his colleagues have led off the enquiry, and partly to Mr. Cripps, whose book upon plate evidently suggested it.

THE PRINCIPLES OF GOTHIC ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE. By MATTHEW HOLBECH BLOXAM. Eleventh Edition. George Bell & Sons.

A COMPANION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF GOTHIC ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE. Same Author and Publisher.

It seems to be something almost akin to impiety for any antiquary on the under side of his grand climacteric to undertake to criticise *Bloxam's Gothic Architecture*, for which of us is there who did not draw his first ideas of the history of the English architecture from one or other of the book's many editions? The first appeared in May, 1829, now fifty-three years ago, and was a little catechism of seventy-nine pages. We now have the eleventh in three volumes and over a thousand much fuller pages than the former ones. The tenth edition appeared in 1859, and it gave the result of the then newest studies of the subject. A good deal has been done, as the pages of the *Archæological Journal* bear witness in the twenty-three years from that time to this; but we do not find the evidence of it in the new book. The position is still very much that of the old *Ecclesiological Society*. We have much and valuable information about the *parts* of churches—their doors, windows, pillars, arches, altars, fonts, screens, and sedilia; but very little about the churches themselves—nothing to explain how they came to be what we find them, and scarcely anything of the distinctions of churches of different kinds. This fault unfortunately takes off much from the value of the book as a text book

for beginners, but the large number of examples quoted and the many excellent illustrations will be very welcome to more advanced students.

Mr. Bloxam has left the text of the tenth edition for the most part as it was, adding new matter now in single paragraphs and now in whole chapters. The consequence is, that sometimes an old statement allowed to stand is modified by a new one inserted in another place, and things are spoken of as *recent* which were so a quarter of a century ago. These are indeed not serious faults, and take off rather from the symmetry than from the real value of the book. But as another edition is likely soon to be wanted, and we hope the author will not hesitate to give it if it is, it would be well then to take the opportunity of correcting them.

The first volume is really the "Bloxam" of our youth, being the history of English church architecture from its first beginnings to the seventeenth century; and within its lines it must hold the same high place now that it ever did. It is altered from the tenth edition only by the occasional insertion of a few lines. At the end we have again the "centenary of ancient terms," from which, by the by, the word *poynstyl* ought to be expunged. It is in all the glossaries, but is only found in one passage in the fifteenth century poem of *Pierce the Plowman's Crede*, and it is now known that the MSS. read *peyut til*, the ordinary ancient term for what are now called encaustic tiles. The mistake comes from a misprint in the edition of 1553, which has been copied in later ones till Professor Skeat edited the poem from the MSS. for the *Early English Text Society*. The word has always been a difficulty, and it has even been explained into *pantiles*¹; the use of which for paving purposes would have been a striking example of the "liberty of the Gothic style," of which we used to hear so much.

The greater part of the second volume is filled by a chapter on the internal arrangement of churches previous to the Reformation, which now fills 233 pages, each full of valuable matter. We can only notice a few things, and we are sure Mr. Bloxam will understand that if we rather dwell upon some in which we do not agree with him, it is not from any wish to find fault, but because the appearance of his book gives the opportunity to have a word again on questions often discussed before.

There can be little doubt that the galleries inside porches, of which several examples are mentioned on page 15, were connected with the ceremonies of Palm Sunday, and were occupied by the children, who sang the hymn *Gloria laus et honor*, and perhaps, too, by the "prophet," who figured in some churches in a fantastical costume in the times when, as some new gospeller—we forget who—says, upon Palm Sunday they played the fool sadly.

On page 20 we are reminded of the font at Youlgrave with the curious little basin at its side, which is generally called a chrismatory. We cannot understand how it could be used as such. Is it not rather a holy water stock, which, by a caprice not to be commended, has been made to project from the bowl of the font just as in other cases it does from a wall or a pillar?

Ought not the word *rood sellar*, of which several examples are given on page 40, to be *rood sollar* in each case? The word is found in that form on a brass at Burford (Oxon) and elsewhere. Concerning roods and rood-lofts Mr. Bloxam has a great deal of interesting information, and

¹ Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, i, 164.

we especially note a remarkable piece of evidence on page 43 as to the preservation of the ancient rood in Llaurwyst Church as late as 1684. We should like to know whether anything can be learned of it after that time, and what became of it at last. We can scarcely hope that it still lies hid where the Duke of Beaufort then saw it, but it is worth looking for. Will some of our members who are near go and do it? The passage quoted is not very clear to one who does not know the building, but it seems to point out the roof near the entrance to the chancel as the first place to be searched, or perhaps it may be the rood-loft itself. If they fail the steeple and any other possible depository of lumber should be searched, for it is hard that so singular an object, after having survived the days of Edward VI., Elizabeth, and the Commonwealth should be lost through the indifference of later times. The only English example we know of the figure from the great rood remaining is that from Cartmel Fell Chapel, which was sent to the temporary museum at our recent Carlisle meeting. The example from Bettys Gwerful Goch which Mr. Bloxam describe is curious, but does not appear to have belonged to the screen.

We do not understand why Mr. Bloxam should, on page 44, confine chancel stalls to those parish churches "connected in some measure with conventual or monastic foundations." They are found in richly furnished churches, which never had any such connexion even by the impropriation of their tythes, as for example at Sall, in Norfolk.

To the high altars of Arundel and Forthampton, mentioned on page 77 as the only ones remaining *in situ*, should be added that at Peterchurch, Herefordshire, mentioned at page 140, and those at St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel, and the chapel of the Maison Dieu, at Ripon.

Are the altar candlesticks at Clapton in Gordano, of one of which a cut is given on page 83, really earlier than the seventeenth century? They look more like that than the fifteenth; and their ecclesiastical interest will not be lessened by lowering their date.

It is a mistake to say that more than two lights were never placed upon the altar. No doubt, two or even one was most common, but there is plenty of evidence of the use of larger numbers in some cathedrals and other places. Some may be found in our thirty-fifth volume, page 387.

We have always doubted whether the often quoted "Sepulchre gilt with gold," which Master Canyng gave to the vicar and churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe in 1470 had anything to do with the Easter ceremonies in church. Its heaven of timber and stained cloths, and its hell with "Divils to the number of 13"; its "image of God Almighty rising out of the same sepulchre, with all the ordinance that longeth thereto, that is to say, a lathe made of timber and the iron work thereto," its four pair of wings and four wigs for as many angels, and all the rest of it, read more like a list of the machinery and properties of some pageant in a mystery play than anything connected with the regular services of the church.

At page 127, we are introduced to the old and still unsolved problem of the "low side windows." Mr. Bloxam considers them to be confessional windows, for which they seem to be curiously ill-contrived, and which some certainly could not have been. But without going so far as to say that none may ever have been put to that use, we contend that the passage quoted from Bedyll's letter to Cromwell is nothing to the point as regards parish churches. It was written from the monastery of Sion,

with respect to certain "howses of utterward confession" which were proposed to be "mured up" and done away, not to please the secular clergy, jealous of the interference of the friars, but because they were suspected of having been used to encourage men to stand fast in their refusal of the new doctrine of the royal supremacy, which the government was then trying to enforce. The action of Bedyll and his fellows was, in short, exactly analagous to that of the police agents of a modern despotism in suppressing a liberal newspaper.

Mr. Bloxam has much to tell about *ankers* and *anker-holds*; but we think he goes too far in assuming that all habitable chambers connected with churches have been for the use of *ankers*. It is far more likely that many were the lodgings of a clerk, or even of the parson himself.

The latter part of the second volume is taken up with a chapter on monastic arrangement, which we wish had not appeared, as it is much behind our present knowledge of the subject. There cannot now be any reasonable doubt amongst antiquaries as to the distribution of the main buildings of an abbey of any of the more ancient orders. Yet here in the plan of Kirkstall which is given, we find the monks' dormitory put west of the cloister, where in this case it would be entirely cut off from the cloister by an intervening lane. The buttery is called the *locutorium* or common room. What is really the western necessarium is supposed to be the infirmary, and the real infirmary is called the guest house.

The third volume has a new title, and becomes the *Companion*, as we have given it in the heading, but is really at least as much as the second, an expansion of the old work. It begins with a chapter on the vestments used in the Church of England up to the reign of Edward VI. This is illustrated by a most interesting and valuable collection of cuts, chiefly representing monumental effigies. Amongst them are two of deacons, one from Avon Dassett Church in the dalmatic, and one most curious example from Furness Abbey in the albe without the dalmatic, which the Cistercians were forbidden to use. We should like to say more on this subject, but must pass on.

The next chapter is on the changes in the internal arrangement of churches subsequent to the reign of Edward VI, a most interesting subject, on which a great deal remains still to be learned. The ecclesiology of the period between the accession of Elizabeth and death of Charles I is still most obscure. It was not all Puritan destruction. In many places good men were doing good work which is now too often destroyed by stupid "restorers," who from the depth of their own barbarism regard everything as a "barbarous innovation" which is not adorned with mediæval mouldings, real or fictitious. The manner of performing the services varied then in different places far more than it does even now, and the traces of such variation where they exist are most interesting. We doubt whether such an arrangement as that which Mr. Bloxam figures from Langley chapel, Salop—where the altar is a little table away from the wall with desks all round it—ought properly to be described as *Puritan*, for the desks are meant for kneeling. The real Puritan arrangement would be a much larger table with benches to sit on at its sides, such as does or did lately exist at the Austin friars' church, London, held by the congregation which John Alasco founded. The peculiar shortness of seventeenth century English altars is less likely to be a sign of Puritanism than of the reverse.

The third chapter on "the vestments prescribed by the church in and from the reign of King Edward VI" really covers more than its title indicates. For besides the rather simple question of the vestments *prescribed* we have discussed also the much more complicated one of those actually *used*. And although we cannot agree with him in all his conclusions we must give our testimony to the fairness which Mr. Bloxam has handled what happens to be now more than a mere archaeological controversy. We will only speak of two points here. It is surely a mistake to argue, as is done on page 229, that by the rubric prefixed to the Mass in the prayer-book of 1549 the stole and the maniple were discarded. The rubric directs the priest to put on the vesture appointed. But where appointed? Evidently, by some earlier authority, either the ancient service books or in the rubric accompanying the "order of communion" set forth the year before, which retains all the ancient ornaments. And the mention only of the principal vestments in the new rubric clearly does not exclude the minor ones. Again, we cannot agree with Mr. Bloxam that the chasuble was not used after the time of Mary. Its appearance on the effigy of Archbishop Sandys seems to be quite conclusive the other way.

Last of all we have a chapter on sepulchral monuments, always a favourite subject with Mr. Bloxam, and one on which none are better able to teach than he. But our comments have already run to too great a length. We will therefore only at parting call attention to the excellent portrait of the author, which is prefixed as the gift of a friend to the first volume. We are sure that many of our members will be glad to possess the book for the sake of that engraving alone. It shews us our old friend as we have known him at our meetings for many years, and as we still hope to know him for years yet to come.

J.T.M.

DIARIES AND LETTERS OF PHILIP HENRY, M.A., OF BROAD OAK, FLINTSHIRE, A.D. 1631-1696. Edited by MATTHEW HENRY LEE, M.A., Vicar of Hamner. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench and Co., 1882.

Few of our readers we imagine have ever heard of Philip Henry. His son Matthew Henry, if not a famous person, is one whose name is widely known. Theological writers of the school to which he belonged, though they may never reach the highest level of popularity, have a more lasting honour than those whose works appeal to less permanent feelings. Matthew Henry's Commentary has been much read both for purposes of devotion and instruction; few who have used those learned and devout volumes have realized that much in them that they most value was due to the commentator's father. That this was so there can be no doubt. Matthew Henry was the son of a holy and learned man whose life was spent in good works. His care for his children was admirable, and we find from his diaries that in a dissolute age his house was a model of the Christian virtues. That he was narrow-minded is true; his conscience was troubled about a multitude of things which no sensible man would be moved by now, but in this he was not singular. Living in a time of revolution, when almost all earnest men took sides with extreme bitterness, he seems to have passed a harmless and useful life without giving offence to anyone except those who were determined to see evil in every act of one who would not conform to the national religion as established by Charles II's act of uniformity. The interest of

the diaries here given is of a very varied nature. The historian will find in them materials from which to sketch a most life-like story of one of the best of the Nonconforming clergy. The genealogist who is interested in Flintshire pedigrees will discover in them a mine of information, from which to draw evidence when wills and parish-registers fail him, and the student of local manners will come upon much that he will find of interest. Philip Henry was not an amusing diarist. The pages contain more than is needful of Henry's inner man, but this is well worth reading for the sake of the useful and strange facts that are blended with it. We know for instance that in pre-reformation times it was a custom to decorate churches with flowers. The practice has been revived of late, but it will be new to many persons that the usage existed during the common-wealth. Henry, of course, strongly disapproved of this. Under July 4, 1657, he tells us that "a company of wayne people in the parish of Worthen[bury] mett together on y^e evening of the Sabbath to dresse the church with Flowers. I foresaw before it might bee an occasion of sin to them and an offence to others, and therefore did something to prevent it, but not so much as I might; done it was, Lord, lay it not to o^r charge. They were quickly taken downe, but it had beene better if y^e had never bin set up; a report was rays'd y^t I had consented to it, the Lord knows I did not." In 1661 the churchyard cross of the same parish was repaired. This was evidently a matter of serious heart-searching to the pious Nonconformist "Lord I mourn for that which I cannot help." Such a man would, of course, object to the use of the cross in the baptismal office. There are several passages which induce us to believe that this was one of the chief reasons which compelled him to refuse to conform. The more extreme of the puritans are reported to have objected to bell-ringing. There were but few bells destroyed during the troubled period of the civil war, and there are, as campanologists know, some few dated during the common-wealth. Henry seems not to have objected to them to call folk together for worship, but he tells us that bell-ringing "for pleasure" is a sin.

There is a fair amount of folk-lore scattered through the volume. We are gravely told that at Spalding-Bourne and several other places on one occasion it rained wheat, and that at another time Col. Norton, a gentleman living near Portsmouth, had a crop of wheat which grew up without sowing. From Devonshire he had heard, and believed, that a bell had tolled for three hours together as a death warning. It is curious to find that a man who had a troubled conscience, when a church was decorated or a cross repaired, should not have expressed indignation when a charm was used for a religious purpose, which would assuredly have offended the better spirits, in the darkest period of the middle ages. A woman who had led a bad life was terrified by a clergyman's public exhortation preparatory to the administration of the Holy Communion. "The minister, Mr. Jones, being sent for, told her hee did not mean her, why should she take it to herself, gave her an Amulet, viz., some verses of John I. written in a paper to hang about her neck, as also certayn herbes to drive the Devil out of her." It would be interesting to know when Saint John's Gospel was first used for magical purposes. The reason why is obvious. It is a superstition which has spread over the whole of the western church, and has been condemned in almost every country in Europe.

The book is well edited, and the notes are, with some few exceptions, excellent. There is also a very serviceable index.

THE OGAM INSCRIBED MONUMENTS OF THE GAEDHIL IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS, with a Dissertation on the Ogam Character, &c. Illustrated with Fifty Photographic Plates. By the late RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M.R.I.A., &c. Edited by G. M. ATKINSON. (London : G. Bell and Sons).

Important papers on this subject will be found in the *Archaeological Journal*, v. xviii, p. 175, by the late Sir E. Smirke, treating on the Fardel Monument now in the British Museum, and Colonel A. Lane Fox, gave his observations vol. xxiv, p. 123, on three monuments from Agalish presented by him to the British Museum. Since that time the subject has received much attention, and the work before us gives the results of the life-long labour of one earnest student towards its elucidation, and gives a record of his observations. This book brings together in a convenient form all the monuments known at the time of its publication inscribed with this character, and affords facilities for studying the subject. Chapters are devoted to the claim of an early literature in Ireland; the legendary and manuscript evidence of the use of the Ogam character; and a record of all the then known inscribed stones, with interpretations. The author visited and verified a large number, and gives his authorities for the other inscriptions. He has tried to do for the Ogam character what Boeckh did for the Greek and Gruter, Mommsen and Hübner for the Latin, McCaul for the Britanno-Roman, Fabretti for the Umbrian, Sabine, Oscan, and Volscian, and Stephens for the Runes. Notwithstanding the many allusions to the character in Irish MSS., it seems strange that Mr. Edmund Llhuyd, the author of *Archæologia Britannica*, was the first to direct attention to an Ogam inscribed monument about the year 1705, and it appears that it was owing to the zeal of a small band of gentlemen in the south of Ireland, headed by the late Mr. J. Windele, that the study has revived; General Vallancey had previously helped it. In 1848 Professor Graves, now Lord Bishop of Limerick, brought his learned acumen to bear on the subject, and demonstrating by the key-word and its applicability to decipher the inscriptions, he put us in a fair way to elucidate their mysteries. As to the age and interpretation of these monuments, archaeologists and philologists will differ. Imperfections from atmospheric influences, ignorance in transcribing, and of the grammatic construction, offer great obstructions to the formation of a correct judgment. Mr. Brash repudiates their Christian origin, notwithstanding the large number of monuments found on Christian sites and converted by being inscribed with a cross. This symbol, he shows, in many cases, is inscribed on what was during the Ogam period the base of the stone, and refers to Ogam inscribed stones being built into the walls of some of the oldest Christian edifices, which stones, and all such found in raths or places outside a later Christian influence, are not so marked, nor is there on any monument as yet found, any recognized Christian formula. "The inscriptions being almost exclusively sepulchral, the legends are of that short simple expressive type usually found on the Archaic monuments of the most ancient peoples." It may be mentioned that the form of the characters and the formula of the inscriptions are identical on the monuments found in Ireland, England and Wales. On the Lunnasting stone from Shetland we find an inscription resembling some of the forms of character given amongst the scales from the Irish manuscript Book of Ballymote; its purport is still unknown.

The kindred forms of character and systems branching like trees, open up a wide field of inquiry. The investigation of Captain R. F. Burton seems to confirm the conjecture hazarded as to the eastern home or origin of the Ogam character, and some of Ibn Wahshih's characters. Whether it will confirm Mr. Brash's conclusions and identify the tribe of the Gaedhil that introduced this system to our Islands readers must judge for themselves.

The work is published as a tribute of affection, prompted by the loving and laudable wish of Mr. Brash's widow, that no part of his labour should perish. The preface gives all details necessary to form an opinion on the life and aims of the author. The plates will be found useful, and will afford others facilities for comparison. Although much has been written on this subject, each new find opens up a field for fresh inquiries, so that the subject may be said to be as yet only in its infancy.

THE SOLUTION OF THE PYRAMID PROBLEM, OR PYRAMID DISCOVERIES, WITH A NEW THEORY AS TO THEIR ANCIENT USE. By Robert Ballard, M.I.C.E., &c. (New York : Wiley and Sons, 1882.)

The grammar of the title page promises something rather unusual in the contents, and the promise is well fulfilled. The three pyramids of Gizeh are here boldly called by their builders' names, and we read of "a line due east from Mycerinus," and of "building Cheops." After this we are hardly startled at reading that "The Pentangle or five pointed star . . . has been a blazing pointer to grand and noble truths, and a solemn emblem of important duties." But what duties?

The pith of the theory involved may be most characteristically given in the author's words. "I declare that the pyramids of Gizeh in all their polished glory, before the destroyer stripped them of their beautiful garments, were in every respect adapted to flash around clearly defined lines of sight upon which the lands of the nation could be accurately threaded." In fact the author supposes that the pyramids were all built for land surveying marks, and were observed on by means of a cumbrous apparatus, or, as he modestly says, "a reasonable sized model occupying a circle of six or seven feet diameter, such as a couple of men could carry."

The disproportionate labour of building such piles for merely surveying purposes does not seem to have struck his mind; for a very elementary calculation would have shewn, that the materials of the three pyramids would suffice to cover all the cultivated land from which they were visible, with piles of masonry 10 feet each way, at the rate of 3000 to the square mile. Hence a thousandth of the labour if spent in land marks would have secured the supposed requirements with infinitely more accuracy. The common idea is accepted of the effacement of boundaries by the high Nile; this is far from true, as the rudest marks are undisturbed by the imperceptibly slow rise and fall of the water over the broad valley.

The theory of the positions of the pyramids here stated is moreover incompatible with the actual facts; and a cubit is assumed to have been used, that is absolutely unknown in any part of the pyramids; all of them being built with the ordinary cubit of 20·6 inches.

It is unfortunate that so much elaboration and geometrical ingenuity should have been spent on another of the family of baseless theories; and without consulting the standard works which describe the pyramids, Howard Vyse's 'Pyramids of Gizeh,' Lepsius' map in the "Denkmäler," or Professor Smyth's second volume of "Life and work at the Great Pyramid."

Archaeological Intelligence.

THE EARLIEST LATIN INSCRIPTION.—We are indebted to Mr. S. Russell Forbes for the following communication:—"In the month of April there was discovered in some antique burial vaults, situated in the valley which separates the Quirinal from the Viminal, a vase bearing an archaic inscription cut upon it. This vase of strange form, about an inch and a half in height, in blackish clay, is composed of three recipients soldered together. From the characters written from right to left; the form of the Q; the K replaced by the C; the presence of the Z, which, it is said, disappeared from the Latin alphabet to be replaced by the G in the time of Appius Claudius—these evidences, as well as others, prove the antiquity of the inscription. The writing from right to left would not have given rise to surprise if an Oscan text had been conceived. Formerly the whole of Italy wrote in that manner, but there has never been found anything similar in Rome, where the Greeks had, in very early times, brought the characters of Euclid. The language necessarily offered an obstacle which was almost insurmountable to the various commentators who, since the attempt of M. Dressel, have up to this day undertaken to interpret this text. Nothing satisfactory, or even probable, resulted from their efforts, and this led M. Cobet, of Leyden, to suspect that the epigraphists had been the sport of some forger, and that there was no signification to seek in these letters traced by chance. Happily, the check experienced by his predecessors and the suspicions of M. Cobet have not deterred M. Michel Bréal. He has attacked the problem in his turn, and, in the opinion of the most competent amongst his fellow-members of the Academy, he has resolved it in its entirety with a rare sagacity and a clearness which carries conviction. All the last sitting of the Academy was occupied by the communication of M. Bréal relative to the monument brought to light last year at Rome. It is without doubt a funeral vase, having contained offerings, perhaps a lamp, perhaps an *ex voto*, the meaning of which is not clear. As we cannot enter into the details of the learned discussion to which M. Bréal has devoted himself, upon the grammatical forms of the words, upon the history of these forms, upon their comparison with analogous matter in the other dialects of Italy, we must be content to give the old text in popular Latin, the translation in classical Latin, and the translation of these. In order to obtain the text, the principal obstacle in epigraphy was to group the characters in words. '*Zoveis at deivos goi meditat nei tea enlo cosmisu ireo siea; ask tea nois io pto itis ieu paeeri rois. Dzenos meu fekea en manom einom. Dzenoi ne meu malo statoa.*' That is to say, in Latin: '*Jupitür aut quicumque deus qui me recipiat ne in tuas manus peccatorum causa, iste veniat, at, tu velis hoc dono, his preci-*

bus pacari a nobis. Dzenos me obtulit in bonum partem. Dzeno igitur ne veniam in malam partem.' It is the vase which speaks and prays in the name of the dead Dzenos, whose name appears to indicate a servile condition. 'O thou Jupiter, or any other God to whom I shall be offered, may he who is here entombed not fall into thy hands because of his faults; but consent to be moved by this offering and by these prayers that we address to thee. Dzenos has offered me for his welfare; may I not bring him evil.' The date of the inscription must be fixed in the time of Appius Claudius, about the commencement of the fifth century before our era. When a new edition of the 'Corpus of Latin Inscriptions' is produced, this text, naming the slave Dzenos, ought to be placed at the head of the collection."

THE ROMAN "LEGIO SECUNDA ADJUTRIX PIA, FIDELIS."—During the last fifteen months a discussion has been going on in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian* between Dr. Pfitzner, author of "*Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserlegionen von Augustus bis Hadrianus*," and Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, on the question, "Was Ireland ever invaded by the Romans?" Dr. Pfitzner taking the affirmative side of the question, and Mr. Watkin the negative. Both gentlemen have, it seems, come to the conclusion, during this discussion, that another Roman legion besides those generally known to have been in the island came over to Britain in the reign of Vespasian, *i.e.*, LEG. II. AD. P. F. Mr. Watkin, in a letter dated 20th August, 1881, points out that three tombstones of soldiers of this legion have been found, two of them at Lincoln and one at Bath; and assumes that it succeeded the Fourteenth Legion, in its head-quarters at Lincoln, when the latter was recalled by Vespasian.

As far back as 1873, Dr. Hubner (*C. I. L.*, vol. vii, p. 5) had pointed out the probable presence of the legion in Britain, but said nothing as to its services. Mr. Watkin, however, contends that it came over with Petilius Cerealis, and marched from its head quarters at Lincoln to the campaign against the Brigantes in A.D. 71-2. We believe some other antiquaries have, since the above-named discussion, also come to the conclusion that this legion was in Britain.

SIGNACULA IN JET OF ST. JAMES OF COMPOSTELLA.—In the *Journal* (vol. xxxvi, p. 33, and vol. xxxviii, p. 253) are papers by Mr. Fortnum on these interesting evidences of pilgrimages made to the shrine of the great Spanish saint, and the scarcity of these objects make it desirable that the existence of two fine examples in the Liverpool Museum should be recorded in these pages. No. I. is unusually large, being carved out of a single block of jet, nearly eight inches high. The saint is represented holding in his right hand a *bourdon*, with a projecting crutch, from which a scrip is slung; the left hand supports an open book; he is bearded, and has long wavy hair; he is habited in a *scavine*, reaching to the feet; and wears a scallop shell on the front of his hat. No. II. is six inches high. St. James is shown with a *bourdon* in the left hand, with a scallop shell on it; a scrip is suspended from the right shoulder; he wears a short *scavine* and a cloak; a broad-brimmed hat, decorated with a scallop shell; and he sustains a book on his right hand. At his feet are two kneeling figures, two inches high. That on the right side represents a man with a beard, his hat slung on the shoulders, and kneeling on the right knee. The figure on the left side is that of a woman in a wimple, and having a hat suspended at the back of the neck. She wears a string

of beads, and kneels on her left knee. The figure of the saint is pierced laterally for suspension. The occurrence of two figures at the feet of St. James is unusual. The date of both of these *signacula* is not earlier than 1560. They are apparently the work of the same hand, and are in excellent condition.

CHURCH PLATE.—In collecting and publishing a complete inventory of all the church plate in the diocese of Carlisle, the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society has set an excellent example, which has been quickly followed. The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association have undertaken an inventory of all the church plate in that important county. The work is well in hand in Kent, under the auspices of the Kent Archaeological Society. This has proved a heavy undertaking, but the Council have the advantage of the assistance of Mr. Cripps. An inventory for Derbyshire is in the hands of Mr. St. John Hope, and the subject is under consideration in Sussex. The Rev. R. Trevor Owen has undertaken a list for Wales; this cannot fail to be a considerable and laborious affair. An inventory has been begun in Cornwall, and systematic enquiries instituted in Herefordshire, and in the Isle of Man. No doubt a list of the plate in the London churches will not be long delayed; there is no more interesting series in the kingdom, and it would be desirable to include in such a work the sacred vessels which have been so wrongly allowed to appear in the windows of London silversmiths.

BRAMSHILL.—The Rev. Sir W. H. Cope has in hand a work on the history and architecture of this fine house. Its history will be traced from the eleventh century down to recent times, with notices of its successive owners and occupants; while its architecture, both internal and external, will be treated of. An account will be given of a more ancient edifice, which preceded the present Bramshill, as well as notices of the tapestries, pictures, &c. The work will be illustrated by views and plans, and will be issued to subscribers in one volume, crown 4to., price £1 1s., by H. J. Infield, 160, Fleet Street, E.C.

THE MANUSCRIPTS AT STANFORD COURT.—We learn, with much satisfaction, from a communication of the Rev. P. Onslow to the *Guardian* of December 27, that "the contents of the principal library and all the manuscripts were saved" from the late lamentable fire. Mr. Onslow adds that "it is, of course, impossible to state at present what damage has been done to the valuable books in the process of removal; but it is certain that the manuscripts, including the Dinely papers and Mrs. Joyce Jefferies' Diaries, are uninjured."

EARLY HISTORY AND GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILIES OF HORE AND HOARE.—Capt. E. Hoare announces the early publication of this illustrated work, giving an account of the families in question with all their branches, and with pedigrees from 1330, unbroken to the present time. A limited number of copies will be printed for subscribers, price £1 1s. A. Russell Smith, 36, Soho Square, W.

RETROSPECTIONS SOCIAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL.—Mr. Roach Smith has the above work in hand, and volume I is now nearly ready. The subscription will be regulated by the cost of printing; names of subscribers should be sent to the Author, Temple Place, Strood, Kent.



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